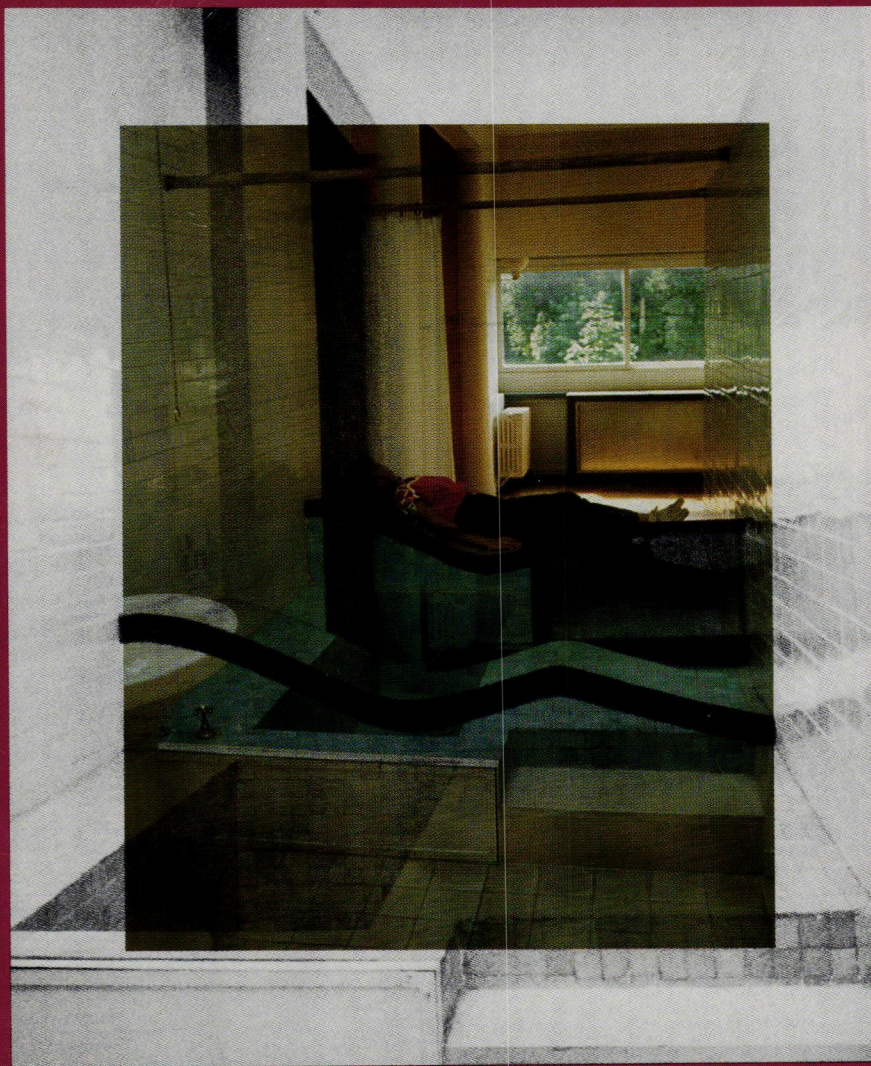


# D E S I G N      B O O K      R E V I E W



BARBARA OLDERSHAW  
Developing a Feminist  
Critique of Architecture

ALICE FRIEDMAN  
A Feminist Practice  
in Architectural History?

ABIGAIL A. VAN SLYCK  
Women in Architecture  
and the Problems of Biography

MARGARET CRAWFORD  
on Women in the City

JILL LAHN STONER  
Architecture Engendered

LIANE LEFAIVRE  
Constructing the Body,  
Gender, and Space

HENRY URBACH  
Peeking at Gay Interiors

JUDITH WOLIN  
"A Woman with a Gun Can  
Kill a Man with a Club"

HAYDEN WHITE  
Postmodernism, or, the Cultural  
Logic of Late Capitalism

Eight Dollars

Architecture

Urbanism

Landscape

Design

## GENDER AND DESIGN

Issue 25 – Summer 1992



**DESIGN BOOK REVIEW 25**  
Summer 1992

Founding Publishers  
JOHN PARMAN  
ELIZABETH SNOWDEN

Editors  
ELIZABETH SNOWDEN  
RICHARD INGERSOLL

Managing Editor  
CATHY LANG HO

Consulting Editor  
SUZANNE CHUN

Layout and Production  
LEGWIN ASSOCIATES

Editorial Board  
CHARLES C. BENTON  
CHRISTINE BOYER  
ZEYNEP CELIK  
DANA CUFF  
JEAN-LOUIS COHEN  
KENNETH FRAMPTON  
LUIS FERNANDEZ-GALIANO  
DIANE GHIRARDO  
ROBERT GUTMAN  
JOHN DIXON HUNT  
LIANE LEFAIVRE  
LARS LERUP  
BONNIE LOYD  
MARY McLEOD  
JANE MORLEY  
FRITZ NEUMEYER  
ANDREW RABENECK  
MARC TREIB  
ALEXANDER TZONIS  
DELL UPTON  
LORRAINE WILD

**Design Book Review** (ISSN 0737-5344) is published quarterly (Winter, Spring, Summer, Fall) by The MIT Press, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142, for the editors of *Design Book Review*, 1418 Spring Way, Berkeley, CA 94708. Copyright © 1992 by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to *Design Book Review*, MIT Press, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142.

Business Offices: Subscriptions, address changes, and mailing list correspondence should be addressed to *Design Book Review*, MIT Press Journals, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142. Subscriptions are \$30.00 for individuals, \$60.00 for institutions. Outside the United States add \$14.00 per year for postage and handling. Canadian subscribers also add 7% GST. To be honored free of charge, claims for missing issues must be made immediately upon receipt of the subsequent published issue.

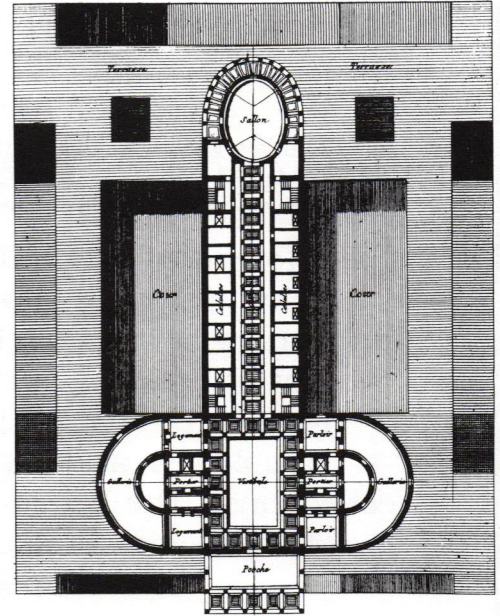
Direct advertising inquiries to: Advertising Manager, MIT Press Journals, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142, (617) 253-2866.

Editorial Offices: Books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to: *Design Book Review*, 1418 Spring Way, Berkeley, CA 94708.

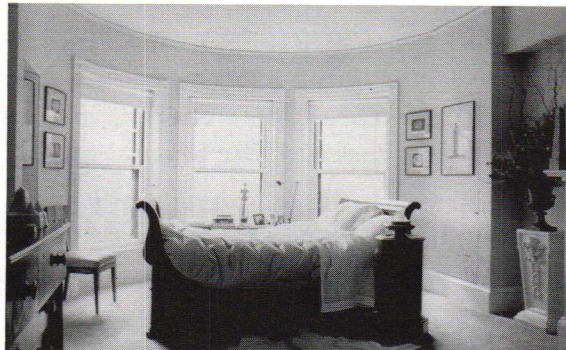
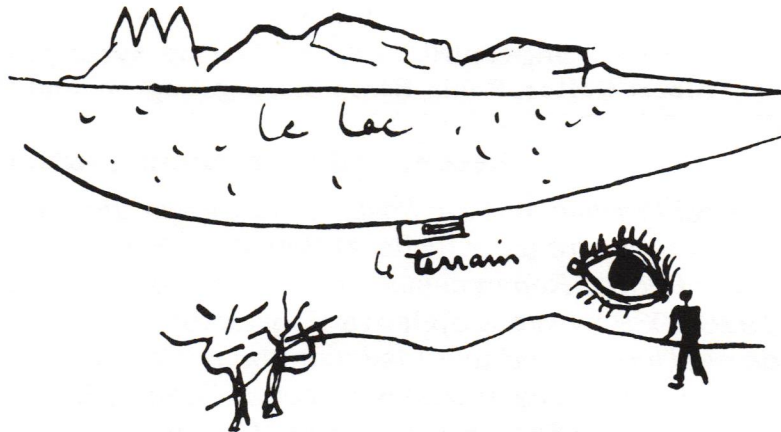
*Design Book Review* is available on microfilm from University Microfilms, 300 No. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

## In this issue of Design Book Review ...

7  
**Barbara Oldershaw**  
**Developing a  
Feminist Critique  
of Architecture**



35  
**Liane Lefaivre**  
**Constrcting  
the Body, Gender,  
and Space**



38  
**Henry Urbach**  
**Peeking at Gay  
Interiors**

Front cover: *The Master Bathroom at Villa Savoye*; Le Corbusier.

Back cover: Ingrid Bergman in Alfred Hitchcock's *Notorious*, 1946. (From *Sexuality and Space*.)



# JOURNAL OF DESIGN HISTORY

*The Journal of the Design History Society*

## Editorial Board

Jeremy Aynsley (Victoria & Albert Museum), Christopher Bailey (Wolverhampton Polytechnic), Charlotte Benton (Cambridge), Anthony Coulson (The Open University), Pat Kirkham (Leicester Polytechnic), Pauline Madge (Birmingham Polytechnic), Tim Putnam (Middlesex Polytechnic), Jonathan Woodham (Brighton Polytechnic)

The *Journal of Design History* is one of the leading journals in its field. It aims to play an active role in the development of design history by publishing new research, by providing a forum for dialogue and debate, and by addressing current issues of interest. In addition to full length articles, the *Journal* invites shorter case studies of objects, design typologies, and design practice, as well as reviews of specialist collections. The *Journal* includes a regular book review section and lists books received. It also publishes occasional reviews of resources and reports on educational initiatives.

## SPECIAL ISSUE ON GRAPHIC DESIGN

Volume 5, Issue 1

Including contributions by **Jeremy Aynsley**, **Chris Burke**, **Albert Halter**, **Robin Kinross**, **Ellen Lupton**, and **Michael Twyman**

## Recent and Forthcoming Articles

*Paul Dermée and the Poster in France in the 1920s: Jean d'Ylen as 'Maître de l'affiche moderne'* by **Albert Halter** (Zurich)  
*Avant-garde Repercussions and the School of Applied Arts, Bratislava 1928-1939* by **Iva Mojziso** (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava)  
*We do not Understand what is meant by a 'Company' Designing: Design versus Commerce in Late Nineteenth-Century English Furnishing* by **Stefan Muthesius** (University of East Anglia)  
*'Heritage' and the Harley-Davidson Motor Company* by **Peter Stanfield** (Bournemouth & Poole College of Art)

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Volume 5 1992, 4 issues

Europe £51.00, elsewhere US\$102.00

Members of Design History receive the journal as part of their membership

To subscribe, obtain further information or a free sample copy please write to:

Journals Marketing Department (X), Oxford  
University Press, Pinkhill House, Southfield Road, Eynsham,  
Oxford OX8 1JJ, UK

PUBLISHED BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



# CONTENTS

Editorial: "Never Lose Sight of the Primitive (Menstrual) Hut"	5
About the Contributors	71
Design Bibliophilia	73

## Gender and Design

Barbara Oldershaw	<p><b>"Developing a Feminist Critique of Architecture"</b> 7</p> <p><b>Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life</b>, by Dolores Hayden</p> <p><b>Women in Architecture: A Contemporary Perspective</b>, by Clare Lorenz</p> <p><b>More Than Housing: Lifeboats for Women and Children</b>, by Joan Forrester Sprague</p> <p><b>Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment</b>, by Leslie Kanes Weisman</p>
Sherry Ahrentzen and Linda Groat	<p>Excerpt from <b>Women Architects in the Academic and Professional Context</b> 10</p>
Leslie Kanes Weisman	<p>Excerpt from <b>Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment</b> 13</p>
Alice Friedman	<p><b>"A Feminist Practice in Architectural History?"</b> 16</p> <p><b>Black Looks: Race and Representation</b>, by bell hooks</p> <p><b>How Do I Look? Queer Film and Video</b>, edited by Bad Object-Choices</p> <p><b>Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs</b>, by Zeynep Çelik</p>
Abigail A. Van Slyck	<p><b>"Women in Architecture and the Problems of Biography"</b> 19</p> <p><b>Theodate Pope Riddle: Her Life and Work</b>, by Judith Paine</p> <p><b>Mary Colter: Builder Upon the Red Earth</b>, by Virginia L. Grattan</p> <p><b>Eleanor Raymond, Architect</b>, by Doris Cole</p> <p><b>Julia Morgan, Architect</b>, by Sara Holmes Boutelle</p>
Adriana Petryna and Lisa Sullivan	<p><b>Gendered Spaces</b>, by Daphne Spaine 23</p>
Margaret Crawford	<p><b>The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women</b>, by Elizabeth Wilson 26</p> <p><b>Feminism Confronts Technology</b>, by Judy Wajcman</p>
Jill Lahn Stoner	<p><b>"Architecture Engendered"</b> 30</p> <p><b>Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson</b>, by Camille Paglia</p> <p><b>Dwelling in the Text: Houses in American Fiction</b>, by Marilyn R. Chandler</p>
Liane Lefaivre	<p><b>"Constructing the Body, Gender, and Space"</b> 35</p> <p><b>Zone: Fragments for a History of the Human Body</b>, edited by Michel Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi</p> <p><b>Sexuality and Space</b>, edited by Beatriz Colomina</p>
Henry Urbach	<p><b>"Peeking at Gay Interiors"</b> 38</p>
Edward W. Soja and Barbara Hooper	<p><b>"The Spaces That Difference Makes"</b> 40</p> <p><b>Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics</b>, by bell hooks</p>
Judith Wolin	<p><b>"The New Woman in Russian Constructivism: 'A woman with a gun can kill a man with a club'"</b> 43</p> <p><b>Women Artists of Russia's New Age, 1910-1935</b>, by M. N. Yablonskaya</p> <p><b>Aleksandr M. Rodchenko and Varvara F. Stepanova: The Future Is Our Only Goal</b>, edited by Peter Noever</p> <p><b>Liubov Popova</b>, by Magdalena Dabrowski</p>



---

**HISTORY AND THEORY**

Hayden White	<b>Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism</b> , by <i>Fredric Jameson</i>	46
Zeynep Çelik	<b>Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries</b> , by <i>Gülru Necipoğlu</i>	49
Stephen Tobriner	<b>Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan</b> , by <i>Patricia Waddy</i>	51
Derek Moore	<b>Filippo Brunelleschi: The Early Works and the Medieval Tradition</b> , by <i>Heinrich Klotz</i>	53
Mary Pepchinski	<b>"Skyscrapers in Berlin"</b> <b>Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus</b> , edited by <i>Florian Zimmermann</i>	56
Brian McLaren	<b>"Modern Italian Architecture and the Question of History"</b> <b>Gli architetti e il fascismo: Architettura e città 1922–1944</b> , by <i>Giorgio Ciucci</i> <b>Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940</b> , by <i>Richard A. Etlin</i>	58
Elysabeth Yates Burns McKee	<b>The ABC's of △ □ ○: The Bauhaus and Design Theory</b> , edited by <i>Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller</i>	61
Sarah Bodine and Michael Dunas	<b>Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century</b> , by <i>Scott Minick and Jiao Ping</i>	63
Stefani Ledewitz	<b>Voices in Architectural Education: Cultural Politics and Pedagogy</b> , edited by <i>Thomas A. Dutton</i>	66
Annmarie Adams	<b>The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays</b> , by <i>John Summerson</i>	69



## Never Lose Sight of the Primitive (Menstrual) Hut

Due to its origins and persistence as a quasi-Masonic cult, architecture remains one of the last strongholds of sexism. Women architects have been allowed into the paternalistic club for at least a century, but the discourse of architecture has nonetheless remained almost exclusively male. The question of gender in design would not seem so important if it were not for the fact that design has a huge impact on the deplorable discrimination against women in their housing, employment, and recreational choices: they have been repeatedly confined to analogues of the menstrual hut, from the single-family house in the suburbs to the nunneries of public housing. Furthermore, the architecture and urbanism founded on patriarchal values (more recently celebrated as "family" values) has been essential to ensuring the environmental degradation of industrialized nations. Gynocentrism as the possible replacement for phallocentrism, however, is not a sure remedy for the sins of anthropocentrism.

The few buildings that require the services of an architect and the fewer buildings that become canonical in architectural culture have the status of cultural fetishes—dare I say, as expressions of male insecurity in the world of nature. The tumescent highrise can be viewed as the most obvious projection of the phallic unconscious driven by the anxiety of obtaining and renewing erections. Women, of course, can design and enjoy phallic symbols too, but with a far greater sense of irony since they are not subject to fear of castration. Architecture in all its splendor, the architecture we love and desire to keep produc-

ing, alas, is the greatest expression of male domination outside of war machines. Yes, the primitive hut—the basis of all architectural theory—was in fact the protodiscriminatory menstrual hut.

Chances are a nonsexist architecture would not so much look different as it would feel different. Yet how rare it is to find feeling as a criterion within the established architectural discourse. As much as

architecture needs to be critiqued within the frame of power relations, the hegemony of perspectival vision in architectural discourse needs to be redressed and compromised with haptic values. A change to a nonoppressive consciousness does not occur by the mere substitution of players, nor will it advance by the mere changing of terminology (such as nonsexist personal pronouns). The imperatives surrounding gender in architectural discourse are not necessarily how to celebrate what is feminine in design or how to find female design heroines (many of whom just seem to be playing a man's game), but how to establish and defend the subjectivity of women as designers and users of space. Many of the following essays suggest that the defense of difference is as important to liberation as the emancipatory quest for equality. The cultivation of difference in a mass society that must guarantee access to all, however, cannot be achieved until it is stimulated by desire. In this regard the menstrual hut must be reassessed as a possible place of choice rather than of exile; in the end it all depends on who is allowed to define and manage it.

Richard Ingersoll



The personification of architecture and the primitive hut, after Laugier. (From *Essai sur l'architecture*.)



# Debates & Deviations

## THE RECONFIGURED EYE

### Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era

William J. Mitchell

"From this moment on, photography is dead — or, more precisely, radically and permanently redefined as was painting one hundred and fifty years before." Enhanced? Or faked? Today the very idea of photographic veracity is being radically challenged by the emerging technology of digital image manipulation. *The Reconfigured Eye* provides the first systematic, critical analysis of the digital imaging revolution.

275 pp., 55 b & w illus., 30 color illus., 25 line illus. \$39.95

## WIRELESS IMAGINATION

### Sound, Radio, and the Avant-Garde

edited by Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead

350 pp. \$35.00

## MONTAGE AND MODERN LIFE: 1919-1942

edited by Matthew Teitelbaum

Documents the development of a new way of seeing that has had a profound influence on contemporary art and mass media.

Copublished with The Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston 208 pp., 100 illus. \$24.95

## POLYPHILO

### or The Dark Forest Revisited

### An Erotic Epiphany of Architecture

Alberto Pérez-Gómez

"Polyphilo is a brilliantly sharp and original reflection of the pop aspects of our visual culture. As a critical restatement of the environmental and sexual mores of the 1990s it will be much discussed." — George L. Hersey, Yale University

352 pp., 235 illus. \$39.95

## BODY CRITICISM

### Imagining the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine

Barbara Maria Stafford

"This transdisciplinary book establishes at one stroke a new research agenda in what may be called the 'visual sciences' — the study not only of painting, the graphic arts, and medicine as they fuse in the domain of cultural metaphors, but inquiry into the significance of technical observation, instrumentation, and media production."

— John Bender, Stanford University

608 pp., 254 illus. \$55.00

## October Books

### CINEMA, CENSORSHIP, AND THE STATE

### The Writings of Nagisa Oshima

Nagisa Oshima

"The first time I made a film in color . . . I imposed a small taboo on myself internally. It was to never shoot the color green."

Entertaining, concise, disarmingly insightful, these insightful essays trace in vivid and carefully articulated detail the development of Oshima's theory and practice.

An OCTOBER Book 320 pp., 22 illus. \$35.00

## Zone Books

Original in Paperback

## ZONE 6: INCORPORATIONS

edited by Jonathan Crary and Sanford Kwinter

This volume of Zone presents a diverse group of reflections and interventions on the interrelated problems of machine and organism within the context of twentieth-century modernity.

600 pp., 200 illus. \$34.95 paper

## LA JETEE

Chris Marker

This Zone edition reproduces this science-fiction film's original images along with the script in both English and French.

200 pp., 300 illus. \$24.95

## ETIENNE-JULES MAREY

### A Passion for the Trace

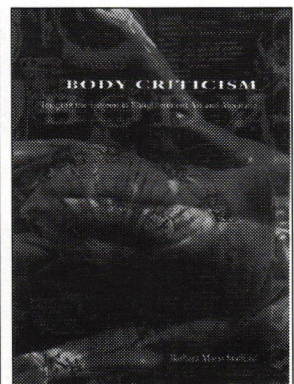
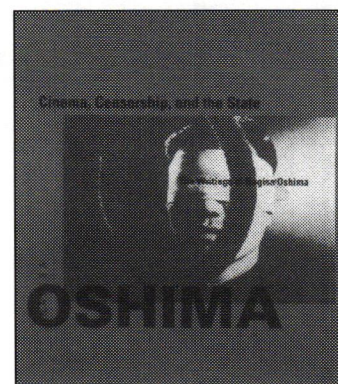
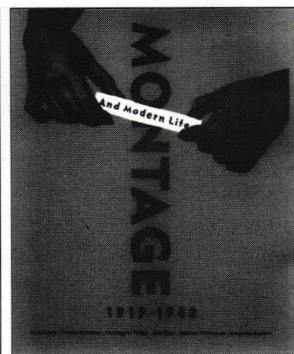
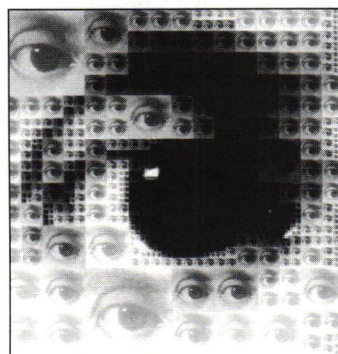
François Dagognet

200 pp., 60 illus. \$26.95

## THE LIFE OF FORMS IN ART

Henri Focillon

192 pp., 24 illus. \$14.95 paper



To order call toll-free 1.800.356.0343 or 617.628.8569. MasterCard & Visa accepted

**The MIT Press** 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142



Barbara Oldershaw

## Developing a Feminist Critique of Architecture

A recent article in *Sunset* magazine praised a porch remodel for its new wall that created a visual barrier between the porch and the street. The *Sunset* editors thought this was an excellent design feature, but I couldn't stop thinking that if I had to enter the house, I would be terrified of the possibility of someone lurking behind the wall, waiting to attack me. Overly cautious? Maybe. Unrealistically paranoid? I don't think so. Every six minutes, a woman in America is raped. Every fifteen seconds, a woman is battered. As a woman and a feminist, I've made a point of knowing these facts, and this knowledge affects how I evaluate the built environment.

Statistics on battery and rape only represent the direct forms of violence against women. American women also suffer on a number of more subtle levels. Women workers earn an average of 66 cents to every dollar earned by a man. Nearly 50 percent of all single mothers are poor, and single-parent households headed by women are projected to increase at five times the rate of husband-wife households. It is estimated that mothers and their children comprise at least 40 percent of the homeless population and are the fastest growing subgroup of the homeless. Many of these women have been victims of abuse, violence, or incest. Women make up 51 percent of the U.S. population, but less than 7 percent of Congress and only 2 percent of the Senate.

These are the facts that describe American women's lives in the 1990s. These are the facts that frame the feminist struggle and clarify the dimensions of women's oppression. Feminist architectural criticism involves an awareness of these facts and an effort to determine how architecture works to maintain—and how it might be used to challenge—this status quo. By these actions, feminist architectural critics bring new meaning to the phrase “constructive criticism.”

This article will look at the development of the field of feminist architectural criticism, consider how the arguments have changed over time, and then examine four recent publications: Clare Lorenz's *Women in Architecture: A Contemporary Perspective*, Dolores Hayden's *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life*, Joan Forrester Sprague's *More Than Housing: Lifeboats for Women and Children*, and Leslie Kanes Weisman's *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment*.

In recent years, feminist scholars have identified male biases throughout academic systems and the culture at large. One of their most important contributions has been to show how bias becomes so deeply embedded in paradigms of thought that it is no longer recognizable. In other words, feminist studies

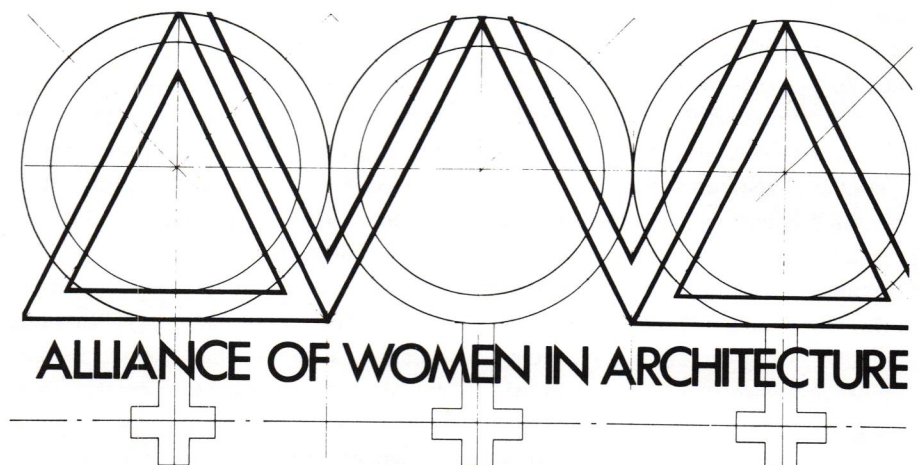
have enabled us to see . . . what we have come to call the ‘invisible paradigms’ of the academic system and the larger cultural context that marginalize or trivialize the lives of all women, the lives of ethnic minorities, and those outside the dominant class or culture.<sup>1</sup>

How does the built environment participate in this process of marginalization? As feminist architect Jos Boys reminds us, “While buildings do not control our lives, architecture does work (albeit in a partial way) together with other aspects of social

and economic relations to put people in their ‘place’ and to describe symbolically and spatially what that place is.”<sup>2</sup>

The built environment is not an isolated and static entity but, rather, responds to a variety of influences. Urban sociologists and geographers have studied built forms as a direct manifestation of economic forces. Other scholars contend that the built environment encapsulates not only economics but also the cultural values of a society. For example, Amos Rapoport investigates this process in the context of preindustrial societies in his book *House Form and Culture* (Prentice-Hall, 1969). He concludes, “What finally decides the form of a dwelling, and molds the spaces and their relationships, is the vision that people have of the ideal life.” In other words, particular forms of buildings do not only result from the constraints imposed by economic, technological, or climatic conditions, but also respond to these conditions via the mediation of value systems and accepted norms of how people should interact. As Rapoport further points out, “Environments are thought before they are built.”

Built forms are thus an active participant in the perpetuation of culture. Built forms help clarify cultural values by expressing in wood, masonry, and plaster general beliefs about how people should interact; they also help perpetuate the culture by imposing constraints on behavior. As sociologist and historian Anthony King



Logo of the Alliance of Women in Architecture, New York, 1973. (From *Women in American Architecture*.)



points out in *Buildings and Society* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), "Society produces its buildings, and the buildings, although they do not produce society, help to maintain many of its social forms."

It is exactly the matter of maintenance, in this case, of patriarchal social forms, to which feminists react in identifying the built environment as a feminist issue. While Rapoport asserts that the dwelling form is decided by "the vision that people have of the ideal life," he is not explicit about whose vision is being expressed. Failure to clarify this detail obscures understanding of who has control over the production (and subsequent use) of built forms. The feminist critique of architecture focuses on two different aspects of women's involvement with the built environment: first, women as creators of the built environment, through their work as architects and urban planners; and second, women as users of the built environment.

Within each of these two arenas, the analysis has become increasingly sophisticated. When examining the experience of women as architectural designers, for example, earlier articles expressed their anger over the difficulty of becoming a member of the profession. Later articles tend to focus on women's dissatisfaction with the way the profession operates, and propose alternative forms of education and professional practice. The question has shifted from "Why aren't we part of the profession?" to "Is this a profession we want to be part of?" Additional work has been done on recovering the lost history of women architects so we can acknowledge the important contributions that women have made to the profession.

A similar increase in sophistication can be identified in critiques that focus on the experiences of women as users of the built environment. Early work tended to focus on either the so-called "private sphere" of the home or the "public sphere" of the city. The most important development in this area has been the recognition that it is precisely this division into two separate spheres that is most oppressive to women. In response to this increased awareness,

much work has been done in recent years in reconceptualizing alternatives to the once-popular division of urban/suburban. Another facet of this research has identified that women's lack of access to housing resources is intimately linked to their lack of access to other essential resources such as employment and childcare services. Therefore many feminist housing designers have worked to expand the scope of their activities, developing solutions that provide opportunities for employment, education, and childcare in addition to shelter.

The first comprehensive, collected volume on the subject, *Women in American Architecture*, accompanied an exhibit that opened at the Brooklyn Museum in 1977 and traveled throughout the U.S. and Europe for eight years. Susana Torre curated and designed the exhibition, and edited this extensively illustrated volume. Included are discussions of the work of early 20th-century architects such as Marion Mahoney Griffin, Lilian Rice, and Eleanor Raymond, as well as a precursory essay on Julia Morgan by Sara Holmes Boutelle, later transformed into the lavishly illustrated *Julia Morgan, Architect* (reviewed in *DBR* 15). Additional essays describe the work of women currently in practice, including designers Anne Griswold Tyng and Denise Scott Brown, and critics Jane Jacobs and Ada Louise Huxtable. Also included is a portfolio of work by lesser-known designers. Thus, much of the book emphasizes acknowledging women's past and present achievements rather than creating strategies for the future.

A notable exception to this is the introductory essay by Torre, "A Parallel History," in which she cogently analyzes the ways women's role in architecture reflects women's role within the culture as a whole. Torre's question, "Why have there been so few women architects?" is immediately followed by the query, "In which specific way is this fact related to the general situation of women in society?" Such a discussion paves the way for the development of strategy because it insists on the need to look outside of the profession as we search for answers to these questions.

In a second essay, "Women in Architecture and the New Feminism," Torre describes the gradual development of a feminist consciousness within the profession as illustrated by a series of conferences about women within the design professions. Earlier conferences were remarkable if they dealt with women in architecture at all. Later conferences focused on a profound reexamination of professional and personal goals. In 1974 two conferences held within a month of each other focused on how discrimination had affected women's careers. By 1975, conference organizers began to evaluate whether or not the profession as currently practiced was something that they wanted to be a part of. Thus, the emphasis had shifted from *description* of what exists to *prescription* of what could exist. Torre includes discussion of some alternative professional organizations and educational institutions as examples of how women were beginning to change the institutions of architecture.

The next important collection to be published was *Women and the American City* (1980). This collection of articles first appeared in a special issue of the feminist publication *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. Because these articles were written for an audience of feminist peers, the authors can dig right in and don't have to spend precious time justifying that their topics are in fact feminist issues. Most of the articles examine specific case studies of women's experiences in both the city and the suburb. Women are considered as a distinct group of environmental users with unique needs and experiences. This approach is consistent with the book's "underlying hypothesis" that

the American city has both enhanced and constricted women's lives, the experience of men and women in American cities is significantly different, [and therefore] studies of such divergencies and their effects are original, suggestive, and necessary.

Each of the articles in the book elucidates the extent to which the city is a different place for women than it is for men.



Articles emphasize the critical analysis of issues such as the role of women in urban politics and community organizations, problems faced by elderly women in the city, women's experiences with crime, and the restrictions that existing transportation systems impose on women's mobility. In addition, there are reports on current research that will further clarify the realities of women's experiences.

*Women and the American City* lays the essential groundwork for comprehending the dimensions of an oppressive built environment. Most of the authors, however, are academics rather than activists, so, while the book is able to present several hypotheses of what *might* work to create change, it is still unable to report on what strategies actually do and do not work. An exception is the very important article by Dolores Hayden, "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work," which previews the key issues of her 1984 book, *Redesigning the American Dream*.

*New Space for Women*, published in 1981, is an excellent compilation of essays that expands on the insights provided by *Women in American Architecture* and *Women and the American City*, reflecting increased sophistication in many ways. Topics covered are more comprehensive in scope, and divided into four sections, each with its own introductory essay to clarify underlying themes and subtle relationships. Within the essays themselves, the authors not only discuss the components of the problems but also provide many suggestions for strategic change.

Particularly compelling is the extensive introduction by editors Gerda Wekerle, Rebecca Peterson, and David Morley, who raise many of the same issues that they dealt with in an important review article in 1978 entitled "Women and Environments: An Overview of an Emerging Field" (*Environment and Behavior* 10, no. 4). Three years later they are clearer in both stating their position and clarifying their field of study. They assert that women's experience in the city is not simply different, but is one of oppression, and express confi-

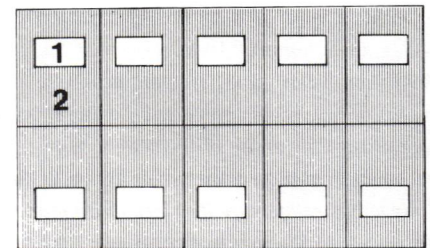
dence that increasing numbers of women are realizing this. "Most women recognize that they occupy different social and emotional worlds from men. . . . Inevitably, these changes in consciousness have led to demands by women for changes in existing environments." They have also developed a more complex definition of what constitutes a "women's environment," and describe the characteristics as follows: "(1) a degree of sex segregation in activities that take place there; (2) the intensity and character of women's occupancy; and (3) the degree of control women possess." Based on these definitions they indicate four basic areas of research and practice, which provide the reasoning for grouping the articles in the collection: (1) the household as workplace, (2) effects of urban design on women, (3) women in environmental decision-making, and (4) women as environmental activists.

An exemplary article in *New Space for Women* is "The Appropriation of the House: Changes in House Design and Concepts of Domesticity," coauthored by Cynthia Rock, Susana Torre, and Gwendolyn Wright. This article argues that the standard spatial layout of houses reflects dominant and long-standing beliefs about the role of wife and mother. The authors write: "[Traditional] house forms reaffirm women's duty to keep a perfect home" and exemplify the notion that there is "no accepted role for women outside of this model." This article provides a lively and insightful discussion of the way housing design reflects dominant stereotypes. Particular attention is given to the ways in which domestic spaces reflect patriarchal concepts of the role of women and the family unit. Through careful scrutiny of built forms and the forces governing the development of those forms, the authors have been able to connect the oppressive features of house forms with the larger societal oppression of women.

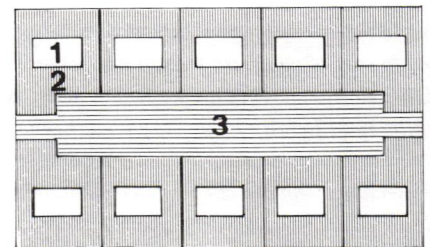
For more on the home as an oppressive environment for women, two books by Gwendolyn Wright are informative: *Moralism and the Model Home* (University of Chicago Press, 1980), regarding changes in

domestic environments in Chicago over a twenty-year period; and *Building the Dream* (Pantheon Books, 1981), a social history of American housing over a much longer time span. Although each work deals with different historical situations, they are consistent in their articulation of the relationship between built form and cultural values.

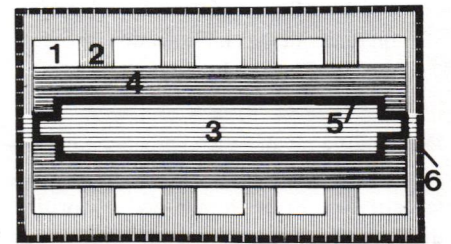
While Wright links traditional forms of housing with their associated social and cultural values, Dolores Hayden performs the same task with regards to nontraditional house forms. In her book, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (MIT Press, 1981), Hayden reviews a number of feminist alternatives that challenge traditional concep-



A



B



C

Potential reorganization of a typical suburban block: (1) houses, (2) private lots, (3) village green, (4) zone for services and accessory apartments, (5) new sidewalk or arcade, (6) new border of street trees. (From *Redesigning the American Dream*.)



tions of home and neighborhood. In the aforementioned *Redesigning the American Dream*, she continues to develop alternate forms of spatial organization that would support the transformations which have already occurred in social organization.

Although Hayden is not the first to point out the discordant details of women's lives, *Redesigning the American Dream* is one of the first full-length books to explore the relevant issues. She summarizes the existing gender inequities within the built

environment and argues that our existing housing stock does not conform to actual needs for housing, home employment, childcare, and a sense of community because, despite obvious changes in women's lifestyles, existing urban forms continue to foster the separation of work and home. Consequently, a heavy burden is placed on the women who must participate in both of these realms. Hayden clearly explicates how the suburban, single-family dwelling has come to be con-

sidered an American ideal, and demonstrates that the pursuit of this ideal has resulted in built environments that are constricting for women. She then goes on to explore various ways of redesigning our environment in order to provide more support for women's actual—as opposed to idealized—activities, advocating greater integration of home and work as well as increased accommodation of public spaces to women's needs.

Some of these recommendations aim at

*Sherry Ahrentzen and Linda Groat*

## **Women Architects in the Academic and Professional Context**

*The following is an excerpt from the report Status of Faculty Women in Architecture Schools: Survey Results and Recommendations, written by Sherry Ahrentzen and Linda Groat and published by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture (ACSA) in 1990. Ahrentzen is an associate professor at the School of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and Groat is an associate professor at the College of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Michigan. Reprinted with permission of the authors and the ACSA Press.*

*Available research shows that women faculty and faculty of color are treated differently in higher education. They aren't paid as much as white male faculty in the same rank; they aren't promoted at the same rate; letters recommending them are often written differently; they aren't included in the informal decision-making network; and they often feel isolated in their work environment.*

From the Report of the ACSP Surveys on Recruitment and Retention of Faculty Women and Faculty of Color

Despite the array of Federal programs and legislation that have attempted to ensure equitable treatment of women and minorities, differential treatment is still prevalent, whether intentionally or unintentionally, within most academic institutions.

If one considers first the more objective measures of numbers within the professorial ranks and of salary, it is clear that progress to-

ward gender equity has been modest indeed. Although the numbers of women faculty in all ranks have increased since 1975, the percentage of tenured male faculty has continued to increase, whereas the percentage of tenured women faculty has remained constant (Gray, 1988). To be specific, in 1988 approximately 69 percent of male faculty were tenured, a 5 percent increase from 64 percent in 1975; on the other hand, between 1975 and 1988 the tenure rate among women faculty remained at only 46 percent. With respect to the relative numbers of male and female faculty, a detailed longitudinal study of Category I institutions (major research universities) reveals that although the absolute number of female faculty in each tenure-track rank has increased for the period 1975–1987, the percentage increase is relatively modest because the number of male associate and full professors has also increased over the same period. Thus, the overall percentage of female faculty in all tenure-track ranks has increased only from 16.4 percent to 20.4 percent (Alpert, 1989).

With respect to salary, it is unfortunately still the case that salary differentials between male and female faculty continue to exist within the various faculty ranks. Alpert's study of Category I institutions indicates that although salaries have increased substantially for both male and female faculty between 1975 and 1987, salary differentials were found within each of the tenure-track ranks at all 109 institutions reviewed by the study. Within the realm of architecture, a recent survey conducted for *Progressive Architecture* magazine found that salary differentials are still evident

within architectural practice. Although salary levels appear to be comparable at the early stage of male and female careers, salaries diverge by over 10 percent within the four- to ten-year stage, and seem to diverge even further for those with over twenty years of experience (Doubilet, 1989).

Recent research also documents, however, that adverse impacts for faculty women are manifested not simply in the quantitative measures of representation and compensation. But more importantly, these quantitative indexes also significantly affect and reflect the qualitative aspects of the academic environment which have the potentially more significant impact on the career development of faculty women. Unfortunately, qualitative manifestations of gender (or racial) bias are exceedingly subtle, often virtually invisible to those in decision-making roles. In this context, the term "institutional sexism (or racism)" is frequently used to describe and identify organizational procedures which "can have discriminatory impact even if individual actors are unaware of such impacts or are non-discriminatory in their personal beliefs, and even if their behavior appears to be a fair-minded application of 'race [gender]-neutral' . . . rules and norms" (Chesler and Crowfoot, 1989).

Chesler and Crowfoot, drawing on previous research, go on to elaborate five "organizational elements" in which aspects of institutional bias may be embedded: mission, culture, power, structure, and resources. For example, gender-bias may be inherent at the level of "culture" because diversity and excellence are seen as contradictory goals; or similarly, insti-



reusing single-family dwellings while others advocate the reorganization of entire neighborhoods. Common to all of Hayden's proposals is an awareness that changes of this sort involve substantial redefinitions of privacy and domesticity. But when these definitions are altered, the impact is enormous. Hayden documents a striking example of American ingenuity put to good use in her vivid description of Vanport City, Oregon, a ship-building town planned and developed during World

War II. Because the majority of employees were women, the company (which also built the town) found that it was most productive to provide the women with the many services they required, including daycare facilities open twenty-four hours a day, freshly cooked meals which could be picked up at the daycare centers, and an efficient transportation system to connect residences, childcare, and employment. Although the community was extremely successful, the end of the war brought an end

to public acceptance of full-time women employees, and the town was completely dismantled.

For ongoing examples of this type of neighborhood reorganization, we need to look outside of the United States. *Redesigning the American Dream* includes descriptions of projects in England and Sweden; Swedish attempts to restructure jobs and neighborhoods to provide more options for women are also the subject of articles in *New Space for Women*. The late

tutional sexism may flourish because at the level of "structure" traditional pedagogies for classroom instruction remain unexamined and unaltered, or because social networks of faculty generally exclude women.

A number of such qualitative issues consistently emerge as factors affecting the relative success of career development among faculty women. As a result of recent focus group sessions with young female assistant professors, a President's Advisory Commission at the University of Michigan was able to identify several consistent concerns. Among the most significant was a feeling of isolation among these young women faculty: "Nearly all testified to persistent feelings of isolation, and especially to a sense of exclusion from established department and college networks. Most had received little in the way of feedback with regard to their progress toward tenure. . . . Some women in the group expressed the belief that women are hired and evaluated by different criteria than men; this belief may be based in part in the women's sense of being 'on the fringe' and 'in the dark'—although we can not discount the possibility that differential hiring and evaluation criteria are used" (Hollenshead et al., 1990).

The sense of isolation and of being on the fringe is a theme which emerges as well in the intensive study of women academics conducted by Aisenberg and Harrington (1988). The authors conducted extensive interviews with faculty women both with successful and with deflected academic careers. Although the authors acknowledge the importance of and difficulty in women receiving appropriate mentoring, they also point out that women's sense of isolation is exacerbated because of the tendency to pursue non-mainstream areas of scholarship that challenge existing orthodoxies.

Of the 62 women interviewed by the authors, approximately 70 percent had pursued non-mainstream scholarship. "Overall, women scholars are heavily engaged in integrating knowledge. Their work combines disciplines, combines theory and reality, combines a commitment to change with a commitment to humane study."

Another significant problem with apparently "neutral" institutional practices concerns the problem of family-care benefits and policies. Despite the major societal changes of the last two decades, it is still typically the woman who bears the major responsibility for family life; and this poses major problems for women trying to make their way in academia. As the University of Michigan focus-group sessions revealed, many mothers or would-be mothers frequently find the standard university practices "to be at odds with the demands and values of their 'private' lives. Junior women are reluctant to negotiate leave-time for childbirth, which they fear is seen as inimical to a professional identity" (Hollenshead et al., 1990). Women recounted situations such as having to prepare lectures during labor or returning to the classroom "within days of delivery." These hardships take their toll. Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) concluded, as a result of their detailed study of women with both successful and deflected careers, that "where a woman has succeeded in combining successfully a personal and professional life, some extra measure has intervened—extra financial resources or human resources. . . . And—a crucial condition in all successful 'wholes'—no disaster or trouble stories were present." In other words, "one strike against you is sufficient; you're out, if you are a woman."

## REFERENCES

- Aisenberg, Nadya, and Mona Harrington, *Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).
- Alpert, Dona, "Gender Inequity in Academia: An Empirical Analysis," *Initiatives*, (Washington, D.C.: National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, 1989).
- Chesler, Mark A., and James Crowfoot, "Racism in Higher Education I: An Organizational Analysis," a publication of *The Working Paper Series* (Center for Research on Social Organization, University of Michigan, November 1989).
- Dixon, John Morris, "Women's Place in Architecture," *Progressive Architecture*, editorial (October 1989): 7.
- Doubilet, Susan, "P/A Reader Poll: Women in Architecture," *Progressive Architecture* (October 1989): 15–17.
- Fisher, Thomas, "P/A Reader Poll: Career Satisfaction," *Progressive Architecture* (February 1987): 15–16, 20.
- Gray, Mary, "Academic Women and Salary Differentials," *Academe* 74 (vol. 4, 1988): 33–34.
- Hollenshead, Carol et al., President's Advisory Commission on Women's Issues: 1990 Report and Recommendations (University of Michigan, June 1990).
- Ritzdorf, Marsha et al., The Recruitment and Retention of Faculty Women and Faculty of Color in Planning Education: Survey Results. Report submitted to the ACSP Executive Board (University of Oregon, April 1990).



1980s saw the emergence of more of these projects in the United States, along with a wider audience—it's no longer just feminists who are interested. One influential publication is Kathryn McCamant and Charles Durrett's *Cohousing* (Habitat Press/Ten Speed Press, 1988; see review in *DBR* 19). This book features several case studies of an innovative housing form that combines individual living areas with shared common spaces. Although these are mostly studies of pioneering projects in Denmark, the authors specifically intended the book to be a resource for a U.S. audience. At this time, three projects have been completed, three more are under construction, and over 110 groups throughout the United States are planning cohousing projects. Another useful publication is *New Households, New Housing*, edited by Karen Franck and Sherry Ahrentzen (Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1989; see review in *DBR* 20), which introduces a range of building designs that respond to the increasing diversity of households.

If we accept that the increasing sophistication of feminist analysis means first, a critical awareness of the problem, and second, the proposal of strategies for change, then recent publications represent a third level: reports from the field on what is actually working to create change. An early example of this third level of sophistication is *Making Space: Women and the Man-Made Environment* (London: Pluto Press, 1984). Written by an English collective of architects and builders who call themselves Matrix, *Making Space* reports on working with various groups of women on the design and construction of buildings. The introduction includes a forceful statement of purpose: to share with others the skills they've obtained in order to "help us all develop an understanding of how we are 'placed' as women in a man-made environment and to use that knowledge to subvert it."

One of the most intriguing articles in the collection is "Working with Women" by Francis Bradshaw. Based on her experiences Bradshaw realized that the traditional "tools" of the architectural trade were no longer sufficient. She had to learn how to

function as a facilitator rather than as a decisive expert, and had to develop new ways of talking about the qualities of space, using language that was accessible rather than abstract. Bradshaw also discovered the need for new drawing techniques to present design schemes because traditional plans were not legible for the majority of women. In addition, she had to struggle to "find ways the group could get a feel of manipulating the spaces and take an active part in the process." To achieve this, Bradshaw used "drawings that looked as throwaway as possible. We used scrap paper and unruled lines—anything to overcome the feeling that once something was drawn it could not be changed." Once a design was obtained, it was important to continue to involve women and to include them in the building process. Bradshaw asserts, "How women are involved in the building process affects the buildings we create as much as involvement in the design does."

The most recent collection of essays, *Architecture: A Place for Women*, provides an updated look at the issues but is not as overtly critical as *New Space for Women* or *Making Space*. This anthology was published in conjunction with the 1988 centennial celebration of the first woman architect to be admitted to the AIA, Louise Blanchard Bethune. The majority of the book comprises historical research, and these articles clearly exhibit an increased sophistication in terms of framing research questions. Readers interested in activism, however, may be disappointed by the lack of emphasis on strategies for change. As Susana Torre points out in her review of the book (*DBR* 20), "Architectural scholarship has not kept up with other disciplines regarding the status of women, so a book like this still needs to reiterate themes and fill gaps in a structure established over a decade ago." Most exciting in terms of feminist theory are articles that consider women's distinctive ways of knowing (Karen Franck) and women's experiences in the academic architectural studio (Anne Vytlačil).

Two recent publications illustrate the different directions that women in architecture have taken: trying to gain equal time in

the profession as it currently exists versus reconfiguring the profession in order to respond to feminist concerns. Clare Lorenz's *Women in Architecture* is a portfolio of projects by women architects around the world (but mostly in the U.S., Britain, and Western Europe). In a brief, three-page introduction, Lorenz reveals that she selected the designers on the vague basis of "good architecture, appreciated in its home country." She later defines such work as expressing "sensibility and sensitivity to national and climatic conditions" and being responsive to users' needs. These are promising goals, but Lorenz employs a superficial approach, with only a few paragraphs on each architect in which to summarize her career and describe exemplary projects. This book bypasses any serious discussion of women's involvement in architecture and goes straight for the glossy photos so characteristic of Rizzoli publications. Although Lorenz concludes the book with statistics documenting existing numbers of women architects in several countries, there is no investigation of what these numbers mean or how they can be increased.

In marked contrast to this approach is *More Than Housing* by Joan Forrester Sprague, an exemplary feminist practitioner. As an architect, planner, and developer, her work combines housing and economic development. Sprague uses the term *lifeboats* (Sprague's italics) to clarify the way that these innovative housing and community plans can actually rescue and transform lives. She indicates that the *lifeboat* is "not primarily a building type of form. It is, instead, a building type of purpose," one which integrates social and economic supports. The development of this approach is a direct response to the large numbers of single mothers living in poverty and homelessness.

The first part of the book sets out to "explore the circumstances of single-mother households and their physical environments." Sprague provides background information on this community of users and discusses the differences between emergency, transitional, and permanent housing. Most important, she proposes the



Leslie Kanes Weisman

## The Spatial Dimensions of Feminism

*The following is an excerpt from the book Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment by Leslie Kanes Weisman, published earlier this year by the University of Illinois Press. Weisman is an associate professor at the School of Architecture, New Jersey Institute of Technology. Reprinted with permission of the author and publisher.*

Today among feminists there is little understanding of the spatial dimensions of "women's issues" and how a knowledge of these dimensions can help us map the mental and physical terrain of our struggle for human justice and social transformation. An awareness of how relations among human beings are shaped by built space can help all of us to comprehend more fully the experiences of our daily lives and the cultural assumptions in which they are immersed.

It is easy to accept unthinkingly the man-made landscape as a neutral background. It is not so easy to understand the environment as an active shaper of human identity and life's events. In this regard there is a striking parallel between space and language. We are taught

to imagine that the language we use is value-free and neutral; that "man" and "he" are generic terms meant to include "women." Feminist linguists have developed convincing arguments to the contrary, revealing how male-centered language perpetuates women's invisibility and inequality.<sup>1</sup>

Space, like language, is socially constructed; and like the syntax of language, the spatial arrangements of our buildings and communities reflect and reinforce the nature of gender, race, and class relations in society. The uses of both language and space contribute to the power of some groups over others and the maintenance of human inequality.

Architecture thus defined is a record of deeds done by those who have had the power to build. It is shaped by social, political, and economic forces and values embodied in the forms themselves, the processes through which they are built, and the manner in which they are used. Creating buildings involves moral choices that are subject to moral judgment.

It is within this social context of built space that I believe feminist criticism and activism have a profoundly important role to play. To-

ward those ends, I hope this book will contribute to furthering our understanding of why the acts of building and controlling space have been a male prerogative; how our physical surroundings reflect and create reality; and how we can begin to challenge and change the forms and values encoded in the man-made (by which I mean, throughout this book, the *male-made*) environment, thereby fostering the transformation of the sexist and racist conditions that define our lives.

### NOTES

1. Dale Spender, in her book *Man Made Language* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), offers the following explanation: "If man does represent the species then the symbol should be applicable to the activities of all human beings. . . . Can we say without a clash of images that man devotes more than forty hours a week to housework or that man lives an isolated life when engaged in childrearing in our society? A note of discord is struck by these statements because man—despite the assurances of male grammarians—most definitely means male and evokes male imagery" (p. 156).

concept of "zones of use" as a way of structuring the discussion of space usage in *lifeboat* housing. This approach allows greater clarification of actual client needs—a crucial first step in developing creative design solutions to fulfill these needs—and enables us to move beyond the constraints of existing concepts of what a house "should" involve. This is especially important when developing new types of congregate and group housing.

The second part of the book documents fifty case studies representing a variety of *lifeboat* developments. Sprague groups these examples by the original use of the building before it was converted into a *lifeboat*: single houses, apartment buildings, structures built for temporary lodging (such as hospitals, motels, and college residences), and structures not originally built for dwelling (such as factories, commercial buildings, schools, and convents). For

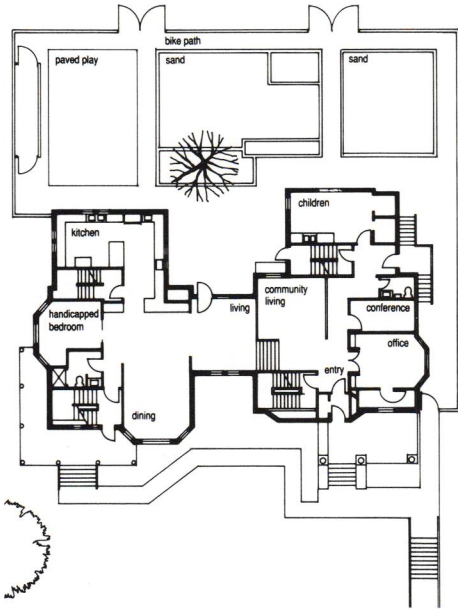
comparison, Sprague also includes seven "purpose-built" projects.

Sprague intersperses the programmatic discussions with quotations by residents and service providers, successfully maintaining a human presence throughout the book. The wide variety of projects testifies to the ingenuity and skill of their designers. It is especially compelling to consider that the majority of these projects were completed with minimal funding and a heavy reliance on volunteer and nonprofit organizations. But the most important contribution of *More Than Housing* is Sprague's ability to look beyond design issues to a larger set of social issues which will also influence the success of housing proposals, thus expanding the scope of the dialogue.

The most recently published book in this field is also the most comprehensive to date on the subject of feminism and architecture: *Discrimination by Design* by Leslie Kanes

Weisman. Weisman's extensive scholarship and personal involvement in the field for almost twenty years enables her to easily synthesize a wide range of previous work. She weaves together the issues and revelations of two decades of feminist architectural criticism in order to create a very persuasive argument. She presents the theoretical underpinnings of her work in the opening chapter, "The Spatial Caste System." Here she argues, "Our buildings, neighborhoods, and cities are cultural artifacts shaped by human intention and intervention, symbolically declaring to society the place held by each of its members." In this chapter Weisman discusses such issues as our "symbolic universe," "the use of spatial terms derived from the body . . . to help language 'place' concepts like time and distance" as well as dominance and subordination, the dichotomy between "the city of man" and "mother nature," and the extent





Two adjacent single-family homes have been linked to provide additional community space for an emergency shelter for battered women in St. Paul, Minnesota. Bedrooms and baths are on the upper level. (From *More Than Housing*.)

to which territorial behavior is omnipresent in our culture. Although many of these concepts are somewhat esoteric, Weisman is able to firmly ground this discussion in everyday language and experience. Through careful description and labeling, she succeeds in making us more conscious of existing patterns of behavior.

Having firmly established the extent to which human reality is defined by a symbolic universe consisting of social, physical, and metaphysical space, Weisman moves on to consider specific examples of how the American built environment reinforces the sexism, classism, and racism of our culture. Although Weisman is covering familiar territory, her ability to weave these examples into a much larger conceptual framework is impressive. In a chapter on "Public Architecture and Social Status," Weisman clarifies how the standard designs of corporate towers, department stores, shopping malls, and maternity hospitals all exemplify "an architecture of exclusion that segregates and manipulates people according to class." She is quick to point out, however, that these negative effects "are the direct result of a comprehensive system of social oppression, not the

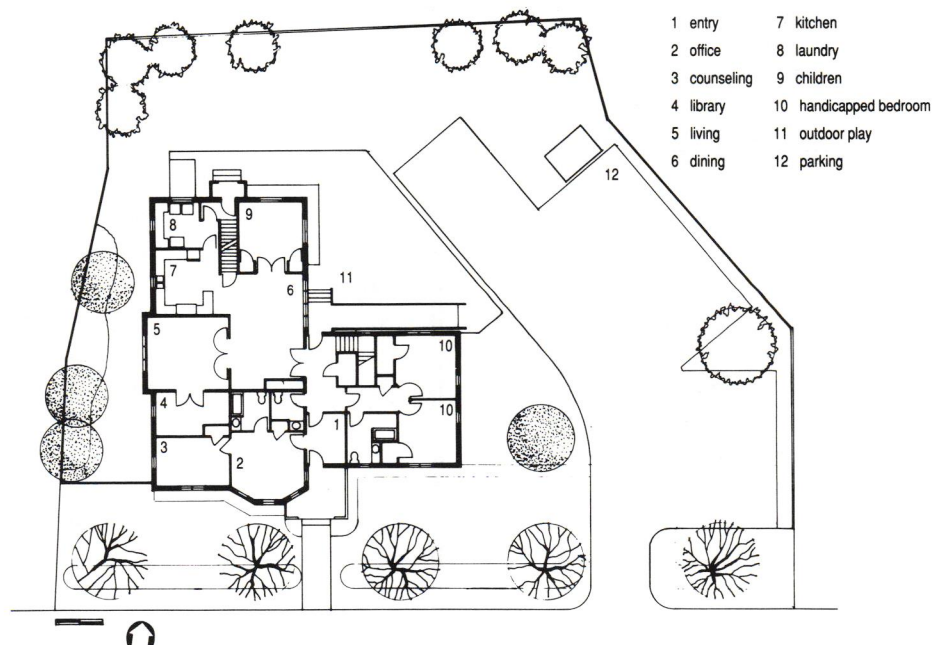
consequences of failed architecture or prejudiced architects." This awareness echoes the early work of Susana Torre, who exhorted us to look beyond the architectural profession for solutions.

In the chapter "The Home as a Metaphor for Society," Weisman forces us to take a closer look at such familiar clichés as "a woman's place is in the home" and "a man's home is his castle." Upon closer examination we discover that "men own and 'rule' domestic space, while women are confined to and maintain it." Thus, even when men and women share the same home, they do not "stand in the same relationship to it." Weisman documents the ways in which men tend to "claim and control their own private space" in the home while women have much less privacy and autonomy. As Weisman points out, "[Women's] 'special rooms,' such as the kitchen, remain public spaces associated with the care and maintenance of others." Women's traditional role as provider of home services has seen little improvement in the past twenty years, despite women's increasing participation in work

outside of the home. Weisman cites a 1989 study revealing that working women with families do approximately fifteen more hours of housework per week than their male partners. Over the course of one year this adds up to an extra month of twenty-four-hour days.

Another troubling aspect about women's home life: Almost half of all American wives are battered by their husbands each year, according to FBI reports. Women are taught that the streets are dangerous and they should remain in the safety of their homes, but clearly the home can be just as violent as the street. These unsettling facts clarify that even those women who have attained the privileged position of residing in a private home have not necessarily found a safe or relaxing haven. Unequal access to decent housing is further underscored by the large numbers of women who have been segregated into public housing. Weisman chronicles the numerous barriers that stand in the way of low-income women obtaining and maintaining decent, affordable housing.

In response to these inequalities,



Ground-floor plan of a "purpose-built" battered women's shelter in western Massachusetts. The dining room is the protected heart of the house. All bedrooms are on the upper level, except for handicapped-accessible bedrooms on the ground floor. (From *More Than Housing*.)

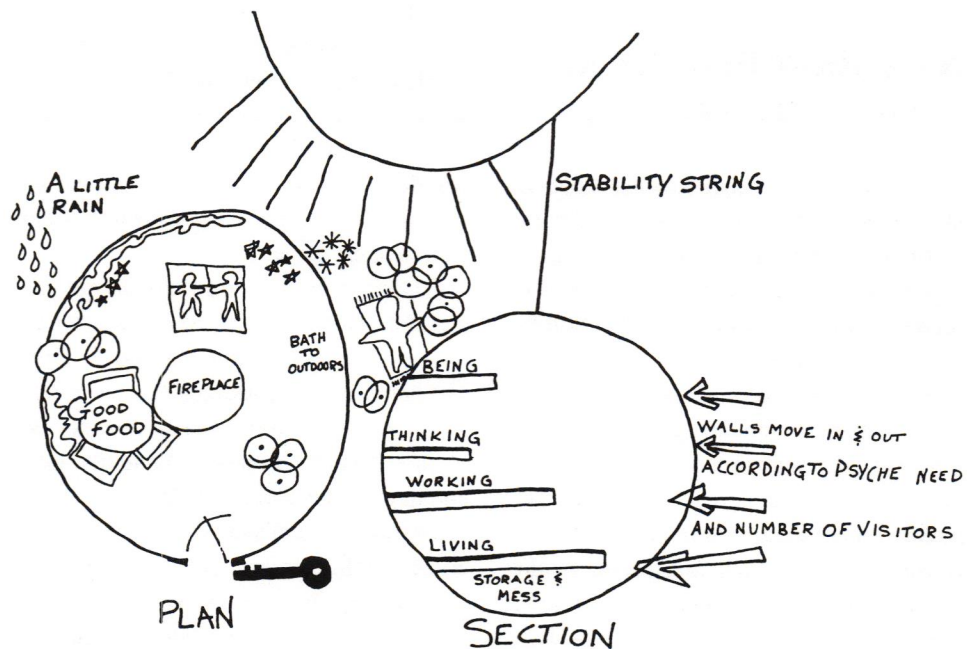


Weisman presents a clearly argued feminist agenda for housing. Included here are a number of strategies that address the current "misfit" between "old houses and new households." Weisman asserts that this task will involve increasing our ability to design for both spatial and economic flexibility, such that housing can be altered over time in response to changes in household membership and financial stability. Additional chapters include extensive discussion of design alternatives that would provide greater social freedom. Nevertheless, Weisman acknowledges that these proposals for alternative designs are not solutions but simply a means of incremental change. She clearly states that the only "solution lies in a major revision of cultural values":

In the long run [these alternatives] will not gain women their equality or change men's relationship to domestic life, for they largely ignore the underlying values that created the problems in the first place. Genuinely satisfying alternatives to conventional housing and communities will emerge only as we are able to visualize scenarios of the future based on the reconceptualization of work, family life, and gender roles.

Weisman concludes, "Any feminist proposal for housing must be a holistic one whose goal is not equality for women in the existing work force, but utter transformation of work and family life." The only disappointing aspect of this book is that Weisman does not build on or even mention Dolores Hayden's important contribution to this area; her 1984 book, *Redesigning the American Dream*. Hayden's proposals would seem to fit squarely into the approach Weisman is advocating, and therefore it is puzzling that Hayden's work merits not even a footnote, let alone the lengthy discussion informed readers would anticipate.

The closing chapters of *Discrimination by Design* underscore the importance of creating visions of a nonsexist future. To aid us in these visions, Weisman reports on workshops she has conducted with women to help them express their fantasy environments. Although these fantasies were only described by rough sketches and bubble



Dream house of a married woman in her mid-thirties with two children; the house changes itself in response to her own changing emotional states and practical requirements. Her need for privacy and control is symbolized by a large key near the entry to her dwelling. (From *Discrimination by Design*.)

diagrams rather than actual floor plans, they nonetheless encourage us to stretch our imaginations beyond the narrow boundaries of what we've been indoctrinated to accept as appropriate living environments. As ably demonstrated by Sprague's work on "zones of use," freeing ourselves to reconceptualize spatial needs is a critical first step in creating less oppressive built environments.

Until architects become more aware of the dimensions of the problem, they cannot offer solutions; until invisible paradigms are made visible, they cannot be challenged. As Weisman points out, separate sections in restaurants for blacks and whites and the absence of curb-cuts and ramps for wheelchairs in most public buildings were long considered acceptable. It wasn't until people with a commitment to social equality obtained a spatial consciousness that people realized these practices were discriminatory and oppressive. For those struggling against the oppression of women, one can only hope that a similar shift in consciousness is lurking just around the corner.

#### NOTES

1. Marilyn R. Schuster and Susan R. Van Dyne, "Project on Women and Social Change: Smith College," in *Toward a Balanced Curriculum: A Sourcebook for Initiating Gender Integration Projects*, ed. Bonnie Spanier, Alexander Bloom, Darlene Boroviak (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1984), 59.
2. Jos Boys, "Is There a Feminist Analysis of Architecture?" *Built Environment* 10, no. 1 (1984): 26.

REDESIGNING THE AMERICAN DREAM: THE FUTURE OF HOUSING, WORK, AND FAMILY LIFE, Dolores Hayden, W.W. Norton, 1986 (paperback), 270 pp., illus., \$11.95.

WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE: A CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE, Clare Lorenz, Rizzoli, 1990, 144 pp., illus., \$29.95.

MORE THAN HOUSING: LIFEBOATS FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN, Joan Forrester Sprague, Butterworth-Heinemann, 1991, 235 pp., illus., \$29.95.

DISCRIMINATION BY DESIGN: A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF THE MAN-MADE ENVIRONMENT, Leslie Kanes Weisman, University of Illinois Press, 1992, 190 pp., illus., \$24.95.



Alice Friedman

## A Feminist Practice in Architectural History?

Fresh from teaching undergraduate courses in architectural history in which I had been frustrated by the narrow scope and general lack of accessible and up-to-date feminist literature in architectural history, I readily agreed to write an article for *DBR* that would, in the words of the editor, focus on “unveiling the suppressed gender issues in most conventional architectural histories, be they monographs or surveys, in the manner of Kenneth Frampton or William Curtis.” After all, such an exercise would at least provide the opportunity for protest, to expose not only obvious problems—like the irritating omission of women such as Lili Reich, Charlotte Perriand, Eileen Gray, Eleanor Raymond, and even Julia Morgan from every major overview of 20th-century architecture that one might care to consult—but also more fundamental problems like the failure of many highly regarded publications to account for the role of gender, or indeed of culture generally, in the making of architectural forms.

At this point, however, that project seems both too simple and too difficult—too simple because the silence on these issues is so complete that there is, in a way, nothing to take issue with, and too difficult because it is impossible to know where to begin. The problem, after all, is not so much with the answers but with the questions. Very little of the scholarly or critical writing in the field begins with questions of how or why buildings or cities came to be; they focus instead on who did what. Even those studies that purport to be about the social history of architecture—for instance, Mark Girouard’s *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven and London, 1978), which generated a great deal of excitement when it was published precisely because it seemed to be offering something new—say very little about women, much less about gender or the politics of representation. The innovative critical strategies of feminist film theory, so significant in the

development of a new discourse in art history over the last ten years, have barely touched architectural criticism, and these strategies have affected architectural history even less. Many in the field remain wedded to old-fashioned notions of agency, of meaning, and of the value of the historical narrative.

Rather than focus on these shortcomings, however, it is far more constructive to ask, What, indeed, might constitute a feminist practice in architectural history at this moment, and to propose a sort of checklist of questions and unresolved contradictions that ought to be addressed. An overview of some recently published writing in cultural criticism, film theory, and architectural criticism readily suggests items for this list and reveals just how far behind architectural history lags. By confronting sexism, racism, and homophobia in the practice of architecture and by acknowledging the ways in which the built environment empowers and controls, we reinsert architecture as *practice* into culture and into the realm of cultural studies, essentially forcing it—and ourselves as practitioners or users—to submit to the scrutiny it has thus far been spared.

The most obvious (although hardly the most significant) task of feminist practice



Katharine Hepburn in Dorothy Arzner’s *Christopher Strong*, 1933. (From *How Do I Look? Queer Film and Video*.)

is the recovery of unfamiliar or forgotten names in design history. For many, this project represents all that is wrong with feminism because it destabilizes the canon by challenging concepts of excellence and pleading for the inclusion of women who are, according to traditional standards, “minor” figures at best. But beyond the evident goal of assigning appropriate credit, there is a fundamental and even more threatening conceptual shift at work: an approach to design practice that shifts the focus away from individual architects and the notion of singular heroic actions, and instead recognizes that built form is generated through a process that takes place over time and is the product of decisions made by a wide variety of practitioners and interest groups. This model acknowledges not only the office that surrounds the principal designers, but also the role of clients and craftspersons in the making of built form.

Though feminist critical practice begins with gender (i.e., with an analysis of the various ways in which cultures construct and represent sexual difference), such investigations lead readily to a broad discussion of the mechanisms of power and exclusion, which are based on other factors, such as race, nationality, sexual preference, and so on. In a work like bell hooks’s *Black Looks: Race and Representation* these connections are investigated in such a clearheaded way and in such accessible language that they seem obvious and inescapable until one has fully absorbed her fundamental point: Institutional and cultural exclusions based on gender and particularly on race are not arbitrary but functional responses that maintain the power relations of the status quo. In an essay entitled “The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators,” hooks says

From “jump,” black female spectators have gone to films with awareness of the way in which race and racism determined the visual construction of gender. Whether it was *Birth of a Nation* or Shirley Temple shows, we knew that white womanhood was the racialized sexual difference occupying the place of stardom in mainstream narrative film. We assumed white women knew it too.



What hooks makes clear throughout her book is that “knowing” is the outcome of experience and ideology; thus, in a culture in which whiteness, maleness, “westernness,” and heterosexuality are privileged, those within and without these categories will see things differently and, when asked to construct a narrative, whether historical or critical, will construct one that reflects a specific agenda. We are all members of a society based on systems of values and power, but we participate in it differentially; as artists, scholars, and critics each of us assumes a voice and a position appropriate to our individual sense of self and power in the society. On this point, hooks quotes from film critic Manthia Diawara’s essay “Black British Cinema: Spectatorship and Identity Formation in Territories”:

Every narration places the spectator in a position of agency; and race, class, and sexual relations influence the way in which this subjecthood is filled by the spectator.

Analysis of film and of popular culture (one of the most far-reaching essays in hooks’s collection is titled “Madonna: Plantation Mistress or Soul Sister?”) points the way for architectural historians by interrogating the agendas of practitioners, consumers, and critics alike. For this reason an anthology such as *How Do I Look? Queer Film and Video*, edited by Bad Object-Choices, is an important work for architectural historians. It may not be readily apparent to readers who are neither film critics nor gay that they should read essays like Richard Fung’s “Looking for My Penis: The Eroticized Asian in Gay Video Porn” or Judith Mayne’s “Lesbian Looks: Dorothy Arzner and Female Authorship,” but such essays are crucial to building a sophisticated critical and historical discourse. According to the terms of analysis established in these essays, architecture can be understood as a language that both forms and represents individuals and institutions, and as mediator of power within culture. Moreover, by continually questioning the categories of race and gender, public and

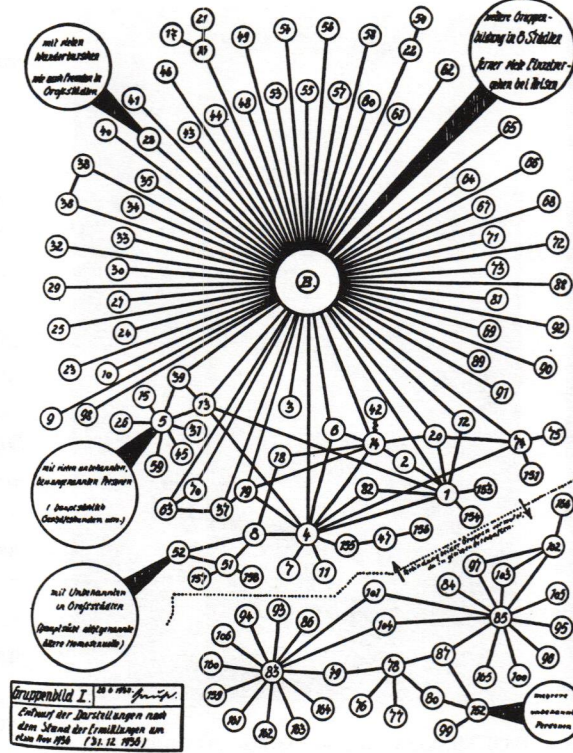


Diagram from *Gleichgeschlechtliche Handlungen Jugendlicher*, a doctoral dissertation by Karl Werner Gauhl purporting to show the spread of homosexuality among Nazi youth. (From *How Do I Look? Queer Film and Video*.)

private, spectatorship and “objecthood,” these studies yield significant insights for analyzing form and space.

In recent design literature informed by feminist and cultural studies, two very different yet equally significant paths of investigation have emerged. One path focuses on the deep reading of architectural forms as signifiers of meaning and as a system of controls; it is characterized by many of the essays in *Sexuality and Space* (edited by Beatriz Colomina, Princeton Architectural Press, 1992; see review in this issue, page 35), a collection which grew out of a conference held at the Princeton School of Architecture in 1990. The other path, suggested by a work like Dana Cuff’s *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991; see *DBR* 23), describes the historical and cultural conditions surrounding architectural practice, investigating specific projects and the interpersonal or institutional dynamics involved in design and construction.

Many of the essays in *Sexuality and Space* focus on film, literature, and psycho-

analysis, and draw from the critical literature developed in those fields over the past fifteen years. For example, critic and filmmaker Laura Mulvey’s essay, “Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity,” deals with the poetics of cinematic representation—not of architecture specifically but of conscious and unconscious spatial imagery. Patricia White’s “Female Spectator, Lesbian Specter: The Haunting” also focuses on cinematic representation. It occupies a significant place in the collection because it challenges heterosexism and affirms the lesbian presence in culture generally and at the conference itself. Thus “difference” is not only investigated throughout these essays but broadly defined; architecture is understood in similarly broad terms that include not only buildings and cities but media representations and images as well.

In “The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism,” Colomina turns her attention to the domestic works of Adolph Loos and Le Corbusier, entwining concepts of gender, spectatorship, and differential power in an analysis that draws on literary criticism and film studies in order to gain access to the unspoken system of values represented in architectural forms. In her discussion, Colomina makes a significant historiographical point by critiquing the principal monographs on Loos (by Ludwig Münz and Gustav Künstler, and Benedetto Gravagnuolo); through a brief analysis of the way in which each author discusses Loos’s house for Josephine Baker, she insists that attitudes toward gender and race be challenged and unveils the subjectivity behind the mask of historical distance. This questioning of authorship and its power, ultimately indebted to Michel Foucault, is fundamental to feminist criticism. As Colomina puts it, “Criticism that presents itself as a new interpretation of an existing object is in fact constructing a completely new object. On the other hand, readings that claim to be purely objective inventories . . . are thrown off balance by the very object of their control.”





Belly dancers (with props) at the world's fair in Paris, 1900. Muslim visitors to world's fairs became part of the display, as representative of "anthropological" types. (From *Displaying the Orient*.)

In contrast to Colomina's formal language, Dana Cuff's book takes up historical and sociological questions. Her greatest methodological contribution is the compelling demonstration of the complexity of architectural practice through a discussion of case studies. Cuff describes how her earliest image of an architect—an image fostered by her education in a school of architecture—was inspired by the character of Howard Roark in Ayn Rand's novel *The Fountainhead*. Exposure to practice ultimately forced her to replace this ideal with a more realistic picture of the process by which architecture takes shape, but the fictional image proved remarkably persistent. Cuff's research demonstrates just how firmly lodged the Roark image is in architectural culture, remaining fixed (as her interviews with architects reveal) in minds that are confronted daily with the realities of working "on the boards" in large offices.

Cuff's book presents a powerful argument for dislodging the persistent "Roarkism" of architectural history. Her chapter on "Excellent Practice: The Origins of Good Building" reveals not only the pivotal role of clients and the endemic

presence of competing programs, or what might be called "typological intuitions," but it also shows in case after case just how important the work of the office is—from the project architect who meets with the dissatisfied client on a regular basis to the interior designer who chooses furniture and wall color—and how much of the final product results from factors that have nothing to do with the office or the client at all, but rather with public officials, zoning, economic constraints, availability of materials, and so on. While narratives of heroism and artistic independence are indeed highly regarded, Cuff's book serves as a powerful counterexample.

All of these works argue strongly for specificity and for investigation of carefully defined cultural and historical contingencies. In direct contrast to the liberal model perpetuated by mainstream architectural history, the new critical writing of cultural studies avoids the generalities and historical practices that rely on anecdote and intuition. This narrowing of focus results from an awareness that the uninterrogated *intuitions* of a historian or critic are no more free of ideology than the objects

of study themselves. The tendency to generalize and thus to rely too heavily on secondary sources undermine the impact of Daphne Spain's *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992; see review in this issue, page 23), a work that is otherwise valuable for its effort to provide a broad sociological discussion of the ways in which architecture, both monumental and vernacular, enforces gender separation and excludes women from power. By contrast, Zeynep Çelik's *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* consistently maintains a narrow focus, concentrating on cultural politics, visual imagery, and power. Çelik's argument is strong because it is built up through analyses of specific images and specific conditions.

While Çelik's book is neither about women nor is it focused on issues of gender, in many ways it represents a model for feminist architectural history. Emphasizing the overarching power of imagery and culture, Çelik returns again and again to the fundamental concept of difference. As in Cuff's book, we are struck here by the myriad ways in which the notion of individual agency—of the author, of the architect—is confronted by narratives that emphasize the multiplicity of actors and readings. Thus the book represents an alternative to much of the literature in the field of architectural history, not simply because it was written by a woman, and not simply because it deals with gender, but because of the breadth of the questions it raises and its position in relation to its subject.

BLACK LOOKS: RACE AND REPRESENTATION, bell hooks, South End Press, 1992, 200 pp., \$30.00 cloth; \$12.00 paper.

HOW DO I LOOK? QUEER FILM AND VIDEO, Bad Object-Choices, editors, Bay Press, 1991, 295 pp., illus., \$16.95.

DISPLAYING THE ORIENT: ARCHITECTURE OF ISLAM AT NINETEENTH-CENTURY WORLD'S FAIRS, Zeynep Çelik, University of California Press, 1992, 245 pp., illus., \$40.00.



Abigail A. Van Slyck

## Women in Architecture and the Problems of Biography

The campaign to recover the history of women in American architecture is nearly twenty years old. An outgrowth of the feminist movement of the 1970s, this campaign began with general historical reviews documenting the ways that women helped shape the built environment of the United States, both from within the profession and from without.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the decade, these broadly defined experiments gave way to a more detailed investigation of women's professional roles and the publication of monographs on American women architects, including Theodate Pope Riddle (1868–1946), Mary Colter (1869–1958), and Eleanor Raymond (1887–1989).

This promising beginning, however, was short-lived. Studies of American women architects have been reduced to a trickle, even as the flood of monographs on major male designers such as Frank Lloyd Wright continues unabated. Sara Holmes Boutelle's lush biography of Julia Morgan is a notable exception, but one that points to the insidious gender bias both in the profession of architecture and in the practice of architectural history. After all, Morgan modeled her career closely on the professional norm established by her male contemporaries, training in engineering at the University of California, completing her architectural education at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, maintaining her own office, and designing a wide variety of building types over her forty-year career. Her posthumous reward for reinforcing the male norm is a massive biography, produced by a major press, filled with color photographs shot specifically for the publication, and reviewed widely in scholarly journals.<sup>2</sup> Riddle, Colter, and Raymond had equally long careers, yet their working lives followed more conventionally female paths in interior design and domestic architecture. As a result, their lives have seemed less

important. Their biographies attracted small presses, which produced smaller books illustrated only with black-and-white photos; and the books themselves received only modest critical attention.<sup>3</sup>

One possible reaction to this situation is to revive the strategy of the 1970s, renewing the call for biographies of female architects, while demanding production values equal to those lavished on books about male designers. Yet, for feminist scholars of the 1990s, such a strategy is problematic. The celebration of accomplishment that is an inherent part of the biography is a dubious method for women's history. By emphasizing an individual's activity within a discriminatory system, it cloaks the workings of discrimination. It tends to place the onus for the lack of a female presence in architecture back on women themselves and undermines a sustainable critique of the inequalities of architectural culture. In short, the growing sophistication of feminist theory requires a serious reassessment of the usefulness of the architect's biography as a tool for reintroducing women into architectural history.

The problems inherent in using biography to document women's lives have been articulated with vivid clarity by Carolyn Heilbrun, a feminist scholar of English literature. In recent years, Heilbrun has pointed to the difficulty that women have

had in conveying their experience of the world in a narrative format that assumes a male life as its norm. Uncomfortable with the autobiographical conventions that emphasize the exceptional qualities of an ambitious man, women have forced their own lives into the more womanly narratives of courtship and marriage, often casting their work or their faith in the role of the eager suitor. Defining themselves primarily in relationship to others, women's written lives have taken on a narrative flatness that does not parallel the lived experiences. Extending this analysis to biography, Heilbrun notes the "unbearable discomfort" experienced by female biographers confronted with "'unwomanly' lives," and notes a tendency for these authors to recast those lives into more comfortably feminine patterns.<sup>4</sup>

The misfit between biography and women's lives is evident in the four books reviewed here. In *Mary Colter: Builder Upon the Red Earth*, author Virginia Grattan tends to treat Colter like a man, while in *Theodate Pope Riddle: Her Life and Work*, Riddle receives comparable treatment from author Judith Paine. True, both authors acknowledge that women were a rarity in the architectural profession in the early decades of the 20th century, but the implications of that fact are left unexplored. Indeed, once Colter and Riddle chose careers in a conventionally male



Students in the Atelier Pascal, Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris; 1890s. (From *Julia Morgan, Architect.*)





The Neptune pool at Hearst Castle, San Simeon, California; Julia Morgan, 1935–36. (From *Julia Morgan, Architect.*)

field, their lives became treated in a conventionally male way. Any serious investigation of how gender ideology affected the career paths of these women in architecture is displaced by the usual record of completed commissions.

The insistent disregard of the subject's sex is felt most acutely in Colter's biography. Grattan reveals, for instance, that Colter negotiated a potentially difficult path between two corporate entities. Her primary employer was the Fred Harvey Company, the group that provided food and lodging at the Grand Canyon and at other stops along the route of the Santa Fe Railway. Yet the railroad stations and hotels that housed the Harvey operations belonged to the railroad, and it was the railroad's own architectural staff that produced the working drawings for Colter's designs. How did these realities affect the Harvey decision to hire a woman? Did they assume that a woman would be more accommodating, quicker to compromise? Or did they hope that the railroad would

allow their employee a freer hand in interior decorating, a field then commonly accepted as part of the feminine sphere? Grattan does not entertain these questions, emphasizing instead Colter's stubbornness and her exacting nature in later years. As a rhetorical device, the emphasis on Colter's abrasive personality is drawn directly from the male artistic biography and is intended to work in similar ways. When contemporaries admit that they respected the work without liking the person, their testimony takes on added credibility. Her talent is ostensibly established as an objective fact.

In contrast to these masculinized monographs, Doris Cole's *Eleanor Raymond, Architect*, and Boutelle's *Julia Morgan, Architect* tend to force the lives of their subjects into conventionally feminine patterns that are often at odds with historical events. Raymond, for instance, studied in the 1920s at the Cambridge School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, a single-sex institution that respected the feminine conventions of the time, training

women in the design of domestic environments. Despite this suitably feminine training, however, Raymond's long and active architectural career was marked by regular experimentation in the conventionally male fields of solar technology and plywood construction. Indeed, Cole (herself an architect) seems to have been drawn to Raymond's story out of admiration for this record of technical innovation.

Ironically, Cole's respect for her older colleague leads her to strip Raymond's personal and professional life of its exceptional (and supposedly unfeminine) qualities. She insists that the young Raymond did not dominate her class, although she alone formed a professional partnership with Henry Frost, the beloved director of the Cambridge School. Similarly, a series of thematically organized chapters dealing with Raymond's architecture highlights its supposedly feminine qualities of synthesis and accommodation, while Raymond's characteristic boldness and innovation remain muted. In adaptive reuse projects, we



are told, Raymond blended old and new, “never letting one dominate the other.” In domestic design, she achieved a seamless synthesis of house and garden. Her approach to modernism was “to adapt and translate alien architectural forms to the New England setting,” while “technology did not dominate,” even in her most experimental houses. Motivated perhaps by a sensitivity to Raymond’s unmarried status and her long-term personal relationship with *House Beautiful* editor Ethel Power, Cole uses the *leitmotif* of synthesis and accommodation to wrap Raymond in a protective cloak of femininity.

The problem with Cole’s analysis is not with the values expressed; indeed, architectural theory in the 1990s rightly extols sensitivity to cultural and natural contexts. The issue here is that Cole has forced Raymond’s work into an interpretive framework that does not suit it. One would be hard-pressed to accept the assertion that technology did not dominate in Raymond’s design for the Sun House (1949); there the constraints of the experimental solar-heating system restricted the house to a single-pile plan, while the entire second level was given over to heat collectors. Moreover, Cole’s continual repetition of the synthesis theme gives the biography a narrative flatness that seems at odds with Raymond’s intellectual and professional development.

In a similar vein, Boutelle’s book emphasizes what she sees as the appropriately feminine qualities of Morgan’s life and work. The book’s opening passages, for instance, shield Morgan from direct public scrutiny. We read initially about Hearst Castle and “the mercurial man who commissioned it,” and glimpse the architect only indirectly, behind the richest and most powerful man among her clients. When Morgan appears in the second paragraph, Boutelle is careful to paint a picture of the architect’s physical appearance, establishing her femininity by emphasizing her daintiness of frame and dress. Morgan’s status as an unmarried woman is also a concern for Boutelle. Assuming that this might be construed as a personality flaw, Boutelle is quick to reassure readers that Morgan had

many friends, and later chapters work to demonstrate her love of children.

In Morgan’s case, the issue of a woman’s place in a male profession is particularly complex. Immersed in a culture that deemed it unladylike to express anger, even at the architectural establishment that sought to marginalize her, Morgan consistently denied the existence of sex discrimination. Insisting that women simply needed to excel at every aspect of the field in order to win acceptance, she defined a lack of skill as the only barrier confronting women and ignored the other factors that worked against their full participation in architectural design.

Boutelle errs in accepting Morgan’s opinion as reality, even when evidence points in other directions. A photograph of the atelier of Jean-Louis Pascal, for instance, is offered without comment, evidently to suggest the tone of student life at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in the 1890s. In truth, the photograph is more telling than Boutelle admits. The all-male student group, the crowded quarters, the graffiti (including a prominent line-drawing of a penis with arms, legs and face), all reveal the extent to which the culture of architecture assumed that the normal student was male and suggest the degree to which women were made to feel like interlopers. By supporting Morgan’s ladylike silence about the reality of sex discrimination, Boutelle misses an opportunity to investigate the strategies Morgan used to make a place for herself in an unwelcoming environment.

For all of the differences between Morgan and Raymond, their biographers present their work in remarkably similar ways. Boutelle presents Morgan’s buildings as a synthesis of French classicism and an appreciation for California’s natural environment, using terms like those that Cole applied to Raymond’s work. Accepting Morgan’s own assertion that women had “contributed little or nothing to the profession,” Boutelle sees little originality in Morgan’s buildings. “Content with the restrictions” imposed by her clients, Morgan “put the practical ahead of the spatial,” and particularly in domestic architecture

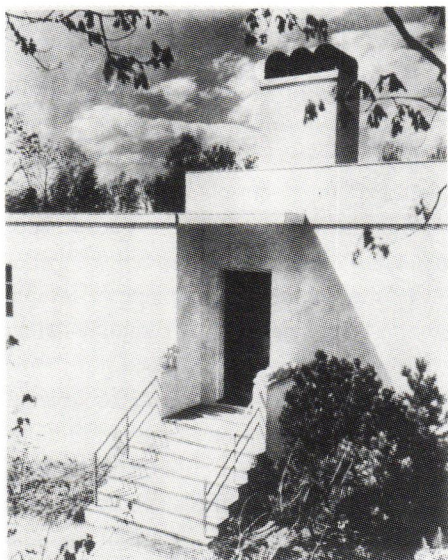
showed “a lack of boldness in design.”

Boutelle’s comments often tell us more about the author’s biases than about Morgan’s buildings. Like Morgan’s male contemporaries who argued that women should confine themselves to domestic design, Boutelle assumes that a woman’s design abilities are defined and limited by her own daily routine. While we expect a male architect to exercise his imagination when confronting unfamiliar design problems, Boutelle encourages the reader to “marvel at the contrast between Morgan’s sumptuous, artfully planned pools and her own virginal and ascetic lifestyle.” Pointing to Morgan’s design of beauty salons with the comment that the architect did not frequent these facilities herself, Boutelle implies that Morgan was a surprisingly good architect, for a woman.

In contrast to the relentless chronology typical of the male biography adopted by Paine and Grattan, both Cole and Boutelle organize their books into thematic chapters that obscure chronological developments. In each biography, the architect’s intellectual growth is invisible, and the resulting work seems static and largely ahistorical. Morgan and Raymond become primarily representatives of their sex, and seem unconnected to their times. The buildings themselves remain isolated from the cultural contexts in which they were produced, and we miss the full story.

The shortcomings of these books demonstrate the general failure of biography as a tool of feminist scholarship. They also point to the limited usefulness of simple historical recovery as a strategy for reintroducing women into the history of architecture, and underline our need to join feminist scholars in related fields as they question the assumptions of our scholarly practices. British design historian Cheryl Buckley critiques the monograph and its focus on the individual design as “especially inadequate for feminist design historians” in excluding from consideration “unnamed, unattributed, or collectively produced design,” areas in which women are disproportionately represented. In art history, Griselda Pollock examines the





Sculptor's studio, Dover, Massachusetts; Eleanor Raymond, 1933. (From *Eleanor Raymond, Architect.*)

19th-century roots of the field's focus on the individual artist, arguing that it reinforced the myth of bourgeois individualism, and deliberately obscured the structural inequalities of Western society that maintained a hierarchy based on gender, class, and race. To her mind, biographies of female artists flourish precisely because they challenge the biases of the scholarly field the least.<sup>5</sup>

If the conventional tools of architectural history have failed to decipher the meaning of architecture designed by women, what next? How can we reintroduce women into the history of design in a way that will preserve the individuality of the subject while also uncovering the impact of the gender system? One suggestion is to look at the individual in the context of other professional women of her time. This will provide a means of sorting personal choices from those actions influenced by the specific social context and its construction of femininity. For instance, consider the fact that three of the four women discussed in this essay remained unmarried. When each life is viewed in isolation, this fact seems like a personal preference, a potentially embarrassing admission to be explained away. Yet, identified as a common fact of life for professional women in the early

20th century, it points to the difficult choices that the gender system forced upon women who pursued professional careers.

An even more fruitful direction for the future of feminist scholarship in architectural history is that used by feminist art historians who link historically specific constructions of femininity with the design process itself. In looking at the work of Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot, for instance, Pollock has pointed out that men and women experienced the modern city differently. Men moved freely and independently through all strata of urban society, but female painters were constrained by the social behavior expected for their class and sex. This affected what they painted, how they experienced the modern world, and how they translated that experience into art.<sup>6</sup>

In architectural history, the method has great potential. First, it can help articulate the specific social contexts that so often pushed women into the realm of domestic architecture. Next, it can provide a means for demonstrating how the gender system shapes the individual's perceptions of the world, and allow us to begin to investigate how these conditions inform design. In the end, it would permit us to consider the architectural production of female architects more seriously, encouraging a closer examination of the buildings themselves. Each woman's architecture might then be understood as the product of a historically specific social context.

## NOTES

1. These include *From Tipi To Skyscraper: A History of Women in American Architecture*, Doris Cole (Boston: i press, 1973), and *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective*, Susana Torre, ed., (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977).
2. Boutelle's book was reviewed in at least seven publications, including *Design Book Review*, *Historic Preservation*, *Progressive Architecture*, *American Craft*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *Print Collectors Newsletter*, and *Woman's Art Journal*.
3. Reviews of Grattan's and Cole's books appeared in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* and the *AIA Journal*. In the latter, both reviews were written by Sara Boutelle, who was at work on her biography of Morgan. No reviews of Paine's book on Riddle were cited in the *Art Index*.
4. Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: Ballantine, 1989), 11–31.
5. Cheryl Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design," *Design Issues* 3 (Fall 1986), pp. 3–14. Griselda Pollock, "Vision, Voice and Power: Feminist Art Histories and Marxism," *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 18–49.
6. Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," 50–90.

THEODATE POPE RIDDLE: HER LIFE AND WORK, Judith Paine, National Park Service, 1979, 22 pp., illus.

MARY COLTER: BUILDER UPON THE RED EARTH, Virginia L. Grattan, reprint by Grand Canyon Natural History Association, distributed by the Museum of New Mexico Press, 1992, 144 pp., illus., \$14.95.

ELEANOR RAYMOND, ARCHITECT, Doris Cole, Art Alliance Press, 1981, 152 pp., illus., \$35.00.

JULIA MORGAN, ARCHITECT, Sara Holmes Boutelle, Abbeville, 1988, 272 pp., illus., \$55.00.



Adriana Petryna and Lisa Sullivan

## Gendered Spaces

DAPHNE SPAIN

Examining space and how it is designed to accommodate social functions—which has inevitably meant the privileging of one group while limiting another—is a formidable task. It requires questioning structure, including social structures, that accommodate and influence the shape of the built world. Daphne Spain's *Gendered Spaces* is a contribution to the growing interest among historians, anthropologists, and sociologists in bridging the theoretical with the material conditions of gender. The book brings up a number of critical issues concerning the pervasiveness of spatial separation according to sex, particularly in the contemporary workplace. The author divides the book in two parts: the first is devoted to an analysis of “gendered spaces” in nonindustrialized cultures, and the second considers “gendered spaces” in industrialized countries. The two parts form a cross-cultural catalog that illustrates one of Spain's points: that physical access to knowledge will improve women's status. Status, according to Spain, is defined in “masculine” terms; that is, a “gendered space” is characterized by women having unequal access to masculine forms of knowledge which are culturally more valuable. The book's chapters are ordered according to three cross-cultural “spatial institutions”: the home, education, and the workplace. Spain's book perhaps presents a new field of study—gender and space—which has thus far been absorbed within traditional disciplinary divisions. Spain has taken the subject out of the closet and for this reason, her book is important.

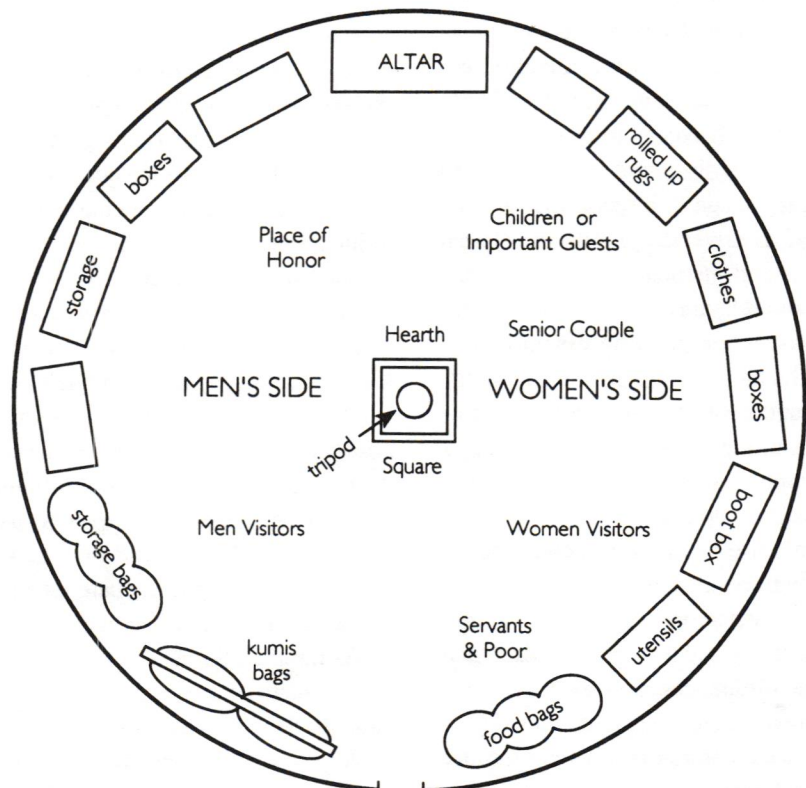
In the preface, the author positions herself within a feminist tradition. This tradition, according to Spain, has several ongoing concerns that use conceptual dichotomies to structure its claims. Dichotomies such as “separate spheres” have been developed primarily within middle-class feminist experiences and concerns. Separation of women from men is culturally

marked by a “private,” invisible sphere for women and a “public,” visible sphere for men. Spain uses these dichotomies to show that they are not merely rhetorical, but spatial realities. She places her argument—that gender integration will increase with spatial integration—within an ongoing feminist debate about “equality vs. difference.” The author considers her position within this debate, which she never fully explicates, to be “possibly more controversial from a radical feminist standpoint” because she advocates “spatial integration as a route to higher status for women.” Her claims for the pervasiveness of gendered spaces in both nonindustrial and industrial societies are guided by her use of these rhetorical devices inherited from a Western feminist framework.

Spain dedicates the book to American historian Dolores Hayden. With regard to the home, Hayden wrote in her book *The Grand Domestic Revolution* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), “Much research continues to incorporate sexist assumptions and domestic stereotypes which have long hampered scholars' perceptions of women

and the home. American scholars still need an objective anthropology, sociology, economics, geography, architecture, and history of women and children before anyone will be able to say what American domestic life has been, or could be, all about.”

Her claim for gendered spaces is incomplete without the following assumption: “Masculine knowledge is almost universally more prestigious than feminine knowledge,” she states. And so it follows from this premise that those spaces containing masculine knowledge need to be accessed by women so they can obtain status. Spain offers a scant uncritical account of the institutional forces that influence gender. Instead, she proffers stereotypes that serve as a primary base for her tacking on notions of separate spaces. More to the point, her basic value judgment seems to preclude her ability to look at more complex issues. By physically separating low-paid (female) paper-pushers from high-paid (male) managers, the author falls into “spatial determinisms” in stating that men maintain superiority over women in



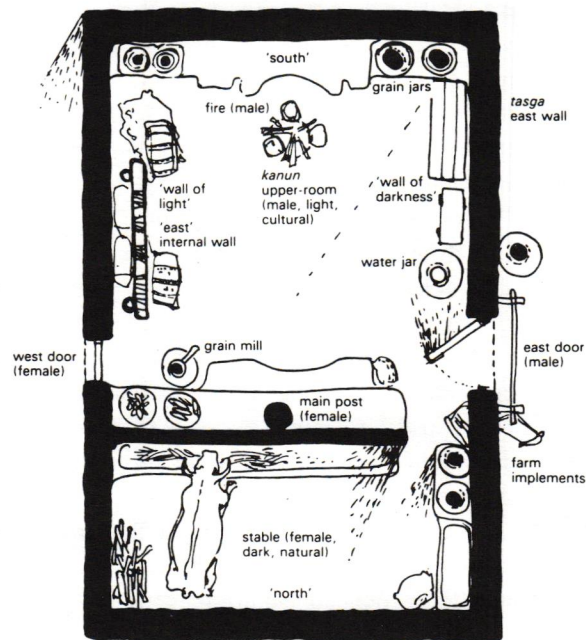
The traditional Mongolian ger places women and men on opposite sides of the hearth. (From *Gendered Spaces*.)



part because women are denied physical access to information. Surely Spain has a point, that the physical environment as it is, and as it is being shaped, is a living testimony to the differences in experience imposed on individuals by virtue of their sex. But isn't it true, to some extent that designers—both male and female—still “designate” the boundaries of secretarial pools on their working drawings, and that personnel managers—both male and female—staff these pools with females? The author overlooks the role that “expert systems” play in stratifying the sexes, classes, and races. To characterize power as “male” diverts attention from the task that feminist historians like Joan Scott have urgently called for: to show how the experience of one's sexuality is influenced by social institutions, and to account for the interdependencies of social institutions such as the home and workplace that systematically shape the experience of one's sexuality.

Since the mid-1970s feminists have criticized the use of separate spheres as restrictive, confined to a white, middle-class, feminist experience and methodologically limiting when it comes to discussions of class or race with regard to gender. And with regard to space, it seems that Spain's strategy, as Gwendolyn Wright states, “suggests and justifies social categories, values, and relations.” These same limitations exist when positing essentialisms that, as Scott put it, “create one line of difference and treat each side of the opposition as a unitary phenomenon.” Spain's “more controversial stance” then is actually more problematic.

Spain's use of the term gender needs clarification. Gender “designates . . . the socially constructed, mutually dependent nature of femininity and masculinity rather than biological differences associated with men and women.” Others have interpreted gender to be a cultural role that, within specific cultural settings, is predetermined by one's biological sex and determines one's experience of sexuality. It is a term that has come



In the Algerian Berber house, the female side is associated with dark and nature (all that is intimate and private), and the male side is associated with light and culture (open and public). (From *Gendered Spaces*.)

into common usage only recently, and has thrown wide open a field of analysis for feminists who wish to look at the gendering *inherent* within social institutions. An analysis of space within this framework would show how space was imagined to “fit” or made to support this gendering, and how it contributed to the normalization of particular gender constructions within institutional settings like the home. Spain's usage of the term “gender,” however, falters as a mere tautological description of “masculine” and “feminine” spaces because she fails to discuss power differentials between institutions and their gendered subjects, *both* male and female. Instead, her use of the term gender implies power differentials between men and women. Spain focuses on the “subjected sex,” and thus gendered spaces are those spaces where men simply “maintain superiority over women.”

As feminist Barbara Ehrenreich has argued, equality through equal access is not enough. Several reasons contribute to the book's pitfalls. They are evident in Spain's easy acceptance and oversimplified application of feminist constructs in her cross-cultural analyses, and her narrow and

uncritical interpretation of the profession of architecture and its history. In her discussion of gendered spaces in nonindustrialized countries, she states that dwellings “maintain social order by recreating a vision of the external world.” The Mongolian *ger*, for example, “is a single-room dwelling that is characterized by separate spaces for men and women.” Spain claims that the separate spaces of the *ger* are gendered spaces because men control access to knowledge in the form of religious texts and women do not. And although the religious texts were made available to women after the socialist revolution and “increased the probability that women could improve their public status,” she never explains why the *ger* is built to spatially separate men and women. Her claim that an inherent correspondence exists between male knowledge and male space falls apart

here because she fails to provide a rigorous definition of gender as it is bound to the social and material realities of the specific culture she examines. Can gender mean something other than status and separation in non-Western cultures? Is the term gender even appropriate?

By setting up a male norm that women should have the ability to access, the author has reaffirmed an interpretation of difference that could be labeled patriarchal. But when applied to nonindustrialized cultures, this construct of gender is a gross misuse of Spain's own epistemology. The author does not provide enough information to support claims about power, for example, in the case of the Berber house. She quickly delves into a symbolic interpretation but provides no data to back such claims as “relegating women to the separate sphere of the home . . . is an effective mechanism for eliminating female competition for public status.” It seems that her methodology is a result of a kind of picking and choosing across cultural lines to make these claims for gendered spaces seem universal.

Spain cites successful examples of



"degendered spaces" in her section on the history of American housing. She considers Frank Lloyd Wright's domestic open-plan designs important benchmarks in the "history of American housing design that indicates a gradual reduction in the gendered spaces creating, and created by, gender stratification." Spain claims that a historical movement "from the parlor to the great room in American culture" indicates that "the home is now indicative of more egalitarian gender relations." However she misses several points. First, the author would have benefitted from looking at the majority of Wright's domestic floor plans. Architectural historian Dell Upton has shown that in fact Wright continued the Victorian tradition of female segregation within the home by tucking the kitchen away from his more "democratic" domestic spaces. Second, she gives no serious consideration to the economic factors influencing open plans (basically, open plans are cheaper). And finally by naively reciting a spatially deterministic "parlor to the great room" story, she resuscitates a marginalizing progress narrative. Spain clearly demonstrates the problematic gap between histories and the realities of everyday life by identifying the home as a degendered space in the United States. To claim that for women, "the bonds of architecture have been loosened" grossly misrepresents the majority of American women who have no choice but to carry a double burden of working and raising children.

The two most prominent historians of American domestic space, Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright, have asked historians to probe beyond interpretations of the home as symbols of a private and separate sphere, and to see its separation as an outcome of larger processes. To repeat Hayden's advice, it seems that the idea of the home as "private" is really an artifact. Spain is limited in this regard by reductionist attitudes foreclosing the possibility of developing a broader conceptual base that incorporates other interpretations

of domesticity. She leaves the reader disappointed when she states, "The home is the spatial institution containing the least amount of socially valued knowledge," in part because "it is possessed by women." Her elitist and subjective stance toward other women and their experiences echoes Hillary Clinton's notorious comment that she is not "the kind of woman to stay home and bake cookies."

The author's chapter on American education as a gendered space is primarily devoted to universities and colleges. In it, Spain argues for the historical parallels between the emergence of coeducation and the increase of women's status in society. She characterizes the links between education and the home as follows: "Status differences produced by differential access to education are reproduced in and reflected in dwelling design. When schools excluded women, houses had distinctly gendered room designations. As geo-

graphic and architectural segregation declined in schools, house interiors became more integrated as well." Spain's book demonstrates the dangers of an analysis that reduces inequalities between gendered institutions and between men and women to a mere discussion of cause and effect.

Moreover, this type of reasoning is inadequate when it comes to her discussion of single-sex colleges. For example, Spain makes no mention of the Mills College phenomenon in her account of "Women's Colleges and Curricula," in which she discusses such pricey schools as Smith and Vassar. She treats Mills, where students protested the school's admission of men, as an anomaly because she is unable to provide a definition of women's status apart from its relation to men. She goes on to say that today "women who attend single-sex colleges tend to be from wealthier families" and that "such small numbers of elite women—regardless of their personal achievements—do not reflect the status of women as a group in American society." Spain wants women to get their foot in the door, but it's not clear which women she is talking about. Furthermore, she never clarifies the difference between women's success across the board and the achievement of individual women. From all of this muddle, it seems that Spain implicitly devalues single-sex colleges and their successes in an effort to protect her simplistic generalized claim that there is a causal connection between degendered space and women's status.

Although *Gendered Spaces* names the topic and gets it off the ground, in the end, it leaves much to be desired. Spain's analysis of gendered spaces derives from an oversimplified assumption about men and women. Her transformation from sociologist to social surgeon throughout the book makes her lose sight of the actual conditions of power within institutions. For example, she suggests that in an ideal degendered workplace, "rotating people through stable spatial arrangements" will insure that women work-



This clerical space reflects the "open floor" aspect of women's jobs, in contrast to the "closed door" character of men's jobs; Johnson Wax Corporate Building, Racine, Wisconsin; Frank Lloyd Wright, 1936–39. (From *Gendered Spaces*.)



ers are "exposed to the wide array of organizational issues and managerial responses." In this solution, she addresses the managers and thereby supports the framework of institutional power controlling the very mechanisms that need to be changed. From the vantage point of the expert, she prescribes architecture as the template for change, but in calling for a program for social change by manipulating physical space alone, she creates a conundrum. Never looking outside the realm of the expert or challenging "the idea that men's spaces contain valued knowledge," she sets up a cycle of hollow chores for those seeking real change. The author would do well to heed the advice of Barbara Ehrenreich, who quotes one vintage T-shirt, "If you think equality is the goal . . . your standards are too low."

Margaret Crawford

## The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women

ELIZABETH WILSON

### Feminism Confronts Technology

JUDY WAJCMAN

For many people the Los Angeles riots marked the moment when the city finally became irredeemable. As fear escalated to an all-time high, hopes for viable urban living plunged to zero. For others, however, television images mixing a carnivalesque atmosphere (according to one looter: "This is like a game show where everyone in the audience gets to win") with apocalyptic fires burning out of control signified a profoundly contradictory urban condition, in which image and reality were hopelessly entangled. Elizabeth Wilson's *The Sphinx in the City* elucidates this condition, following Italo Calvino's observation that "cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears," inherently ambiguous places where intense contradictions are routinely played out. Even rebellions of the urban poor are nothing

new; Wilson points out that the city has always been disproportionately proletarian, and violent confrontations over work (or the lack of it) and living conditions have exploded regularly, offering one aspect of the unruly and ungovernable nature of urban experience. Wilson also makes it clear that blaming the riots on the breakdown of the traditional family, as Dan Quayle did, is an equally predictable response to urban upheaval, one that inevitably brings with it new attempts to reassert patriarchal control over both urban space and the female body. In the wake of the riots, increased demands for more regulation, surveillance, and policing are already being made, threatening to transform an already privatized city into an urban fortress.

Despite its current relevance, the argument that the modern city's social energy lies in its chaos is not new. In *The Uses of Disorder* (New York: Knopf, 1970) Richard Sennett praised the liberating possibilities of diversity and conflict, but the richness of urban disorientation, frightening yet alluring, has always been most powerfully evoked in modern fiction, poetry, film, and art. Wilson draws on an enormous range of these sources, juxtaposing insights gleaned from novels, popular songs, and even video games with more familiar historical and sociological discussions of urbanism. But *The Sphinx in the City*'s most



GENDERED SPACES, Daphne Spain, University of North Carolina Press, 1992, 294 pp., illus., \$39.95 cloth; \$14.95 paper.

These 1870 cartoons depict the dangers—actual or imagined—for women who ventured onto the city streets. (From *The Sphinx in the City*.)



striking and original feature is Wilson's provocative argument that the city's indeterminacy and disorder—the very features that still alarm urban reformers—freed those at the margins of society (the working class, sexual dissidents, ethnic minorities, and women), encouraging their efforts not only to survive but to create their own life-spaces inside the labyrinth of the city. In fact, by taking advantage of the city's contradictory offer of possibility and danger, such marginal groups—the urban “other”—define the essence of city life for Wilson. She further argues that the city has historically served as a place of liberation for women in particular; although never granted full urban citizenship, diverse groups of women found a “disguise, a refuge, an adventure and a home” in the city.

The same ambiguities alarmed many city dwellers, notably the wealthy and powerful. For them, the juxtaposition of immense wealth and crushing poverty and the heterogeneity of the urban populations visible in the streets made democracy far more of a threat than a promise. Women and their potentially disruptive sexuality represented the most dangerous source of ambiguity. The daily parade of sexual possibilities exhilarated the poet Charles Baudelaire but signified the breakdown of society to more solid citizens. Wilson shows how disruption became increasingly identified with images of female sexuality; writers described urban streets as “promiscuous” and the masses as “hysterical,” “devouring,” and “insatiable.” Gustav LeBon, the right-wing theorist of the crowd, was the first to link urban disorder with the female image of the sphinx: “Crowds are like the sphinx of ancient fable; it is necessary to arrive at a solution of the problems offered by their psychology or to resign ourselves to being devoured by them.” Wilson expands this, suggesting that the threatening figure lurking at the heart of the urban labyrinth is not the bull-like Minotaur, but the far more threatening figure of the sphinx, half-woman, half-animal, who strangled those who could not answer her riddle. The sphinx was associated with female sexuality, womanhood

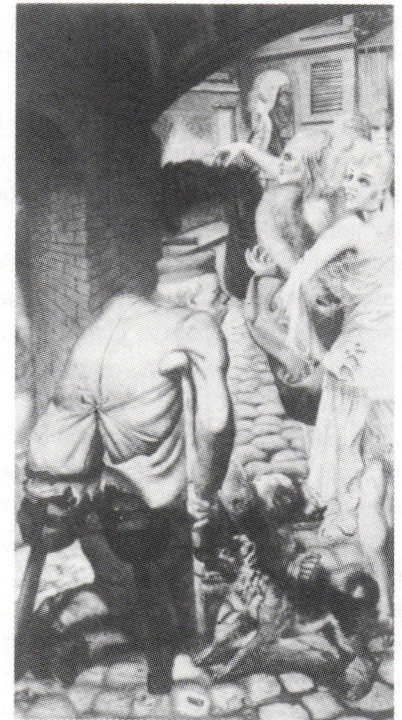


Early bohemian artists and writers such as George Sand discovered urban freedom when in male drag. Writer Colette (pictured above) reveals that male drag was acceptable attire in the lesbian subculture of turn-of-the-century Paris. (From *The Sphinx in the City*.)

out of control, lost nature, and the loss of identity. Without men, women in the city symbolized disorder, a consistent menace posed in a succession of forms: the Victorian prostitute, the slatternly slum wife, the welfare mother, or even Murphy Brown.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries every new female role induced an equivalent form of male paranoia. Increasingly visible and therefore subject to the male “gaze,” the condition of women became a touchstone for judgments on city life, producing a negative rhetoric of urban experience. Dualistic logic defined the city as one pole in a series of multiple contrasts: countering the “unnatural” disorder of the city with a sentimental vision of rural life which portrayed the countryside as an unchanging “natural order” whose essence was, unsurprisingly, the traditional patriarchal family. Another duality contrasted the dangerous and disorderly urban environment with a safe and benign domestic realm. The cult of domesticity designated the interior as a female sanctuary and the city as a place from which women must be excluded for their own protection.

Circumventing these restrictions, women found ways to pursue urban lives. Bohemian subcultures, peopled by artists and writers, welcomed women escaping bourgeois convention. In the 1830s, feminists such as Flora Tristan and George Sand were among the earliest women to declare themselves emancipated. Sand supported herself as a popular novelist and, disguised in male clothing, enjoyed urban life, strolling unnoticed through Parisian streets where “no one knew me, no one looked at me . . . I was an atom lost in that immense crowd.” In Paris, bohemia overlapped with emerging homosexual subcultures. Male spectators may have exploited lesbian sex as a titillating feature of specialized brothels, but wealthy lesbians ran exclusively female salons and women established their own restaurants, bars, and nightclubs where male drag was acceptable attire. Inspired by Paris, identifiable bohemian neighborhoods sprang up in most large cities, centers of artistic and personal experimentation, attracting adventurous middle-class women. Female creativity and



Women's presence on the streets—historically the domain of men and prostitutes alone—were problematic, disruptive, and nothing less than responsible for the breakdown of the traditional family. (From *The Sphinx in the City*.)





Street in Los Angeles, 1992. (Photograph by Nan Ellin.)

activism thrived in these communities, producing successful artists and intellectuals such as the pioneering feminist and writer Simone de Beauvoir, who emerged from the existentialist milieu of St. Germain des Pres. De Beauvoir's existence was fully urban—she lived in a hotel room and used a table at her favorite cafe to write her books, eat her meals, and meet her friends.

These liberated zones were exceptions in cities where women's public appearances were becoming increasingly problematic. Even family outings drew criticism as violations of domestic sanctity. The lively Parisian cafe scene shocked the Goncourt brothers: "One sees women, children, husbands and wives, whole families in the cafe. The home is dying. Life is threatening to become public." Fear of the mob and concern about uncontrolled sexuality merged into a distrust of the public street. The anonymity and promiscuity of the urban milieu was so disorienting that any unescorted woman on the street could be mistaken for a prostitute, as euphemisms such as "public woman," "woman of the streets," and "streetwalker" indicate. The freedom of the street, with its lack of social and sexual boundaries, blurred another fundamental duality: the irreconcilable opposition between the female roles of angel or victim,

an ambiguity that outraged proper Victorian husbands and fathers.

Another popular metaphor conflated sexual depravity with the real dirt of city streets and sewers, depicting the urban environment as an infectious "moral miasma." Dr. Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, a member of the Paris Public Health Council, took this position to an extreme. Obsessed with public hygiene, he reorganized both the city's sewer and prostitution systems, often equating the two urban ills, both of which he attributed to urban growth:

Prostitutes are as inevitable in an agglomeration of men as sewers and cesspools and garbage dumps; civil authority should conduct itself in the same manner in regard to the one as to the other; its duty is to survey them, to attenuate by every possible means the detriments inherent to them, and for that purpose to hide them, to relegate them to the most obscure corners, in a word to render their presence as inconspicuous as possible.

Parent-Duchâtelet attempted to "cleanse" the city with oppressively comprehensive regulation. He installed up-to-date sewers and forced all prostitutes to register with the police, then confined them to carefully supervised bordellos, cloistered as effectively as nuns in a medieval convent.<sup>1</sup>

As opportunities for paid labor (first in

the textile industry and clothing trades and later in clerical, office, and shop work) freed women from dependence on their husbands and families, working women also became the subject of attack. Middle-class critics blamed the factory system for destroying the working-class family, but placed the main burden of guilt for the demoralization of the working class on the working wife, whose lack of domesticity transformed "industrious home-loving husbands" into "disorderly drunkards." Female breadwinners were even more dangerous. Friedrich Engels was horrified by working-class families where the wife supported the family and the husband stayed home, denouncing "an insane state of things," which turned "upside down the natural order of the family." In cities, new forms of social organization further challenged the family structure: working women joined together in trade unions and struggles for better working and living conditions. This often led to experiments with alternative living arrangements. At Hull House, inspired by striking shoe workers, Jane Addams created the Jane Club, a boarding club offering collective living for single women. In New York, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union set up similar cooperative boarding clubs for working women and later established cooperative apartment houses that offered services such as cleaning, daycare, and meals to working wives.

Although urban regulators from Parent-Duchâtelet to Daniel Moynihan have rarely been completely effective in their efforts to discipline the unruly city, Wilson suggests that anti-urban reformers, planners, and architects have been successful in actually banishing women from the city. Rural or suburban settlements offered a tabula rasa whereupon the quest for rational order and control could be pursued, traditional values invoked, and the patriarchal order reinscribed, inverting the urban experience into a new anti-urban ideal. Utopian environments such as Ebenezer Howard's Garden City, Le Corbusier's Radiant City, and even Babar's elephant capital Celesteville, specifically designed to eliminate all of the



unexpected and troubling ambiguities of urban life, served as models for the countless subdivisions and housing projects that spread all over the world. Such clean, orderly, and apparently benign places have grown increasingly popular, offering women safety and a good place to raise children while denying them the pleasures, intensity, and risks of the city.

The contemporary urban condition, described in the final chapter, does not even allow such consoling, if reductive, solutions. Suburbs proliferate endlessly across the countryside while postmodern cities reproduce the appalling contrasts of 19th-century cities in far more extreme forms. Now discredited, urban reform or idealistic planning no longer offer viable alternatives. At this point, Wilson's compelling voice becomes less certain. Faced with a city she characterizes as the "worst of all possible worlds: offering danger without pleasure, safety without stimulation, consumerism without choice, and monumentality without diversity," she can only propose a revived urban consciousness, suggesting that we need a radically new approach to the city. After Wilson's passionate defense of the city, so effective as persuasive history, her final assessment of the contemporary city is not only unsatisfying, but undermines her own argument. Has she succumbed to the same anti-urban bias as the urban critics she attacks, blaming all of society's ills on the city? Surely even in the current manifestations she deplors, our cities still encapsulates, just as past incarnations did, the best and the worst of our culture, usually in puzzling proximity.

Perhaps Wilson's collage method, based on adjacency rather than argument, is responsible for some of these ambiguities. Her evocative montages of urban poetry, women's experience, and social description work brilliantly when juxtaposed with familiar male-dominated urban discourses but lose their power when set against less extreme positions, occasionally turning into banal assemblages of second-hand facts. The length of the book exacerbates this problem. One hundred and fifty pages barely permit Wilson to introduce her sub-

ject, a topic so rich that it deserves a far longer and much deeper exploration. As a result, her brief glimpses into what she calls the invisible city, the "second city," the underworld, or secret labyrinth that exists like an "Aladdin's cave of riches" hidden within the city, leave the reader both fascinated and frustrated.

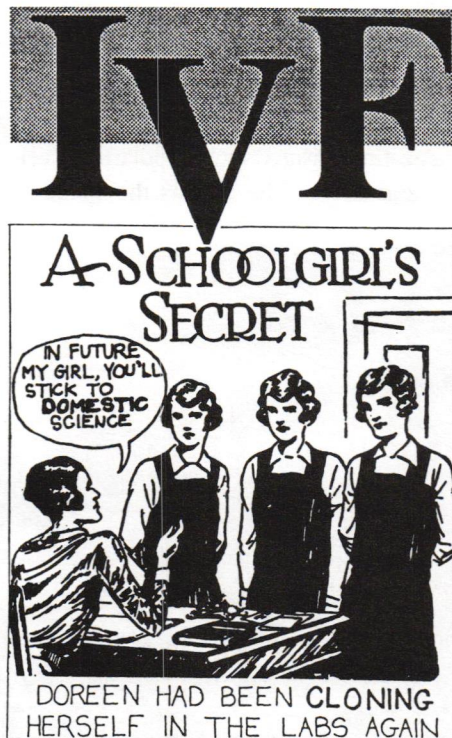
Although using a similar method, *Feminism Confronts Technology* has far more modest aims. Judy Wajcman surveys the relationship between gender and technology by juxtaposing the concepts of feminism and technology, defining both as ideological and cultural constructs. Following thoughtful and well-conceived discussions of productive, domestic, and reproductive technologies, Wajcman's chapter on the built environment is a disappointment, the weakest in the book. This may be due to the difficulty of fitting the broad range of social, cultural, design, and psychological issues that shape the built environment into the narrower concept of technology. Wajcman's dependence on secondary sources, although carefully weighed and

considered in other chapters, appears reductive here—a survey of the literature on the ideal house, the automobile, and feminist alternatives. In comparison to Wilson's varied bibliography, even these secondary sources are limited to social-science studies of technology and feminism, although material from literature, films, and television could have done much to illuminate the subject.

The author's critical framework, a strength of the book, does not completely vanish, however. Considering feminist alternatives to primarily "man-made" environments, she debunks radical feminist notions that identifiable male and female principles exist in architecture and design. Instead, she demonstrates that commonly held beliefs—that men design from the outside in and women from the inside out, and that women's approaches are more organic, more user-oriented, or more holistic than men's—are based on arguments that women's cognitive and moral development is distinctly different from that of men, an essentialist point of view popularized by writers such as Carol Gilligan. Wajcman argues that such positions ignore the important role that social and economic factors play in shaping identity: women are not a homogeneous group and their approach to the built environment depends on class, race, and other relations of inequality as much as on gender. In spite of the usefulness of this argument, readers more interested in the built environment than in technology might be better off consulting Wajcman's original sources than reading them secondhand.

#### NOTES

1. Francine du Plessix Gray, "Splendor and Miseries," *New York Review of Books*, July 16, 1992, pp. 31



The chapter "Reproductive Technology: Delivered into Men's Hands" deals with the politics of women's reproductive rights; *Recycled Images*. (From *Feminism Confronts Technology*.)

THE SPHINX IN THE CITY: URBAN LIFE, THE CONTROL OF DISORDER, AND WOMEN, Elizabeth Wilson, University of California Press, 1991, 191 pp., \$35.00 cloth; \$14.00 paper.

FEMINISM CONFRONTS TECHNOLOGY, Judy Wajcman, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991, 184 pp., \$25.00 cloth; \$11.95 paper.



Jill Lahn Stoner

## Architecture Engendered

Camille Paglia barely mentions architecture in her radical study of sexuality in Western art, *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson*; nevertheless, her argument that expressions of gender in art inevitably arise from the intersection of culture and nature applies to architecture, particularly the architecture of dwelling, the house. Paglia claims that the "Apollonian" traditions in art, including Ancient Egypt, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and (although not specifically discussed in her book) the modern, are flawed because they attempt to repress nature in favor of reason. She argues that a deeper reading of the arts of these periods reveal the presence of female personae that balance and oppose masculine rationality. The contradictions between the cultural and the natural are inherent and inescapable. Masculine principles of order will always be balanced by the feminine principles of contingency. Paglia names these latter feminine impulses "chthonian," from the Greek, meaning "of the earth."

These contradictions are not only inevitable, they are the motivating forces behind the passion and the power of Western art and literature. To ignore them has been the error of liberalism in the 20th century, and particularly of feminism, which "exceeded its proper mission of seeking political equality for women and has ended by rejecting contingency, that is, human limitations by nature or fate." Difference does not necessarily imply hierarchy, which is a cultural construct. At least one school of feminism supports a critical perspective that celebrates contingency, difference, and the unknown forces of nature.

Modernism in architecture rejected contingency; its fundamental theorems were based on the elimination of difference and contradiction, and the concept of efficiency as a precondition for comfort. Paglia's description of aristocratic Egyptian art as hav-

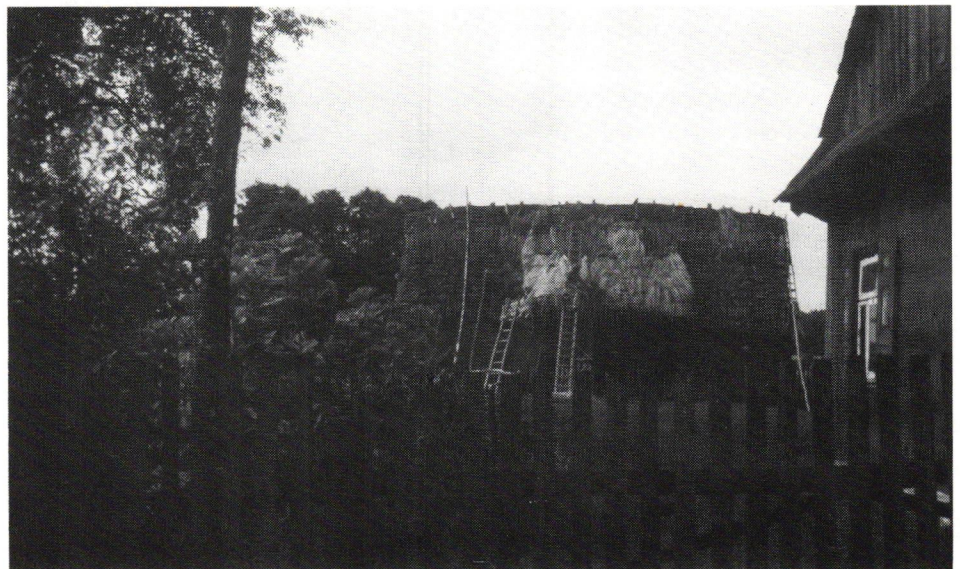
ing a masculine hardness that is "an abolition of female interiority" could also apply to the modernist house. The absence of rooms, an ideal of the "open plan," is a rejection of the chthonian element in dwelling. So is the abolition of the cellar. The attempt to make houses visually a part of the landscape is a denial of the impossibility of fully merging with nature. The modern house relinquished both its masculine and its feminine qualities and emerged as a neutered form, politically eloquent but mute on the subject of dwelling. The architect in Donald Barthelme's novel *Paradise* (New York: Penguin, 1987) remarks categorically, "Modern architecture is soulless." The neutered house leaves us with a sense of loss.

Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* (Beacon Press, 1969) is a classic in the literature of architectural phenomenology. In a series of chapters organized according to elemental qualities of space and their more physical representations, physicist and philosopher Bachelard uses examples from poetry to substantiate his intuitions about the spatial imagination. The subject of the first two chapters is the house. In the first chapter, "The House from Cellar to Garret; the Significance of the Hut," Bachelard presents the house as pure interior with an "oneiric" vertical organization, ensured by "the polarity of cellar and attic." The attic is the space of

rationality, under the roof, where "all our thoughts are clear." The cellar, on the other hand, is "the dark entity of the house, the one that partakes of subterranean forces. When we dream there, we are in harmony with the irrationality of the depths." The cellar is the chthonian realm of which Paglia speaks, opposing the celestial clarity of the uppermost floor. The vertical house cannot be gender-neutral.

The second chapter, "House and Universe," sets the house as an object against the forces of nature. Using the recurring example of the house in the storm, Bachelard establishes a duality that is at the same time contingent and comforting. The house in the storm achieves a kind of anthropomorphism, sometimes linked to a maternal protector but more often to the masculine virtue of strength and reason set against the chaotic forces of nature. What Bachelard calls "the dynamic rivalry between house and universe" is another example of engendered space. Its implications transcend geometry, politics, and reason because the rivalry is rooted in experience. Dwelling is essentially a verb; its action is the conflict between culture and nature, the threshold between object and interior, the tension between order and chthonian contingency.

In contrast to the French poets, contemporary American poets have necessarily tempered their concept of the house with



*Housekeeping*, a man repairs a thatched roof in eastern Poland; Jill Lahn Stoner, 1989.



the opposition between the "American Dream" ideal and its outcome in built form over the past forty years. A sense of loss dominates the image of the house in modern American poetry. For example, many of Mark Strand's poems take place in empty rooms in which a man and woman try to communicate, but cannot. Adrienne Rich writes of abandoned houses in which domestic dreams have turned to dust. Both speak of loss, but present the loss differently.

Here are the opening lines to Mark Strand's poem "The Door" (from *Selected Poems*, New York: Atheneum, 1980):

The door is before you again and  
the shrieking  
Starts and the mad voice is saying  
here here.  
The myth of comfort dies and the  
couch of her  
Body turns to dust.

Like almost all of Strand's poems, this one presents a terrifying landscape in which there is nothing to hold onto. Doors open to emptiness. The masculine voice is isolated, without its complementary half, as the feminine cushion of comfort dies and disintegrates. In a poem from *The Fact of a Doorframe: Poems Selected and New, 1950–1984* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), Adrienne Rich provides an alternative image of the door:

The fact of a doorframe  
Means there is something to hold  
Onto with both hands.

Normally an element of passage and transition, the doorframe becomes a spatial anchor. The interiority of the house collapses into the threshold between interior and exterior. Although it is difficult to find comfort and stability in our constantly changing and tragic times, feminine contingency is adaptable and tenacious. Rich's long poem "In the Wake of Home" is about this search for domestic images: "a room with blue curtains," "an alley a little kingdom/where the mother tongue is spoken," a "closet floor of galoshes." Unlike



*The Fact of a Doorframe*, Montisi, Italy; Jill Lahn Stoner, 1990.

Strand's message, hers is sad but not terrifying. She ends with the conviction that children embody a subliminal memory of home that cannot be undone by culture:

The child's soul carries on  
in the wake of home  
building a complicated house  
a tree-house without a tree  
finding places for everything  
the song the stray cat the skeleton  
The child's soul musters strength  
where the holes were torn  
but there are no miracles:  
even children become exhausted  
And how shall they comfort each other  
who have come young to grief?  
Who will number the grains of loss  
and what would comfort be?

While Strand denies the possibility of comfort, a "myth" which has already died, Rich combines the imagination of children with the image of home as a possibility of comfort, however tenuous. She leaves us not with an answer but with a question, a

contingency, a chthonian struggle that cannot be resolved.

Fiction is perhaps a more promising form for architectural criticism than poetry, precisely because it is more transparent and less self-conscious. In fiction, fleshing out the characters and their settings in the interest of verisimilitude takes the place of poetry's reductive abstraction. The house as a structure within a poem cannot compete with the structure of the poem itself, but in fiction it is the characters, and not the authors, who voice their impressions, and thus their implicit critique of the built landscape. There is no dearth of such impressions, for as John Updike writes in his essay "Fictional Houses," "not only do fictional characters have to be supplied with faces and life histories, speech rhythms and psychologies; they must have houses to live in."

In *Jernigan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991) by David Gates, the title character receives a scythe from his father. The following conversation ensues, with Jernigan speaking first:

"It's a God damned tract house in New Jersey," I said. "What am I going to do with a scythe on a quarter-acre lawn?"

"So what're you doing pissing your money away on a place you don't like?" he said. "Find yourself some handyman special in Westchester or something. Rockland. Something with a *little* charm to it. Christ's sake."

"Right," I said. "You price any handyman specials in Westchester lately?"

"All right, all right. It has to be Jersey, then. All right? Then you look for something on one of your older streets, even if the house itself is a little run down."

"Pop," I said, "forget it. I'm into the degradation, you know."

Jernigan's tract house with its quarter-acre lawn is in a development called Heritage Circle, a typical name chosen to evoke both tradition and intimacy, but achieving neither. After his wife's violent death in a car accident at the base of their driveway, Peter Jernigan continues to live in the house with his teenage son, Danny, until the two meet Martha and her teenage



daughter Clarissa, and move in with them. Before long, the two men consider their new digs "home." After all, explains Jernigan philosophically, "Where would you rather be? Martha's house with the cooking smells and the corny old braided rugs and the black-and-white TV with the tablecloth thrown over it, or Heritage Circle with the painted walls, cool to the touch and smooth as an eggshell?"

Martha raises rabbits in the cellar for food. Her experiment in suburban self-sufficiency is an ironic comment on the eventuality of the American Dream, which contained as one of its goals the freedom from the need for self-sufficiency. Jernigan buys into the primal lifestyle, valiantly learning to kill rabbits himself, and accepting philosophically the carnal intimacy of the two teenagers. But eventually the degeneration follows him to Martha's house, and other cultural factors overwhelm the poetics of domesticity. When the house at Heritage Circle becomes the scene of another death, the suicide of one of Danny's friends, the novel's irony turns into untempered cynicism.

The inevitable conclusion to this story of two houses is that our domestic architecture is both a result and a victim of the cultural obsessions of late capitalism. Though Jernigan's final journey is to a deserted cabin in the woods, we sense that his search is futile, that even the myth of comfort is irretrievable.

The house is a particularly ubiquitous motif in American fiction. It stands as the single most recognizable paradigm of our national project, which is rooted in the concept of individuality over community, and thus the house represents in our fiction what the village or the urban street does in European novels—the context for what Updike calls "evanescent consciousness." And the task of assembling an anthology of fictional houses and their relationship to the content of literature has never been more comprehensively addressed than in Marilyn Chandler's recent book, *Dwelling in the Text: Houses in American Fiction*.

Chandler's tour of American literary houses begins with Henry David Thoreau's



*The Suburban Dream Turns to Nightmare*, Detroit, Michigan; Jill Lahn Stoner, 1991.

cabin at Walden Pond, the only nonfictional house on her itinerary. The following ten chapters are devoted to authors and their fictional edifices, such as Edgar Allen Poe's mysterious House of Usher, Nathaniel Hawthorne's House of Seven Gables, the New York mansions in Edith Wharton's *Age of Innocence*, the house of Thomas Sutpen in William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom*, and the house haunted by the baby Beloved in Toni Morrison's novel of that name. The literature spans nearly two hundred years, diverse regions, races, and class differences. What holds the chapters together beyond their location in the genre of American fiction is an implicit story of gender and its relationship to the disintegration of the American dream.

As Chandler points out in the introduction, "Behind the myth lies the enduring idea that a man's house represents his self (the relationship of women to houses is a different issue) and becomes, as it grows into a home, a direct extension of that self into the enduring media of wood and stone." The "different issue" for women is only partly clarified several paragraphs later: "Housebuilding, and for women, housekeeping, have been recognized as a kind of

autobiographical enterprise." The story of housebuilding and housekeeping, and their gradual subversion and replacement with less substantial domestic engagements, is a subtext that threads its way through the otherwise discrete and autonomous chapters.

Like Updike, many of the fiction writers in Chandler's study wrote nonfiction as well, occasionally on the subject of domestic architecture. Poe, for example, wrote an essay in 1840 for *Gentleman's Magazine* in which he contrasted American tastelessness with European artistry in matters of interior decor. Chandler links his theory to the absence of repose and comfort in *The Fall of the House of Usher*. Similarly, in her lengthy introduction to the chapter on *The Age of Innocence*, Chandler discusses Wharton's book *The Decoration of Houses* as a theoretical foundation for the architectural preferences of protagonist Newland Archer's upper-crust associates. Wharton and Archer agree, for example, that interiors should be "good in the old ways."

Both Poe and Wharton reflect a certain androgyny that has fascinated and mystified their critics. Their essays do little justice to their own complex biographies and their opinions on the matter of architectural interiors seem flat and simplistic when compared to the rich and contradictory domestic images in their fiction. While their essays try to solve the problem of decoration, their fiction gives space to the multiple facets of the authors' personae, and it is one of the strengths of Chandler's book that she presents the contrast in an unbiased light.

Chandler refers to Faulkner's 1955 essay "On Privacy. The American Dream: What Happened to It?" as "a paean to the American dream as 'a sanctuary on the earth for individual man.'" In the essay, Faulkner deals head on with the paradox of freedom and individualism—that such freedom can be exploited as power, and used as an instrument of oppression. The story of Thomas Sutpen and his house in Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom*, as then described by Chandler, is the story of such an exploitation and its tragic consequences—"the story of expropriation, settlement, empire-building, destruction, and dubious



hope of reconstruction on questionable terms." Here is the evidence of a man constructing a house to represent himself.

The essence of this masculine fallacy is embodied best in F. Scott Fitzgerald's main character from *The Great Gatsby*, perhaps the most familiar subject in Chandler's book. Both Jay Gatsby and the mansion he builds to impress Daisy are facades, scaffolding to hold up an impression, veils to hide the absence of substance. Gatsby's background is obscure, and he moves into the fabricated image of himself much as he moves into the ostentatious house, with an artificially proprietary air and a vague uneasiness that someone will see through the facade. That "someone" is Nick Carraway, the narrator, who Chandler tells us, like Tiresias in T. S. Eliot's *The Wasteland*, sees "through too many windows, cherishing a neutral and detached stance that makes him privy to multiple points of view but depriving him of the luxuries of conviction and passion." At the center of Chandler's book, Nick is another androgynous eye that gives us a perspective on the gender issue not only in *The Great Gatsby*, but throughout Chandler's book.

Roderick Usher, Sutpen, and Gatsby build or construe their houses in the image of themselves, only to have their constructs crumble because they, like the men, are insubstantial and ungrounded by a feminine counterpart. At the other end of Chandler's composite story are the women in the novels *Housekeeping* by Marilynne Robinson and Morrison's *Beloved*, who give substance to their houses simply by their presence. Their houses have no remarkable facade or grandness of proportion; with interiors meant only to be occupied, they are thus enlivened by feminine presence. These are the extremes in the constant counterpoint of house as object and interior, as a reflection of the opposing attitudes of ownership and stewardship, as a facade constructed to build an impression or as a vessel for an authentic experience, of a subliminally gender-based distinction between the house-as-mansion and house-as-cottage.

Leonce Pontellier, the husband in Kate Chopin's novel *The Awakening*, achieves

satisfaction through possessions and his control over them: "Well cared for and in their proper places, his possessions, like his wife, demarcate his place in the world and serve as constant reminders of his success in securing it." Chandler illuminates Pontellier as the man who *owns* his house, while Countess Ellen Olenska in *The Age of Innocence* "possesses the space she inhabits." Possession of a space (as opposed to possession of a house, or, for that matter, of a wife) implies both intimacy and repose: "Is there nowhere in an American house," Olenska laments, "where one may be by oneself?" The place that she and Newland Archer find for their eventual tryst is the "patron house," firelit, diminutive, and quaint in contrast to the drafty and voluminous mansions designed for upper-class taste. Similarly, Nick's cottage stands in contrast to Gatsby's mansion, and it is to the cottage, diminutively and femininely named "pigeon house" that Edna Pontellier retreats to escape her husband and his imperious mansion. The mansion, characteristically described from the outside, is a testament to achievement in a material world. The cottage, described for its interior, is a vessel for intimacies that reject that world. As symbols of housebuilding and housekeeping respectively, the mansion and cottage stand as ironic witnesses to the masculine and feminine ideals of home, and the subsequent neutralizing of both in the pursuit of the American Dream.

As an insight into the development of the American house as gender-neutral, the chapter "Post-War Suburban Fiction: The American Dream as Nightmare" is particularly successful, perhaps because it is within the history of our own experience. The structure of the chapter offers three views into that nightmare—first, from the perspective of three Southern men who stand to lose their familiar landscape and culture in the wake of bulldozers and "new homes" in Georgia McKinley's "The Crime"; second, the interior view of Tommy DeMaria in W. D. Wetherill's "The Man Who Loved Levittown"; and third, an omniscient and sympathetic view of upper-class suburban disillusionment in

John Cheever's "The Country Husband." Each is a story of emasculation.

In the first story, the developers, outsiders, invade the comfortable routine of a Southern town, stripping three men of identities bound up in traditions of masculine roles and hierarchies. In the Levittown story, the tradition of men who bought houses on the GI Bill for "seven thousand dollars, a hundred dollars down," is tied to back porch additions, Little League games, and enough knowledge of basic wiring to cheat the electric company. Their disenfranchisement comes with a wave of immigrants twenty years later, who share none of DeMaria's and his cronies' enthusiasm for the suburb as challenging frontier. As DeMaria describes them:

They're sad more than anything . . . sadder than the oldtimers moving south. Shopping centers, that's it. If it's not in a mall they don't know nothing. And talk about dreams, they don't have any. A new stereo? A new Datsun? Call those dreams? Those aren't dreams, those are pacifiers. Popsicles . . .

Unlike the other two stories, in Wetherill's "The Country Husband," there is no oppressive group to blame for Francis Weed's crisis. He is shaken by a life-threatening accident and begins to question the meaning of his comfortable existence in Westchester, while his family continues to pursue what suddenly seems to him to be the aimless activities of suburban life. Advised by a therapist, he takes up woodworking, and "when we last see Francis he is hard at work in his cellar building a coffee table." Thus Chandler leaves us with an image of the elementally masculine task of housebuilding reduced to a therapeutic sublimation.

Her continuity within the chapter mirrors the larger continuity of the American project, reflecting a sequence of social and metaphysical concerns "that have most distinctively characterized our native tradition, bound as it has been to a history of settlement and conquest whose morally ambiguous victories have left each generation uneasily contemplating the cost of its own achievements."



Chandler calls the subject of Cheever's story "the burial of primitive vitality under the genteel rituals of suburban life in the Northeast." While Weed sublimates through woodworking, those who are truly homeless are denied the opportunity to work with wood in the real and primal act of making shelter. Such a cultural contradiction forces Chandler to conclude that "the notion of the American dream cannot be considered without irony." Because she writes about fiction, which by definition is nonprescriptive, *Dwelling in the Text* raises more questions than it answers. Yet in her afterword Chandler focuses on the political and economic dimensions of the house, rather than the literary ones. Her ultimate question is, What form can home now take, as the dream upon which we placed so much faith turns to nightmare? And by way of suggestion, she urges us (architects!) to "deescalate our pursuit of creature comforts, to design living spaces that are a little less ambitious in the hope of making them a little more accessible, and to reconsider imaginatively and with compassion Thoreau's salient question 'What is a house?'"

Chandler's book, rooted in cultural experience and the image of the house as the primary symbol of the American Dream, nevertheless reveals certain phenomenological evidence of Bachelard's gender-based theory of the oneiric house. The narrator of Charlotte Perkins Gilman's "The Yellow Wallpaper," which Chandler calls a classic feminist text, begs to be taken from an upper-story room where she is held captive by her husband to the "pretty rooms" downstairs. As Chandler explains, she is "symbolically retreating from the 'higher' realms of rationality, consciousness and intellect to a place that is closer to the ground, or more 'grounded' in sensuality and connected to the outside, natural world." By contrast, in Willa Cather's *The Professor's House*, Professor St. Peter escapes to a drafty attic to work. "Paradoxically, he comes to a stuffy room with a tiny window and bad ventilation to get air, escaping spiritual suffocation of the inhabited (by the women of the house) space beneath." The professor's greatest



*An Oneiric House*, the Ephrata Cloister, Pennsylvania; Jill Lahn Stoner, 1984.

fear is that he will be emasculated by comfort, drawn into a 'feminine' domesticity of the very sort that the narrator of "The Yellow Wallpaper" and the disenfranchised Edna Pontellier seek.

Yet the most paradoxical of all literary characters in Chandler's book is the homeless woman in "Woman Under the Freeway," a poem by Diana O'Hehir. Recognizable as a victim of the same traditions that Thoreau rebelled against, with their many more permutations and contradictions, her plight might be better described as houselessness, for she seems very much at home in "a tunnel with green sides" and "air . . . as solid as a honeydew melon." With a woman's instinct, she finds that "a safety lies here below/ secretly jeweled, dropped in this special pocket." Relinquishing house not of her own free will, O'Hehir's woman nevertheless makes a return to the feminine image of home. "Proud not pathetic," she discovers comfort at a chthonian depth below the high-tech highway, where the contingency of nature confronts the ultimate failures of an imperially male culture.

Mark Strand's poem "The Tunnel" provides a dark contrast to O'Hehir's poem. In Strand's poem, the protagonist is terrorized by someone standing on the lawn outside his house. Trapped in a generically familiar American dwelling sketchily outlined by

images of "lawn," "curtains," and "living room furniture," he speaks for the ultimate victim, "weeping like a schoolgirl" and "writing desperate suicide notes." His tormentor pays no attention:

When he seems unmoved  
I decide to dig a tunnel  
To a neighboring yard.

I come out in front of a house  
and stand there too tired to  
move or even speak, hoping  
someone will help me.  
I feel I'm being watched  
and sometimes I hear  
a man's voice,  
but nothing is done  
and I have been waiting for days.

Strand's voice, gender-neutral, relinquishes strength; O'Hehir's, with a strong feminine sensibility, offers a new beginning. Perhaps these examples from fiction and poetry give us at least a tacit answer to Thoreau's question: A house is architecture engendered.

SEXUAL PERSONAE: ART AND DECADENCE FROM NEFERTITI TO EMILY DICKINSON, Camille Paglia, Vintage Books, 1990, 718 pp., illus., \$15.00.

DWELLING IN THE TEXT: HOUSES IN AMERICAN FICTION, Marilyn R. Chandler, University of California Press, 1991, 338 pp., \$24.95.



Liane Lefaivre

## Constructing the Body, Gender, and Space

The Western world is undergoing one of the deepest cognitive crises in its history. Recategorization is occurring at all levels of life, from the most mundane to the most momentous. We are witnessing the questioning of centuries-old received truths, about childhood, family, rationality, race, sexuality, gender, architecture, and the built environment. Fundamental beliefs upon which we base not only our knowledge of the world but also our actions in it, are being revised. Categories, whose meaning was once taken as a natural given, are now viewed as artificially “constructed”—no longer posited as absolute, constant, and universal realities, but as problematic.

The awareness of crisis and of the need for recategorization—part of a kind of relativity theory applied to culture—is not entirely new. We find its roots in the writings of late Renaissance intellectuals. Interestingly, architecture is one of the fields where this critical consciousness first began to stir, with Claude Perrault’s famous 17th-century dismissal of the rules of beauty as “arbitrary,” held by the ancients to be “positive” and “absolute.” Giovanni Battista Vico in the 18th century and Marx and Nietzsche in the 19th are perhaps the most lucid of the early exponents of a more generalized relativism. From their works flow a multitude of more specialized 20th-century studies in a great variety of fields. It appears that these critical investigations concentrated geographically during the post–World War II decades in France and attracted scholars from all areas of knowledge. Probably the most influential was Michel Foucault. His project for an “archaeology of knowledge” demonstrated that our notions of madness, scientific rationality, sexuality, and the body were products, not of nature, but of power and society.

An indication of the importance of the body as one of the main mental constructs recently undergoing major reconsideration

is Barbara Duden’s “A Repertory of Body History,” an eighty-page bibliography on the subject in the third volume of *Zone: Fragments for a History of the Body* (edited by Michel Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi). This bibliography contains about 1,200 references to articles and books. In addition to being the topic of many publications, the body has also been the theme of exhibitions in major museums. This year alone the Art Institute in Chicago presented Barbara Stafford’s exhibition on “The Representations of the Body,” and the Albertina in Vienna presented “Das Beredsamkeit des Leibes” (The Eloquence of the Body), curated by Ilsebill Barta Fliedl and Christoph Geissmar under the aegis of Konrad Oberhuber.

Such studies and exhibitions reveal not merely that our paradigms of the body have been changing, but that these changes have been a means through which other aspects of the world have also been transformed. In other words, the body has been used as a microcosm for mapping many aspects of life. There is no part of human culture that

has not been steeped, to use Jacques Le Goff’s expression, in the anthropomorphic metaphor. It is the way in which we represent God, gender, society, race, and social domination. In addition, the body in its many facets not only provided and still provides a system for organizing knowledge, it also directly influences the actions we take. Thought is “embodied” and action is directed by the resulting conceptual corpus of instructions.

The building is, like the body, another mental construct and, to a high degree, a socially determined one. Just as the idea of the body has been subject to changes and to power, so has that of the building. And just as the body has been seen as a map directing the path of human actions so is there a long tradition of looking at the building as an embodiment of knowledge. The cultural variability and history of the building has been not only extremely similar to that of the body, but often closely interwoven with it.

The two concepts emerge strongly interlinked in the history of the metaphor of the body as a building, which passes through several episodes of recategorization between the 8th and 15th centuries in Europe. This process culminates with the publication of Francesco Colonna’s ultra-erotic manifesto, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499). The book is unique not only because of its highly radical text, which redefines the categories of building and body and turns the older mentality of *contempus mundi* and *antilibidines* upside down, but also because of its equally radical visual appearance. It is an unprecedented and unrepeated montage of fragments of prose, typography, epigrams, and pictures—a true multimedia feast in which body and building occupy a central optical and cognitive place.

After *Hypnerotomachia*, books tended toward an increasingly somber, single-medium character, a tradition that was not challenged until the avant-garde montage publications of the 1920s and 1930s, especially in France. *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* is a return both to the problem of recategorization, and to the



In Fritz Lang’s “paranoid woman’s film” *Secret Beyond the Door*, the husband is an architect whose hobby is “collecting” rooms in which murders have occurred; 1948. (From *Sexuality and Space*.)



multimedia book concept espoused in the *Hypnerotomachia*. It also appears, in its extraordinary visual-typographical-textual "assemblage," to draw from the recent tradition of French avant-garde publications. Special mention should be made of the graphic design by Bruce Mau, which makes a marvelous spectacle out of the interplay of such heterogeneous material.

*Fragments* brings together forty-eight articles, many of them major scholarly contributions. A few of these have been previously published, but the great majority were specially commissioned by the editor Michel Feher and his coeditors Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi. As the title indicates, diversity is the main characteristic of the collection. The authors range from Paul Valéry and Julia Kristeva to the writers of the Vedic *Upanishads*; their fields range from history to literature to anthropology. The length of the articles also varies considerably: the longest is one hundred pages, the shortest one-and-a-half. The format of the contributions is no less varied. Traditional but profusely and lavishly illustrated

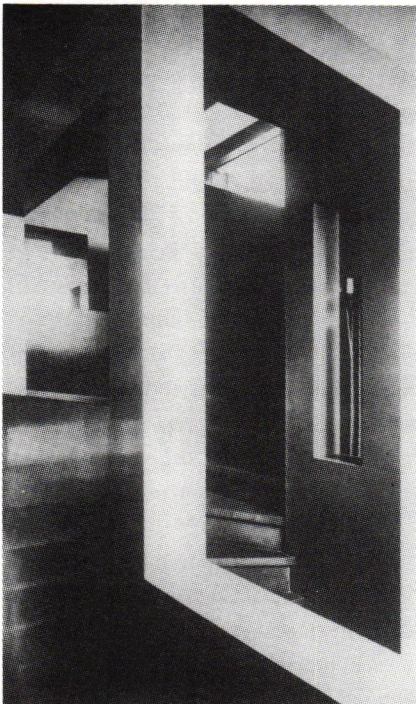
articles are placed beside photoessays such as Carol Beckwith's "Geerewol: The Art of Seduction" (on the nomadic Wodaabe tribe of Africa), Jean-Claude Beaune on automata from the 16th to the 19th centuries, and Mark Kidel and Susan Rowelete on Chinese, Indian, and European "maps of the body." Here images are not merely conceived as complements to the texts but as arguments in themselves. In addition to presenting major scholarly contributions—in particular Caroline Walker Bynum's "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages" on the reported sexual relations between nuns and the divine body of Christ, Jean-Pierre Vernant's "Dim Body, Dazzling Body" on the representation of the divine body among ancient Greeks, and Bruce Knauff's "Bodily Images in Melanesia"—*Fragments* is a little like an exhibition, or a museum, or a landscape.

This collection, made up of textual and visual essays and lists, covers an astonishingly vast terrain: Hollywood movies, Dutch 17th-century paintings of tooth-pulling, medieval autobiographies of nuns, the dominant patterns of homosexuality in Melanesian society, Aristotle's theory of fatherhood, 19th-century doctors on female anatomy, Japanese ghosts, phrenology, Chinese socialist-realist art, slavery in the Roman Empire, sacrifice in Inca society, ancient Greek representations of the gods, the metamorphoses of men into wolves in 16th-century France, chimeras, the art of seduction in the Wodaabe tribe of Africa today and in early Renaissance French courts, and Enlightenment automata. Anthropological material from Melanesian, Chinese, Japanese, Wodaabe, and Aztec and Piegan civilizations are associated with historical material from our own. Out of this juxtaposition it is hard to say which is the most foreign.

The articles veer off in totally different directions like a collection of Venn diagrams, overlapping at the center over the most slender of surfaces defined by the theme of the body. They are so disparate that they're almost impossible to interrelate within one coherent framework. The body

itself appears in an incredible number of guises and roles: as gendered, ungendered, healed, homoerotic, divine, mechanical, coprophilic, political, as a way of mapping the universe, experiencing afterlife, communing with the divine. We learn from Jean-Pierre Vernant that, to the pre-Socratics, God was a transparent sphere; from Florence Dupont, commenting on Ernst Kantorowicz, that kings in the Christian tradition had two bodies; from Jacques Le Goff that in antiquity the metaphor of the body consisted in the head-belly-limbs complex and that in the Middle Ages it was based on a head-heart dichotomy; from the *Upanishads* that women produce semen; that among the Aztecs it was believed that the human organism contains vital energy that can be released by sacrificing an individual; from Oscar Lewis that among the Piegan Indians of Canada, who were otherwise patriarchal and whose ideal of feminine behavior involved submission, reserve, kindness, modesty, and humility, it was also acceptable for certain women to behave aggressively and boldly and to demonstrate mastery in tasks, earning them respect and the appellation "man-hearted women." We learn from Bruce Knauff that pederastic insemination has traditionally been an entirely accepted practice in Melanesian tribal society; from a literary historian, Rene Nelli, that in the medieval courtly circles *coitus interruptus* or "asag" (i.e., "enough!") held sway over sexual priorities; from the ethnological photographer Carol Beckwith that young Wodaabe men daub their faces with a bright green cosmetic made of pounded chameleons because they believe, "rather poetically," that it will transform their faces the way the chameleon changes color and enable them to curry the admiration of other youths and the ardor of young women.

On the top of this chaotic mosaic of themes and images the editors do impose a framework. They provide three thematic "axes" around which the texts form three clusters; each cluster is allocated to one volume. Rather than forcing a strong interpretation on the material, the axes promote the individuality of the elements and encourage



In the essay entitled "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism," Colomina invokes Adolph Loos's Moller House, whose dark staircase leads from the entrance hall to the living room; Vienna, 1928. (From *Sexuality and Space*.)

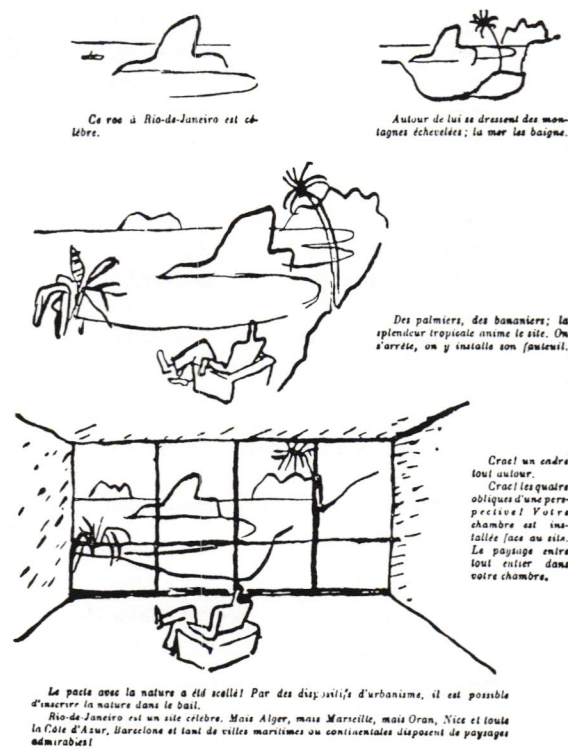


multiple interpretations of them by the reader. In a more directed editing, the collection of articles would have been placed in a developmental or chronological order, as even Foucault has done with documents he used in his archaeological studies of the body. This has also been the approach of others who have studied the body, such as Jacques Le Goff, Paul Veyne, Peter Brown, and Elaine Pagels.

In this minimal, intentionally weak, almost hypertextual structuring and editing device, the first axis (called "vertical") "explore[s] . . . the human body's relationship to the divine, to the bestial and to the machines that imitate or simulate it." The second axis focuses on the "various junctures" between the body's "outside" and "inside," studying the manifestation of "the soul and the expression of the emotions through the body's attitudes." And the third "brings into play the classical opposition between organ and function by showing how a certain organ or bodily substance can be used to justify or challenge the way human society functions and, reciprocally, how a certain political or social function tends to make the body of the person filling that function the organ of a larger body—the social body or the universe as a whole."

Thus, as the notion of fragment implies, the essays that compose these three volumes, conceived of as detached pieces, "do not pretend to form a complete survey or to define a compact portion of the history of the human body." The fact that so many problems are addressed "only indicates the extent of the field to be explored and marks several axes along which current research is moving, so that the consistency of these fragments lies in a cross section in which the connections among different disciplines—history, anthropology, philosophy, etc.—are highlighted rather than in a general overview or a strictly delimited schema."

The final message of this book is the cross-connections over traditional boundaries, creative connections between catego-



The view is constructed at the same time as the house, Rio de Janeiro, Le Corbusier, published in *La Maison des Hommes*, 1942. (From *Sexuality and Space*.)

ries, disciplines, media, scholarly traditions, cultures. In a world given over to fragmentation verging on decomposition, this is an invaluable contribution for which we should be grateful to the editors, designers, producers, to Jack Lang and the French Ministry of Culture for assisting the work, and to MIT Press for undertaking its distribution.

*Fragments for a History of the Human Body* deals almost uniquely with the body, including a background of implicitness other aspects of culture. The body is the theme again in *Sexuality and Space*, edited by Beatriz Colomina, but here the building is an equally important preoccupation. Based on papers presented at a conference organized by Colomina at the Princeton University School of Architecture in spring 1991, it is slim in comparison to the voluminous *Fragments*. But it is written in the same spirit of crisis and recategorization, and this permits us to compare them. It also permits a completion of the circle of this discussion by pointing out that it tries to undo the view of the world that *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* constructed. As with

the case of the *Hypnerotomachia*, *Sexuality and Space* deals with the body and the building in relation to power and control, not only physically but symbolically as well. But while the body and the building in the *Hypnerotomachia* are given the status of objects of the libido, here architecture and sexuality are revealed to be agents of gender oppression.

"How is the question of space already inscribed in the question of sexuality? This formulation required that we abandon the traditional thought of architecture as object, a bounded entity addressed by an independent subject and experienced by a body." This is the topic that Colomina proposed to the participants, who responded with a number of papers concentrating on sexual symbolism: of Louis Sullivan's florid "effeminate" ornamentation, of the male gaze in the construction of gendered photographic space, of Richard Payne Knight's theory of the origin of columns, of Pandora's box, of the skyscraper, and of the domestic space that inspired Marie-Henri Stendhal's famous *Life of Henri Brulard*. The depth of architectural analysis ranges widely throughout the collection, providing a larger cultural framework than was once customary in discussing architecture. Patricia White's article on the homophobia of Hollywood movies such as *The Haunting*, a thriller in which the protagonist is a house that embodies lesbian desire—and kills!—and Lynn Spiegel's essay on the impact of television in reinforcing sexist patterns in the domestic environment of postwar America, are good examples.

By far the most architecturally focused and novel contributions in the book are Colomina's own and Mark Wigley's. Colomina discusses domestic space in Adolph Loos's and Le Corbusier's upper-middle-class houses and villas. The method she uses is that of the detective. "Can there be a detective story of the interior itself, of the hidden mechanisms by which space is constructed as an interior?" she asks. And, like an architectural detective, she investi-



gates the Moller House (Vienna, 1928), the Muller House (Prague, 1930), a house for Hans Brummerl (Pilsen, 1929), the Rufer House (Vienna, 1922), a project for a house for Josephine Baker (Paris, 1928), the Villa Savoye (Poissy, 1929), Villa Garches (1927), Immeuble Clarté (Genebra, 1930–32), the Apartement Beistegui (Paris, 1929–31), and the Villa Church (Ville d'Avray, 1928–29), meticulously combing the spaces for hidden “traces” of the oppression of women they carry deep inside them. She discerns through the luxurious trappings of these domestic settings the subtle forms of surveillance and control built into them.

Wigley's essay complements Colomina's. He traces the inherently sexist Western tenets of bourgeois domestic space to Leon Battista Alberti's *Ten Books* and *Della Famiglia*. The attitudes, which are only implicitly contained in modern domestic space, are painstakingly spelled out here. As Alberti writes,

Women are almost all timid by nature, slow, soft and therefore more useful when they sit still and watch over things. It is as though nature has provided for our well being, arranging for men to bring things home and for women to guard them. The woman, as she remains locked up at home, should watch over things by staying at her post, by diligent care and watchfulness. The man should guard the woman, the house.

In Alberti's book, the house is clearly understood as a mechanism for the subordination of women, revealing an overt reference to architecture's complicity in the exercise of patriarchal authority by accommodating spatial order to a system of surveillance. In the most intriguing part of his article, Wigley discusses the anthropomorphic role of the building as a symbolic representation of the place of the woman in the patriarchal order that governs the household, as a form not only of physical but also cognitive confinement. The following quote from Alberti, comparing the father to a spider and the house to his web, is most telling of how the body of the building represents the power relation of man over woman.

You know the spider and how he constructs his web. All the threads spread out in rays, each of which, however long, has its source, its roots or birth-place, as we might say, at the center. From there each filament starts and moves outward. The most industrious creature himself then sits at that spot and has his residence there. He remains in that place once his work is spun and arranged, but keeps so alert and watchful that if there is a touch on the finest and most distant thread he feels it instantly, instantly appears, and instantly takes care of the situation. Let the father of a family do likewise. Let him arrange his affairs and place them so that all look up to him alone as head, so that all are directed by him and by him attached to secure foundations.

Centuries later, we are finally witnessing the redefinition of body, gender, and architecture, constructs that have become so deeply entangled in the spaces we inhabit that they once seemed unchangeable. A note of reserve, however. The collection of essays on the whole disregards creative, genuinely emancipatory architectural solutions. The well-known utopian communities described by Dolores Hayden, the Eames House, Menkes's prewar housing for single men in Haifa, the house that Madame de Rambouillet, originator of the *salon*, designed for herself in the 17th-century Paris, are just four examples. Diverse as they are, these are the kinds of precedents that are needed for inventing a more enlightened, human world.

ZONE: FRAGMENTS FOR A HISTORY OF THE HUMAN BODY, Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi, editors, 3 volumes, Zone Books, distributed by MIT Press, 1989, each volume about 500 pp., illus., \$56.50 cloth; \$32.95 paper.

SEXUALITY AND SPACE, Beatriz Colomina, editor, Princeton Papers on Architecture series by Princeton Architectural Press, 1992, 390 pp., \$17.95.

Henry Urbach

## Peeking at Gay Interiors

Matching (wo)men, matched pillowcases: interior design magazines have begun to portray lesbian and gay male couples *chez eux*. Offering their readers a glance at gay domesticity, design journals nonetheless do not reveal all. Gay couples may appear, but their relationships are so veiled that one cannot ascertain whether they are indeed “more than just roommates.” In interior design magazines, gay couples are simultaneously shown and masked, written and erased.

Recent articles in *House & Garden* (HG), *Elle Decor*, *Harper's*, and the *New York Times* (Home Design) indicate the tenor of homosexual representation in contemporary design culture. Like portraits of straight people at home, these articles typically offer color photographs of interior spaces with an image of the residents. The accompanying texts tend to discuss attitudes toward interior design and decoration, with emphasis on spatial organization, the treatment of surfaces, furniture, and *objets d'art*. Decor is presented as an expression of personality and lifestyle.

Portraits of gay couples, superficially similar to portraits of heterosexuals, nonetheless swerve from standard codes of description to avoid dealing with homosexuality directly. Straight couples cuddle on the veranda; gay couples eschew physical intimacy. In the home of a married couple featured in a recent HG, “the master bedroom is a study in whites,” we are informed. Gay couples, on the other hand, always have multiple bedrooms that seem to belong to no one in particular. The history, nature, and texture of a gay relationship is consistently overlooked and ignored. As a result, the design of gay homes cannot be depicted as an expression of personality and lifestyle. Decor becomes, instead, a metonym for undisclosed lives.

It is significant, in this regard, that the recent spate of articles all feature same-sex pairs who are also partners in design-related businesses. All white, all fortysomething,

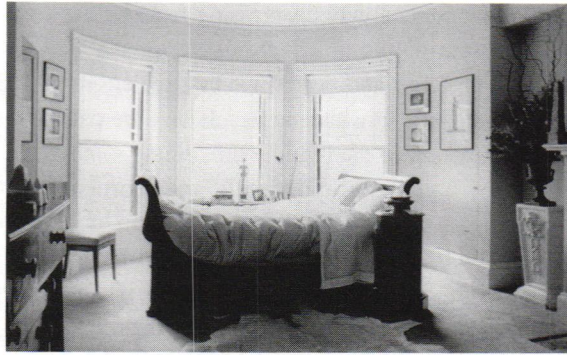


disproportionately male, professionally accomplished, these couples reflect—almost—the design industry's image of the tasteful good life.

Since the couples are also business associates, the articles can and, without exception, do avoid the words lover, domestic partner, companion, and boy/girlfriend. Instead the ambiguity of "partner" compresses domestic, affectional, erotic, and professional affiliations into a palatable, noncommittal term. Moreover, the successful decor of these homes is presented as a consequence of professional, rather than personal, association. The Bucks County house where Ron Bentley and Sal LaRosa spend weekends ("Three's Company," *HG*, November 1990) is called their "best laboratory." Likewise, Millicent Safro and Diana Epstein ("Object Lessons," *New York Times*, Home Design, April 5, 1992) "have spent the last 28 years searching for their store's unusual stock. In the process, they have also collected many well-loved objects." Their domestic trove is depicted as little more than a spillover from their commercial activities.

Whatever the realities—and they are multiple—of homosexual aesthetics, it is clear that the myth of gay, especially gay male, taste has long legitimized gay aesthetic production apart from a recognition of its grounding in homosexual life. Everyone knows that gay designers can render others' homes exquisitely expressive. Yet what happens when gay designers turn to producing their own homes?

The introduction to the feature on Rodolfo Machado and Jorge Silvetti ("Visionaries at Home," *HG*, September 1991) appears to recognize the tension between gay people designing for others and for themselves: "When an architect decorates his own house, it must be as much a moment of anguish as when a male designer of women's fashion chooses his own clothes." Moving from the idealization of others to the representation of oneself, the gay designer may be challenged to forgo a strategy of encoding in favor of making a space of one's own.



In portraits of gay couples' homes, decor becomes a metonym for undisclosed lives. (Rodolfo Machado and Jorge Silvetti's residence, as featured in *HG*; courtesy of William Waldron, photographer.)

When design magazines portray the work of solo gay designers or the homes of single gay inhabitants, the problem of homosexuality does not necessarily arise. *Architectural Digest's* visit to the Texas home of Martina Navratilova, for example, treats its subject as an unmarried woman; gay men are often called "bachelors." Once a live-in appears, however, the uncomfortable cannot be so easily dismissed. The articles do not exactly deny that the

partners are lovers; rather, they proceed elliptically, deploying various combinations of exclusions, codes, and contradictions.

Even as their homes are thrown open for public inspection, the homosexuality of homosexuals remains undisclosed. Design magazines construct a closet that organizes a relationship of power and knowledge between gay subjects and readers no matter how "out" the subject may actually be. Through the closet, homosexuality is transformed into an open secret—information that is precious, dangerous, and ready-to-use. The closet challenges those inside and outside to determine how much information can be exchanged before the secret is given away.

The interest of the game depends on clues sufficiently vague to sustain mystery, yet legible enough to afford the possibility of discovery. In portraits of gay domestic space, decor offers clues: Safro and Epstein display an early 20th-century gouache entitled "Victorian Sisters" in their Manhattan



Design magazines simultaneously reveal and conceal gay domesticity, with ambiguous references to the inhabitants' "partnerships." Is this bedroom shared? (Bill Ryall and Ted Porter's home; courtesy *Elle Decor*, photograph by Jeff Goldberg/Esto.)



townhouse. Bill Ryall and Ted Porter ("Homestead in Harlem," *Elle Decor*, June/July 1992) have multiple books on Michelangelo, a painting based on a Walt Whitman poem, and a copy of Roland Barthes's *A Lover's Discourse* by the bed. Machado and Silveti have marble obelisks and male torsos everywhere, along with books on Pasolini, Horst, and Mapplethorpe.

Sometimes the clues have to do with affiliation. Jed Johnson and Alan Wanzenberg ("Poetic License," *Harper's Bazaar*, June 1992) enjoy the paintings Johnson acquired during his twelve years as a Warhol protégé. The Machado and Silveti article was written by an important gay literary figure, Edmund White. Alternatively, first-person plural pronouns can suggest information about co-ownership and shared experience. "Almost everything is a memento from our travels," Machado says. Or, explains Wanzenberg, "we were lucky . . . the construction of our apartment coincided exactly with the period we wanted to study and collect."

To sustain the tease despite the too-obvious clues, the articles also include information that works against the definitive reading of a gay couple's sexuality. Machado and Silveti may collect mementos when they travel, but their shared trips are not described and, instead, it is Machado alone who explains that he schedules a day at the flea market wherever he goes. Similarly, hedging between shared and individual experience, the article about Johnson and Wanzenberg states that Johnson has "created a soul-satisfying environment for himself and partner Alan Wanzenberg . . . within the four walls of his 2,500-square-foot Central Park West apartment." The piece on Ryall and Porter indicates that "bedrooms, front and back, occupy the top floor, linked by a rambling bath and dressing-room suite"; but only one bedroom appears, with no explanation of whose it is—or if, as one suspects, it is shared.

Given the discursive significance of who sleeps where, it is no surprise that the articles take the reader to the bedroom de-

liberately, slowly progressing from public to semipublic to private domestic space. With Ryall and Porter, we first see an image of the brownstone facade and the pair of men, then the living room, dining room, two stair shots, and, finally, the bedroom and attic library. With Machado and Silveti, we move from office to living room, hall stairway, and library before reaching the gorgeous "greige" bedroom. Epstein and Safro's piece proceeds from living room to hall to dining area, kitchen, and guest bedroom, stopping just short of showing where the two women sleep. For Johnson and Wanzenberg, and Bentley and LaRosa, only public rooms are shown.

Interior design magazines used to stick to the depiction of domestic public space. Early issues of *Architectural Digest*, for example, presented living rooms, dining rooms, or parlors, with brief captions identifying owner, architect, and decorator. Private and service spaces were not shown, and matters of lifestyle were not broached.

Nowadays, former boundaries of public and private are unstable, and public experience is increasingly defined as the shared experience of others' exposed lives. Design magazines conspire with the voyeurism of readers, gazing attentively into others' private spaces and domestic arrangements. Yet, when it comes to peeking at gay couples, intimacy is the one thing we cannot see.

Edward W. Soja  
and Barbara Hooper

## The Spaces That Difference Makes: Some Notes on the Geographical Margins of the New Identity Politics

In *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*, bell hooks, a radical African-American woman of many assertive colors, moves us beyond the stubbornly parallel critiques of masculine, white racist, and other elitist ideologies of difference. In doing so, she locates herself in the multiplicity of "other" spaces that difference makes, an often unheard of and unseen spatiality that creates from difference new sites for struggle and for the construction of interconnected communities of resistance to oppression and exploitation. In her words:

As a radical standpoint, perspective, position, "the politics of location" necessarily calls those of us who would participate in the formation of counter-hegemonic cultural practice to identify the spaces where we begin the process of re-vision. . . . For me this space of radical openness is a margin—a profound edge. Locating oneself there is difficult yet necessary. It is not a "safe" place. One is always at risk. One needs a community of resistance.

In these real and imagined "other spaces" she opens up the possibilities for a cultural politics of difference and identity that is both radically postmodern and strategically spatialized. Indeed, this creative spatialization is more than an attractive metaphor or abstraction; it is the vital discursive turn that grounds the new cultural politics as well as facilitates what might be called the "empowerment of multiplicity," the construction of interconnected communities of resistance as opposed to competitively fragmented and separate ones.

Hooks finds her place, positions herself, by the simultaneously political and geographical act of "choosing marginality."



This positioning of identity, she warns, "is not informed by a narrow cultural nationalism masking continued fascination with the power of the white [and/or male] hegemonic order." Such an identification, she argues, continues to submit to the dominant, order-producing, and unremittingly modernist ideology of difference, with its infatuation with binary oppositions and strictly dyadic forms of struggle. "Instead, identity is evoked as a stage in a process wherein one constructs radical black subjectivity" and, by extension and adjustment, all other forms of counterhegemonic or, as it is now often called, "subaltern" identity.

This is not a static notion of identity. She pushes the "process" of radical identity formation to a new stage, where the struggle against white racism and related forms of oppression can be reimagined around the question of "who we can be and still be black?" Such a question demands, in response, an openness to multiple identities, to connections between communities of resistance in the margins. En route to these opportunity-filled spaces that difference makes, hooks rejects the conventional choices that modernist discourse has long imposed on the activist black subject, noting that "assimilation, imitation, or assuming the role of rebellious exotic are not the only options and never have been."

Critical to this move is a strategic avoidance of the categorical logic that has become so ingrained in all the counterhegemonic movements that collectively comprise what can be called "modernist identity politics." "Choosing marginality" for hooks means not performing the seductive reversal of polarity that constructs radical identity by categorical displacement, but by switching sides in any one of a long list of fixed power relations, or what Meaghan Morris calls the "Big Dichotomies": self/other, subject/object, white/black, man/woman, colonizer/colonized, center/periphery, bourgeois/proletarian, heterosexual/homosexual.

Modernist identity politics, even when rejecting Marxist categories, has nonetheless tended to develop along lines charted out a century ago with the formation of the

anticapitalist class consciousness and struggle. The process typically begins with an epistemological critique of one of the Big Dichotomies that, through a binary "ordering" of difference, produce and reproduce systematic patterns of domination and subordination in human and social relations. This is usually accompanied by a politically motivated "denaturalization" of these revealed structures of power and domination in order to reveal that they are socially and culturally produced and thus subject to being socially and culturally transformed. Each separate Big Dichotomy then becomes the basis for a mobilization of consciousness and struggle aimed at the empowerment of the subaltern against hegemony. Such a dyadic opposition, often promulgated as essentially significant, consolidates radical subjectivity "for itself" and on its "home ground" in parallel but rarely intersecting channels of radical political consciousness, each designed and primed to change their own discrete worlds of difference. The mainstreams thus flow with some power, but rarely interconnect except by analogy.

With the importance of this modernist form of radical subjectivity and subaltern politics in specific struggles against oppression in mind, hooks tries to push us to a new stage, a different spatial framing of resistance, a terrain of reassembly in which the construction of difference and "otherness" is actively disordered and fragmentation becomes opportunity in the face of hegemonic coherence. "Fundamental to this process of decentering the oppressive other and claiming our right to subjectivity," she writes, "is the insistence that we must determine how we will be and not rely on colonizing responses to determine our legitimacy." This alternative process deconstructs both margin and center, while reconstituting in the restructured margins new spaces of opportunity. For hooks and the Others involved in this disordering of difference, there is a "definite distinction between the marginality which is imposed by oppressive structure and that marginality one chooses as site of resistance, as location of radical openness and possibility."

She continues:

It was this marginality that I was naming as a central location for the production of a counterhegemonic discourse that is not just found in words but in habits of being and the way one lives. As such, I was not speaking of a marginality one wishes to lose—to give up or surrender as part of moving into the center—but rather as a site one stays in, clings to even, because it nourishes one's capacity to resist. It offers to one the possibility of radical perspective from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds . . .

Understanding marginality as position and place of resistance is crucial for oppressed, exploited, colonized people. If we only view the margin as a sign marking the despair, a deep nihilism penetrates in a destructive way. . . . I want to say that these margins have been both sites of repression and sites of resistance . . . This is an intervention. A message from that space in the margin that is a site of creativity and power, that inclusive space where we recover ourselves, where we move in solidarity to erase the category colonizer/colonized. Marginality is the space of resistance. Enter that space. Let us meet there.

Against those who might see her as being merely metaphorical about space, hooks goes on:

Spaces can be real and imagined [note the "and" rather than "or"]. Space can tell stories and unfold histories. Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated, and transformed through artistic and literary practice. As Pratibha Parmar notes, "The appropriation and use of space are political acts."

And for those who doubt her postmodernism or see only a pragmatic concreteness, hooks posits:

. . . racism is perpetuated when blackness [and one might add other forms of parochial subjectivity] is associated solely with concrete gut level experience conceived as either opposing or having no connection to abstract thinking and the production of critical theory. Criticisms of directions in postmodern thinking should not obscure insights it may offer that open up our understanding.

It is an appropriately cautious and suspicious postmodernism to be sure, ever



aware of the dangers of white male and female intellectual mastery, co-optation, and exclusion. But it is assertively postmodern nonetheless and, at the same time, explicitly spatial in its configuration of the new cultural politics.

Postmodern culture with its decentered subject can be the space where ties are severed or it can provide the occasion for new and varied forms of bonding. To some extent, ruptures, surfaces, contextuality, and a host of other happenings create gaps that make space for oppositional practices which no longer require intellectuals to be confined by narrow separate spheres with no meaningful connection to the world of the everyday. . . . One can talk about what we are seeking, thinking, or listening to: a space is there for critical exchange . . . [and] this may very well be "the" central future location of resistance struggle, a meeting place where new and radical happenings can occur.

In "choosing the margin as a space of radical openness," hooks begins a powerful revising of our conceptualization of human geographies, of what we mean by the politics of location and geographically uneven development. She creates the need for a cognitive remapping of our many real and imagined geographical worlds—from the most local confines of the body, where it all begins, to the most global divisions of labor, where it is repeated again and again. For hooks, the political project is to occupy these spaces on the margins, to reclaim them as locations of radical openness and possibility, to make within them a place where one's radical subjectivity can be seen and practiced in conjunction with other radical subjectivities. It is thus a space of inclusion rather than exclusion, a space where subjectivities can multiply, connect, and combine in polycentric communities of identity and resistance. More than just *des espaces autres* ("other spaces," as Michel Foucault called them), they are also the spaces of the many Others and Othernesses, real and imaginary at the same time, filled with both "concrete gut level experience" and the "abstract thinking" of critical theory, postmodern in both theory and practice, simultaneously central

and peripheral in ways we have rarely been able to appreciate before.

Hooks's disordering of difference and decentering of the oppressive other is repeatedly echoed in literature on gender, race, class, and colonialism. Franz Fanon signaled it early on in *The Wretched of the Earth*: "Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete disorder."

More recently, in what has come to be called "Subaltern Studies" and in the broader post-colonial critique, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak takes us almost as far as hooks does in her movement "beyond a homogeneous internationalism, to the persistent recognition of heterogeneity." For Spivak, the challenge is encapsulated in the slow and careful labor of what she describes as "unlearning our privileges as our loss," a companion clause to hooks's "choosing marginality."

Elsewhere in postmodern feminist literature, many have become aware of the need to disorder difference and break away from rigid continuities within the feminist movement. Elspeth Probyn's "Travels in the Postmodern," for example, led her to ask

. . . one of the crucial questions now facing feminism and, more generally Western thought: in creating our own centers and our own locals, we tend to forget that our centers displace others into the peripheries of our own making.

Rita Felski saw the same dilemma of orderliness when she wrote

The paradox in which we feminists find ourselves is that while we regard patriarchal discourses as fictions, we nevertheless proceed as if our position, based on a belief in the oppression of women, were somehow closer to the truth. How, then, is feminism to legitimate and sustain its own critique of patriarchy, once it recognizes the existence of a more general legitimation crisis which questions the grounding and authority of all forms of knowledge?

Expressed in many different ways is a shifting course (and discourse) that moves beyond the simple opposition between patriarchally defined subaltern and hegemony, which is so important to the initial mobili-

zation of resistance but which, in its orderliness and continuity, reproduces the same structures of oppression and exploitation—the same master narratives and Big Dichotomies that it claims to be challenging. The key steps toward a new stage of resistance are, first, a radical deconstruction of the differences within and between the oppositional categories; and second, a strategic repositioning that takes advantage of the fragmentation and multiplicities arising from the inherent disorderlines of difference. These actions open up new contexts, epistemologies, and practices that are radically postmodern and strategically spatialized at every level of discourse.

Cultural critics do not easily fit the spaces that difference makes in the postmodern discourse of spatiality conventionally defined by geographers, architects, urban designers, and planners. For these intrinsically spatial disciplines, spatiality is defined either as "real" material forms (the built environment, urban geographies, morphological structures) or as cognitive forms (imagined spaces, mental maps, phenomenological or semiotic representations). These two modes of conceptualizing spatiality are combined in the best of individual practices, but too often the modes have been set in opposition, fostering another divisive dualism (between objectivist materialism and subjectivist idealism) that significantly constrains spatial thinking and analysis. As a result, hooks's combination of real and imagined spaces, and choice of the margin as a space of openness, as well as Foucault's heterotopias of space, knowledge, and power, Fredric Jameson's aesthetic politics of cognitive mapping, Lefebvre's connections between spaces of representations, representations of space, and spatial praxis, and Edward Soja's postmodern geographies, often become difficult to comprehend within the traditionally spatial disciplines because they do not seem to fit the established categories. They are attractive conceptualizations in the spatial references they use, but the spaces they define seem oddly improper, opaque, elusive, overly metaphorical, outside familiar parameters.



Geographers, architects, and urban planners must try harder to engage the cultural critics in exploring the new postmodern spaces that difference makes, this "third space" of political choice in which all real spaces are imagined and all imagined spaces are real. This will demand a major readjustment of perspective, a different way of looking at and making sense of the spatiality of social life—one that does not reduce it to the description of material forms or to an ungrounded and depoliticized act of creative envisioning.

It will also require a sensitivity to the epistemological hegemony of historicism that has made the making of history more critically relevant to understanding the contemporary world than the social reproduction of space and spatiality. This critique of historicism as hegemonic in critical thinking (thereby marginalizing a critical spatial or geographical imagination) is also an act of decentering and deconstruction, of strategically choosing marginality as "a place of radical openness," a place that nourishes one's capacity "to imagine alternatives." Decentering history does not mean constructing an essentialist spatialism in historicism's place, but rather, revisioning the critical differences conventionally imposed on the relations between historicity, spatiality, and sociality: time, space, and social being; the (social) making of history and the (social) production of space; and the (spatial-temporal) constitution of social practices. As this critique of historicism has not been developed widely within cultural studies (or, for that matter, in hooks's *Yearning*), it may be a task for which the spatial disciplines are particularly well-positioned to take a leading role.

Nevertheless, in the new cultural politics of difference and identity revisioned by bell hooks, consciously postmodern spatial praxis has the potential to provide a common language and radical openness that can help articulate diverse communities of resistance in ways that modernist forms of Marxism, feminism, antiracism, and anticolonialism have been unable to achieve. More than anything else, this ca-

capacity to combine and connect, "to provide fertile ground for the construction of empathy, ties that would serve as a base for solidarity and coalition," as hooks asserts in her defense of radical postmodernism, gives additional urgency to her summative invitation: "Marginality is the space of resistance. Enter that space. Let us meet there. Enter that space. We greet you as liberators."

Judith Wolin

## **The New Woman in Russian Constructivism: "A woman with a gun can kill a man with a club"**

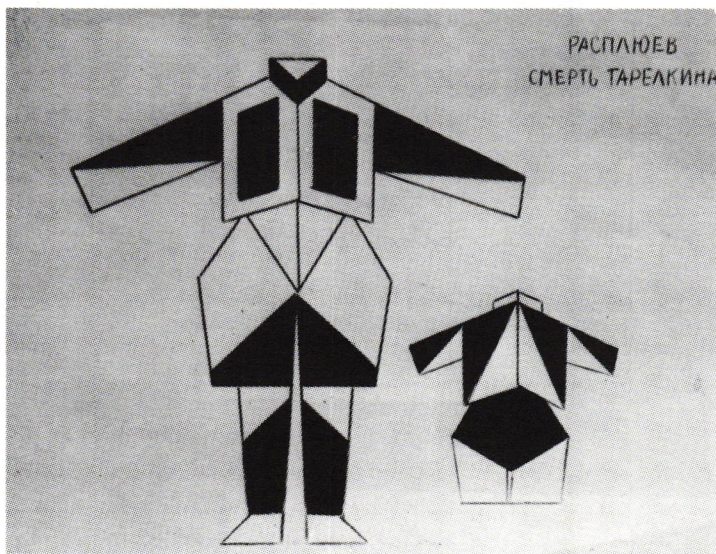
When Camilla Gray's *Great Experiment in Russian Art* was published in 1967, Russian Constructivism was definitively reclaimed into the canonical history of modern art. Her lively, thorough, and balanced overview had a fascinating subtext lurking behind its historical narrative. Without making an overt declaration of feminist revisionism, Gray had found a place in the canon for a number of women of unimpeachable talent and originality. It was clear that if the contributions of Liubov Popova, Alexandra Exter, Olga Rosanova, and Varvara Stepanova were subtracted from the body of work loosely labeled Constructivism, its political and pedagogical import would have been substantially diminished.

The last twenty-five years have seen several new exhibitions and books on the Russian avant-garde; almost without exception they reinforce Gray's assessment of the importance of women in the movement. In fact, they mirror each other in content, literary style, and critical point of view to a dizzying degree. They document the same ground-breaking exhibitions, publications, artistic confederations, and schools. They quote the same critics. They accept the same oversimplified translations of theoretical terms such as *faktura*—a term repeatedly rendered in English as "texture" when, in fact, it was meant to convey something more like "materiality" or "trace of the process of making."

The direct study of the women of the Constructivist generation might have been the opportunity to use a fresh theoretical perspective. Why, in fact, were the women able to take leadership roles in the Russian avant-garde and not in the French or Italian? What were their social positions? Where did they study? Were they particu-

YEARNING: RACE, GENDER, AND CULTURAL POLITICS, bell hooks, South End Press, 1990, 236 pp., \$14.00.





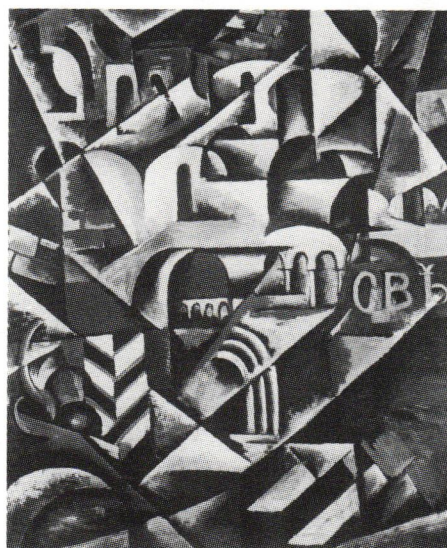
Costume designs for the play, "The Death of Tarelkin," Raspljuev, Russia; Varvara Stepanova, 1922. (From *Rodchenko e Stepanova: Alle origini del Costruttivismo*.)

larly predisposed to political radicalism by a sense of marginalization? Were the men (Kasimir Malevich, Vladimir Tatlin, Alexander Rodchenko, and Alexander Vesnin, among others) with whom they shared exhibitions more open to female comradeship? Were they feminists, socialists, or purely artistic iconoclasts?

Because M. N. Yablonskaya's book, *Women Artists of Russia's New Age*, includes a number of women less well known than the "big four" (Popova, Exter, Rosanova, and Stepanova), readers may glimpse certain incomplete patterns that might qualify as responses to some of these questions. Almost all the artists attended high schools for women—not a startling fact until you turn to other sources and discover how limited secondary school education was for women in Czarist Russia (see Richard Stites's *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism 1860–1930*, Princeton, 1978). Most came from families of either the wealthy and secularized merchant class or the intelligentsia; the aristocracy and the peasant and working classes (with the exception of Anna Semenova Golubkina) were not represented.

Most studied art at one of the few Higher Technical Workshops opened to women in 1905. (The St. Petersburg Tech-

nical Institute, for example, which existed from 1906 to 1924, graduated fifty designers, architects, and engineers during its first decade.) Some of the women in Yablonskaya's study were closely related to outstanding artists and poets. They gravitated to the teaching studios of a few artists, notably Konstantin Yuon and Nikolai Zhukovsky in Moscow and Jean Metzinger in Paris. Nearly all managed to travel in France or Italy and study in Paris before 1917. These facts are mentioned but not examined; the individual stylistic develop-



*Cubist Cityscape*, oil on canvas; Liubov Popova, 1914. (From *Liubov Popova*.)

ment of each woman is the main story line. Gender, class and political ideology are relegated to a penumbra of biographical facts without much import.

Russian society in the 19th century had an extremely paternalistic structure. Marriages were arranged; financial independence through employment was nearly impossible for women. Yet the romance of the emancipated female had a strong and persistent hold on the Russian feminine imagination from mid-century onward. The novels of George Sand were devoured by young women, some of whom later became active and outspoken feminists. G. N. Chernyshevsky's novel, *What Is To Be Done? Tales About New People* (1864) created a model of the "new woman" and the new marriage sufficiently revolutionary to earn him a lifetime in Siberia. The new woman was financially self-sufficient, modest in her material wants, scrupulously honest in speech and deed. Her partners were of her own choosing, not match-made by meddling parents. She worked hard and her mate was proud of her accomplishments. Husband and wife were both dedicated to the uplifting of the common folk and were forever founding social improvement associations.

The painter Wassily Kandinsky testified that these "nihilistic" ideas captured the



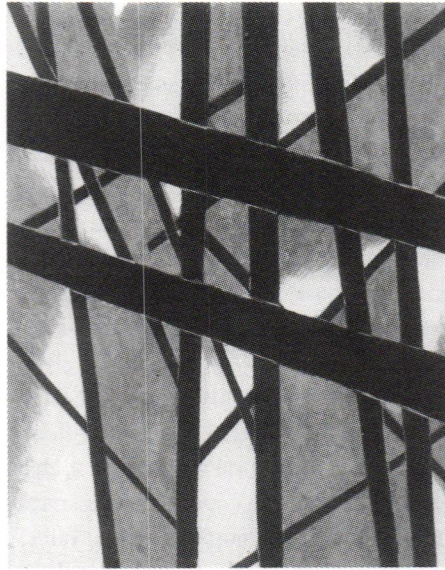
imagination of his generation who, in turn, agitated for the reforms to the educational system that allowed Natalia Goncharova, Popova, and their comrades to acquire an education somewhat comparable to their male counterparts.

The comradely partnerships of Goncharova with Michael Larionov, Stepanova with Alexander Rodchenko, Nadezhda Udaltsova with the poet Alexei Kruchenykh, and (briefly) Popova with Vesnin, seem formed out of the Chernyshevsky model. The women kept their own names, worked on their own commissions, were granted teaching posts and executive positions in the infant cultural bureaucracy of the Bolshevik regime. They helped their mates organize exhibitions and execute publications.

*Rodchenko/Stepanova: The Future Is Our Only Goal*, edited by Peter Noever, and its predecessor, *Varvara Stepanova: The Complete Work* (London, 1990), which both have long biographical essays by their son Aleksandr Lavrent'yev, provide perhaps the best description in English of such a life-long artistic partnership. Nevertheless, it seems a "laundered" story, bleached of any record of conflict or dissonance. Did Stepanova simply idolize Rodchenko? Did he never rely too heavily on her help with mundane responsibilities? Not a word on the subject. How did they react to the Stalinist repression of the 1930s? No clue.

What will be found in all three of these books is an abundance of excellent reproductions of work, much of it in color. Textile, costume, graphic design, stage sets, puppets, and ceramics are all included, as well as painting and sculpture. Yablonskaya, in particular, emphasizes the continuity of easel painting with applied art and folk art traditions in the work of a number of her subjects. She is not so bold as to forge a direct link between their demonstrated interest in folk craft and their commitment to production art after the revolution, but she clearly shows how quickly and skillfully they moved from the galleries to the textile factories.

All three books have clear, up-to-date



*Space-Force Construction*, oil and gouache on board; Liubov Popova, 1921. (From *Liubov Popova*.)

bibliographies and thorough chronologies. They also include translations of interesting documents of the period. They are handsomely produced and richly illustrated both with the works of the artists and photographs of them in various stages of their lives. It is the visual and documentary material that brings these extraordinary artists to life. Their reckless rhetoric and daring artistic experiments are, at certain moments, breathtaking. Olga Rosanova's voice rings through the century to us:

We propose to liberate painting from its subservience to ready-made forms of reality and to make it, first and foremost a creative, not a reproductive, art. . . . The aesthetic value of an abstract picture lies in the completeness of its painterly content. . . . The obtrusiveness of concrete reality has hampered the artists' work, and as a result, common sense has triumphed over visions fancy free; but visions faint-hearted have created unprincipled works of art, the mongrels of contradictory world-views. (From the unpublished magazine, *Supremus*, 1918.)

Illustrated in the catalog for the New York Museum of Modern Art exhibition, *Liubov Popova*, the artist's "Space-Force Constructions" of 1921 have a sweeping confidence and energy that resonate with Rosanova's words. They reveal an artist absolutely sure of her technique, carrying

through a disciplined set of investigations in which plywood and paper, thickened paint, and collaged elements take the place of the conventional oil-on-canvas medium. From 1921 until her death in 1924, she also produced stunning textiles, graphic designs, and stage sets whose uninhibited embrace of industrial technology fully defines the spirit of Productivism.

Technology may have had a special symbolism for the women of the Russian avant-garde. In arguing for their right to education and employment, Russian feminists had frequent recourse to the argument that technology had equalized the physical abilities of men and women. "A woman with a cart can outrun a man on foot . . . and a woman with a gun can kill a man with a club."

The revolution's promise of modernization and of equal rights and opportunities for women drew them into the vanguard of propaganda art and design for mass production. No other path could offer so swift a transformation of social life. For a few years, the promise seemed to be fulfilled. The women were given teaching positions, commissions, and responsible government posts. Then as Stalinist repression bore down on those who survived the 1920s, they learned that they had paid dearly for that advancement—their cherished artistic freedom was the price of the social revolution they had so passionately embraced.

WOMEN ARTISTS OF RUSSIA'S NEW AGE, 1910–1935, M. N. Yablonskaya, edited and translated by Anthony Parton, Rizzoli, 1990, 224 pp., illus., \$55.00.

ALEKSANDR M. RODCHENKO AND VARVARA F. STEPANOVA: THE FUTURE IS OUR ONLY GOAL, Peter Noever, editor, with essays by Aleksandr Lavrent'yev and Angela Völker, Prestel Verlag, 1991, 260 pp., illus., \$65.00.

LIUBOV POPOVA, Magdalena Dabrowski, Museum of Modern Art New York and Harry N. Abrams, 1991, 135 pp., illus., \$39.95.



Hayden White

## Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism

FREDRIC JAMESON

This book is an expansion of Fredric Jameson's vastly influential essay, "Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," which appeared in *New Left Review* in 1984. (That essay was an expanded version of "Postmodernism and Consumer Culture," originally a lecture delivered in fall 1982 at the Whitney Museum and published in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster [Port Townsend: Bay Press, 1983]). Jameson now extends his own contribution to the debate over postmodernism that has developed over the last ten years, responds to critiques of his position, and adds important chapters on such topics as video, architecture, theory, ideology, reading, space, film, and economics. His principal aim is to refine, qualify, and defend, not so much a specific interpretation of postmodernism itself as, the interpretative stance he has been developing since his earliest work on Sartre (1961). In short, the current work is as much a contribution to theory of method and interpretation (which, it should be said, received a magisterial formulation in the introduction to *The Political Unconscious* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981]) as it is to the debate over postmodernism.

From the start, and well before "postmodernism" made its appearance, Jameson was himself a postmodernist in the sense of being a critic of "modernist aesthetics" and viewing modernism as an ideological expression (what he called variously a "cultural dominant," "class fantasy," and "symbolic response") of high capitalism. It is not surprising, then, that, unlike most Marxist critics, he should regard the postmodernist movement as

a positive or progressive cultural phenomenon to the extent that it represents a rejection of modernism and manifests a desire to transcend modernism's debilitating illusions. Being a dialectical thinker, Jameson has always looked for the "utopian" element in ideologies that other, more specifically "ethical" critics would be inclined to praise or condemn on moral grounds. So, too, or rather consequently (since he is our most consistently "historicist" critic), Jameson has staunchly resisted the tendency, shared by Left and Right criticism alike, to regard cultural movements such as modernism and postmodernism as simple "reflections" of economic or social forces, and to write them off as mere ideology. Consistent with Louis Althusser's theory of ideology as an "imaginary" relation to "real" conditions of existence, Jameson views ideology as both a reaction to or reflection of social forces and formations and

as a "response" thereto, symbolic in nature, to be sure, but as much "utopian" in inspiration as it is "expressive" of the need to accommodate thought to reality. In this view, modernism has to be seen as a response, at once accommodating and resistant, to the conditions of a fully developed monopoly capitalism; for all its vaunted avant-gardism and revolutionary rhetoric, modernism was continuous with its 19th-century antecedents as well as indicative of their bankruptcy. What modernism signaled was the end of 19th-century "aestheticism" and the end of aesthetics itself, insofar as modernism expressed the "return" of 19th-century realism's repressed aestheticism and the sublimation of the aesthetic into a notion of the pure presence of "being." In this framework, postmodernism represents a "return" of the traditional against which modernism defined itself—not as a positive grasping of the an-

cient or antique but rather in some version of a "mode-retro" in which nostalgia takes the form of a longing for longing itself, a homesickness for homesickness, what might almost be called a desire for a lost "sense of loss" which would have at least permitted the belief that meaning or value had once been possible, even if neither is conceivable any longer.

This convoluted way of putting the matter is indicative of the stance toward history that informs Jameson's method of analysis. He always looks for the negative moment in any particular cultural formation, by which its historical dissolution can be accounted for and "the logical conditions of possibility" for identifying what comes afterward "can be specified." What is experienced as a positive moment in every succeeding cultural formation is always a function of what it has rejected or fought against in the preceding period. The conceptual, semantic, epistemological, or ontological "content" of any "cultural dominant" (such as postmodernism) is to be grasped as a negation of a negation, rather than as a positivity that can be identified by



Exterior of The Westin Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles; John Portman, 1976. (Courtesy The Westin Bonaventure.)



empirical scrutiny of its formal properties and practical elements. It turns out that in history, the left hand does know what the right hand is doing, in the way that Hegel's bondsman knows not only what his lord is doing, but also what he is thinking and why he thinks as he does. This is because the bondsman is not only a subject in and for himself, but also an object of the lord's power and the recipient of the former's violent action. If, as Jameson has averred in a famous line in *The Political Unconscious*, "history is what hurts," in history (as in the psychoanalysis) this hurt has a payoff in the advancement of social consciousness.

As in Hegel's lord and bondsman model, historical epochs or periods bear a relationship to one another mediated by the twin forces of power and consciousness, indicating, of course, no *simple* relationship of opposition, but rather complexly *mediated* relationships of similarity and difference, identity and contradiction. Jameson never tires of stressing that historical periods are not monolithic formations; both bases and superstructures are internally varied and multilayered. Indeed, the relationship between base and superstructure is itself variously determined and intricately layered, which is why it is pointless to look for any single causal determination in the (socioeconomic) base for the forms and contents of the (cultural) superstructure of an era. Postmodernism is understandable as an effect, expression, and function of the socioeconomic conditions characteristic of "late" (or multinational and consumerist) capitalism's succession of *both* earlier forms of capitalism (commercial, industrial, monopoly) and feudalism.

But residues of those earlier modes of production persist in the new "situation" (in Sartre's sense of the concept) created by the actualization of a genuinely new world-system of production, exchange, and consumption—itsself produced by new technologies of information, communication, surveillance, and control. In the do-



Interior lobby of The Westin Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles; John Portman, 1976. (Courtesy The Westin Bonaventure.)

main of cultural production, exchange, consumption, and reproduction, postmodernism is thus a reflection of and response to not only the new mode of production, but also to the *relationship* between the new and the older modes of production and the older expressions in the domain of culture. These relationships are varied and complex, encompassing those not only of effectivity and entailment, but also opposition, negation, identification, differentiation, and the like. It is not, then, a matter of grouping together different postmodernist cultural phenomena on the basis of the similarity of their formal properties. To do this would be to practice a kind of criticism Jameson calls journalistic and condemns as based on "homological" thinking. Nor is it a matter—as Jameson stresses in his long conclusion titled, with characteristic irony, "Secondary Elaborations" (referring to Freud's *sekundäre Bearbeitung*)—of

awarding points, ranking, assessing the "value," or handing out certificates of historical relevance of new cultural products as they appear on the horizon. It is necessary, Jameson insists, to analyze them. And by analysis, Jameson makes clear throughout his book, he means

that peculiar and rigorous conjuncture of formal and historical analysis that constitutes the specific task of literary and cultural study; to describe this further as the investigation of the historical conditions of possibility of specific forms may perhaps convey the way in which these twin perspectives (often thought to be irreconcilable or incommensurable in the past) can be said to constitute their object and thereby to be inseparable.

Such analysis in no way implies the avoidance of evaluation. What it implies is a notion of evaluation different from that of "cultural journalism," which "turns on whether a work is 'good' (after the fashion of an older aesthetic judgment)." On the contrary, according to Jameson, analysis

rather tries to keep alive (or to reinvent) assessments of a sociopolitical kind that interrogate the quality of social life itself by way of the text or individual work of art, or hazard an assessment of the political effects of cultural currents or movements with less utilitarianism and a greater sympathy for the dynamics of everyday life than the imprimaturs and indexes of earlier traditions.

It is necessary to dwell upon these methodological and theoretical points in order to differentiate Jameson's enterprise from that of other cultural critics who have dealt with postmodernism in ways less inclusive and insightful than his treatment of it. In 1983, in "Postmodernism and Consumer Culture" (*The Anti-Aesthetic*), Jameson noted that it was quite easy to show how postmodernism "replicates or reproduces—reinforces—the logic of consumer capitalism." But, he insisted, "the more significant question is whether there is also a way in which it resists that logic."



In "The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" (now chapter one of the book), this power of resistance (what he called "the 'moment of truth' of postmodernism") was presented as residing in nothing less than a new kind of "realism." The new, original, and positive moment in postmodernism consists, on one hand, in its "realistic" apprehension of the new social space created by the expansion of consumer capitalism around the globe; and the extent to which this social space has been permeated and expropriated by what Jameson calls "the cultural," on the other. Indeed, where traditional critics apprehend a "dissolution of an autonomous sphere of culture" (under the impact of commercialization, secularization, mongrelization, degeneration, and the rest), Jameson perceives "a prodigious expansion of culture throughout the social realm, to the point at which everything in our social life—from economic value and state power to practices and the very structure of the psyche itself—can be said to have become 'cultural' in some original and as yet untheorized sense." What "cultural" will mean in the future Jameson professes to be only dimly able to envision. But of one thing he entertains no doubts whatsoever; that "a model of political culture appropriate to our own situation will necessarily have to raise spatial issues as its fundamental organizing concern."

The emphasis on the "spatial" (less as a substitute for the "temporal" than as a sophistication of the concept of the "historical") has been a theme in Jameson's writings since his earliest work on Sartre, where it is conceptualized as the "situation." The spatial appears in *The Political Unconscious* as an expropriation of the Bakhtinian "chronotope," a concept characterizing the social-natural world of industrial capitalism. It is ubiquitous in Jameson's ongoing work, in which it is used to theorize the "synchronic" as a fully authentic and realistic moment, as authentic and real as the "diachronic" in Jameson's general notion of a properly "dialectical" mode of cognition. In the present work, the notion of the spatial is a figure that relates a specific kind of social

reality (globalized capitalism) to the experience that any individual or group can have of it. The extent of the network that techno-capitalism operates and the intensity of the forces it puts into play are such that they create an unbridgeable gap between the new, postmodern social reality and "the [necessarily limited] phenomenological experience of the individual subject." Consequently, "the truth" of any given concrete individual's experience of any given "place" ("a certain section of London," let us say), no longer "coincides with the place in which it takes place. . . . It is bound up with the whole colonial system of the British Empire that determines the very quality of the individual's subjective life." Yet, and this is the crucial point, "those structural coordinates are no longer accessible to immediate lived experience and are often not even conceptualizable for most people."

It is this "new situation" (conceivable as a disparity between the global space of the determining "social reality" and the limited range of an individual's or group's lived experience) that modernism, followed more self-consciously by postmodernism, grasped as the "condition of possibility" for a brand of artistic creativity or, as we might now call it (given the end of "art"), "figuration." From this "condition of possibility" arise the "spatial peculiarities" of postmodernist artifacts—characterized in dazzlingly original ways by Jameson in a succession of chapters dealing with commercial and experimental video ("Surrealism Without the Unconscious"), Frank Gehry's family dwelling in Santa Monica ("Spatial Equivalents in the World System"), Claude Simon's novels ("Reading and the Division of Labor"), Conceptual Art ("Utopianism after the End of Utopia"), Critical Theory ("Immanence and Nominalism in Postmodern Theoretical Discourse"), economics ("Postmodernism and the Market"), and film ("Nostalgia for the Present"). Jameson considers these artifacts to be "symptoms and expressions of a new and historically original dilemma." The dilemma, determinative of the postmodernist situation, "involves our insertion as individual subjects into a multidimensional set

of radically discontinuous realities, whose frames range from the still surviving spaces of bourgeois private life all the way to the unimaginable decentering of global capitalism itself." In each of the media, practices, institutions, and artifacts he handles, Jameson identifies the anomalies and aporias created by the radical disjunction of macro- from micro-space. He analyzes the efforts of artists as superficially different as Nam June Paik, Robert Rauschenberg, J. G. Ballard, Phillip K. Dick, Oliver Wasow, and Frank Gehry to invent new and complex formal strategies for representing the dilemmas of life in the global metropolis. These artists are not so much "interpreted" as "transcoded" into Jameson's own highly elaborated version of Marxist metalanguage. All this is done in Jameson's characteristically muscular and bravura style, laden with *combinatoria*, allusiveness, qualification, specification, and self-awareness as to resemble nothing so much as the edifice that served as the inspiration for his earliest statements about postmodernism: John Portman's Westin Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. In his description of it, we have a perfect wedding of the style of the critic with the style of the object. Anyone seeking access to Jameson's style might begin by contemplating his description of this monument on pages 38–45 of this book.

---

POSTMODERNISM, OR, THE CULTURAL LOGIC OF LATE CAPITALISM, Fredric Jameson, Duke University Press, 1991, 439 pp., illus., \$19.95.



Zeynep Çelik

## Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU

The topic of Gülru Necipoğlu's masterful study *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power* is the Topkapı Palace, perhaps the least understood monumental complex of Ottoman architecture. Drawing from an impressive range of documents that includes official records from Ottoman and Venetian archives and European as well as Ottoman historiography, Necipoğlu reconstructs the palace in minute detail. Furthermore, she interprets the palace's architectural program within the framework of royal patronage, social codes, and the complex interaction of cultural practices and ideologies in the 15th and 16th centuries. She decodes the ceremonial that once unified the seemingly heterogeneous buildings of the complex and emphasized a hierarchical order that was representative of the Ottoman system itself. The result is a fascinating reading of architecture that reveals the meticulous and cognizant creation of an imperial self-image. Necipoğlu presents us with a Topkapı Palace that we did not know or understand before.

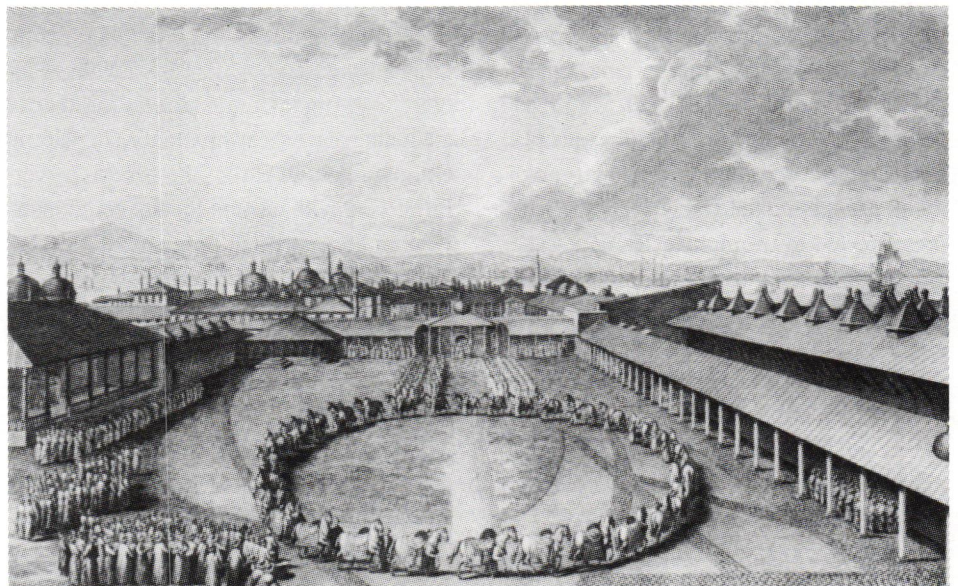
The author argues convincingly that Topkapı Palace was conceived as an "architectural frame" for an image of imperial power by Mehmed II, who codified this image in a new ceremonial, the *kanun-name*. The layout of the palace enhanced classification, assignment of roles, and rigid behavioral patterns that reflected and helped perpetuate the absolute monarchy. Imperial seclusion was the main theme of court ceremonial: it defined the institutional framework of the buildings and their architecture. Based on the notion of the sacredness of the sultan, seclusion contributed to the creation of a more majestic

persona, making his rare public appearances truly theatrical. In the palace, the degree of privacy intensified from the first court on: no outsiders or foreign ambassadors were allowed past the Chamber of Petitions at the third gate, so the third court and the hanging garden beyond were entirely segregated. The ruler's omnipotent image stemmed in part from his invisibility: he "saw" without being seen (for example, he followed the discussion of the Council Hall behind a curtained window); his hidden "mastering gaze" dominated and controlled his palace, the microcosm of his empire.

Through a meticulous analysis of Topkapı's architecture, Necipoğlu shows us that the Ottoman imperial self-image was not static and, linked to sociopolitical conditions, changed dramatically over time. Most significant are the transformations between the reigns of two great sultans, Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople and founder of the palace, and Süleyman I, or Süleyman the Magnificent. Mehmed II considered himself an heir to the Eastern Roman Empire and identified with rulers such as Alexander the Great and Constantine; he envisioned a world empire that synthesized Islamic, Turco-Mongol,

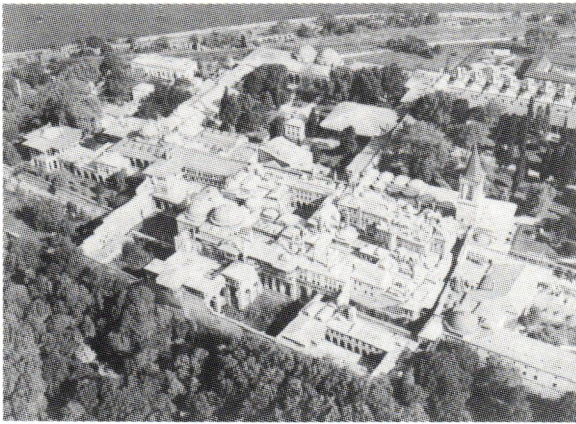
and Roman-Byzantine traditions. His cosmopolitan penchant led him to bring architects and artists not only from various parts of the Islamic world, but also from Italy. Perhaps most illustrative of his idiosyncratic taste and global territorial ambitions were the three pavilions in the palace's outer gardens in three different styles: Persian, Ottoman, and Greek (of these only Çinili Köşk, or the Tiled Pavilion, remains). In comparison to the Italian-flavored eclecticism of Mehmed II's palace, Süleyman's monumentally scaled renovations on a dictated an established and self-confident Ottoman style corresponding to the consolidation of territorial boundaries. Yet they were carried out within the skeletal structure of Mehmed II's palace, thus reaffirming the imperial tradition.

Topkapı harbored key institutions of the Ottoman power system based on "meritocracy," such as the palace school in the private third court. Here, a select group of Christian boys, converted to Islam, were educated to become the principal administrators of the Empire; the strategy was to hinder the development of a Muslim landowning aristocracy by shifting the power base to a multiethnic elite trained in



A parade of horses in the second court, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, c. 15th–16th centuries; from Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire ottoman*. (From *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*.)





Bird's-eye view of the third court, showing the court for male pages, the harem, and the hanging garden with royal pavilions; Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, c. 15th–16th centuries. (From *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*.)

the palace. The space dedicated to cultural and educational activities was extensive: libraries and collections of exotic and precious artifacts from all over the world were displayed in various museumlike settings throughout the palace.

Unlike contemporary European palaces, monumentality in Topkapı did not rely on stylistic unity or a symmetrical and axial layout. Nor was verticality—so important in the design of imperial mosques—a dominating factor. The organizing metaphor was the sultan's tent (the symbol of imperial power), which dictated the scale, height, and conglomeration of palace buildings. A sprawling horizontality gave the complex its imposing tone and created ample spaces where movement was orchestrated by ceremonial. Architecture and nature interpenetrated in a picturesque plan characterized by indirect diagonal movement instead of axial vistas. Only the gates that referred to triumphant Roman arches were monumental in the traditional sense. Nevertheless, the commanding site on the former acropolis singled out the Topkapı Palace as one of the most prestigious monuments in the cityscape. The selection of this site by Mehmed II has symbolic significance: in addition to expansive views in all directions referring to the vastness of imperial territories, it was a place loaded with history. By incorporating it into the palace, the sultan made yet another statement about the cosmopolitan and inclusive

nature of his empire. Necipoğlu argues further that Mehmed II's admiration of the Athenian Acropolis (which he visited in 1458, the year before construction began in Topkapı) played an instrumental role in his location choice.

A subtheme of the palace story is a survey of developments in Ottoman architecture and decorative arts. In an invaluable contribution to the history of Ottoman architecture in general, Necipoğlu discusses the changing influences and stylistic preferences with respect to

imperial ideologies in the 15th and 16th centuries. She makes another major contribution by situating Topkapı in the context of palatine traditions, from the legendary palace of Solomon to Roman, Byzantine, Umayyad, Abbasid, and Timurid palaces, as well as the Alhambra.

Along the way, Necipoğlu corrects several errors in previous scholarship on Topkapı. For example, contrary to the belief shared by many scholars, the origins of the harem date back to Mehmed II's time, and the 1574 fire—interpreted until now as having affected the entire palace—in reality did not spread beyond the general kitchen area. Furthermore, she reconstructs a very different harem than the one imagined by Orientalists. Necipoğlu's harem, with its hierarchical organization paralleling that of the main palace, is a very important place in Ottoman politics. From the harem, powerful, if confined, queen mothers could intervene in domestic and international affairs. The harem also sheltered schools where young girls, in androgynous dress similar to that of the boys in the third court, were educated in courtly arts in a monastic environment—one that mocks the lascivious scenes depicted in Orientalist paintings. We also learn that the cramped, irregular layout of the present-day harem is a result of its unforeseen expansion and betrays the original regular plan.

It is rare for a book of such scholarly depth and detail to be good reading.

Necipoğlu makes us realize that good scholarship can only profit from a straightforward approach laced with a sense of humor, which comes across especially in her descriptions of daily life in the palace. Numerous quotations from contemporary sources provide a flavor of the time: for example, we can easily imagine the imposing, almost frightening experience of crossing the expansive spaces in a ritual that dictated an "eerie silence" ("the very silence of death" according to a foreign visitor)—one of the most memorable aspects of the ceremonial in which sign language replaced speaking in the royal court. In discussing life in the palace, Necipoğlu does not spare us the gruesome imperial practices, such as executions at palace gates and the assassination of rival brothers for the throne.

*Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power* is an outstanding contribution to architectural history in general, and to the history of Ottoman architecture in particular. It excels in its scholarship as well as in its groundbreaking interpretations. Yet the complexity of the argument and the wealth of data do not overwhelm the reader because of the fluidity of the text and the clear organization of the book that moves from court to court. The book is beautifully produced with many historic maps, plans, and views, as well as aerial and detail photographs. A minor disappointment is the lack of color photographs, especially in the depiction of interior spaces and tile panels, but one needs something to look forward to when visiting the palace in person.

ARCHITECTURE, CEREMONIAL, AND POWER: THE TOPKAPI PALACE IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES, Gülru Necipoğlu, Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1991, illus., 336 pp., \$50.00.



Stephen Tobriner

## Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan

PATRICIA WADDY

When he was visiting Rome in 1858 Nathaniel Hawthorne complained bitterly about the uncomfortable conditions in the 17th-century palaces. Those who have suffered through a winter in Rome can sympathize with his description of Palazzo Borghese: "It was quite comfortless—indeed I suppose nobody ever thought of being comfortable there since the house was built—but especially uncomfortable on a chill, damp day like this. My fingers were quite numb before I got half way through the suite of apartments."

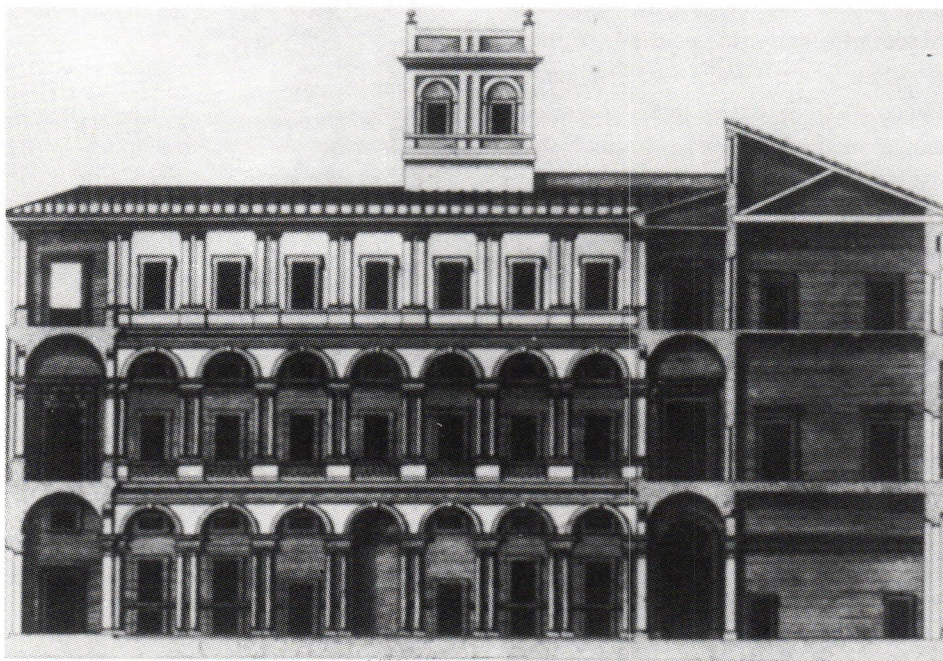
Were the hulking palaces of Rome as uncomfortable in the 17th century as Hawthorne experienced them? How did people use the scores of apparently undifferentiated spaces? Where did the long-gone 17th-century inhabitants eat, sleep, and perform those acts so crucial to daily life yet so rarely discussed, like bathing or going to the toilet? Patricia Waddy, in her

*Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*, is the first to address these neglected questions. It has taken architectural historians a long time to focus on the functions of dwellings in Renaissance and Baroque Rome. Historians' emphasis on style, iconography, or high art are not solely to blame. The scholarly material for this kind of study is hard to find, and tracing room functions through inventories, contracts, and descriptions is an arduous task. In its analysis of function and close reading of individual structures, Christoph Frommel's study of Renaissance palaces, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (Tubingen, 1973) is an antecedent to Waddy's work but she examines fewer buildings and focuses more directly on the coordination of multiple uses in palaces. Her book, which treats the century following Frommel's, brings to mind books which have investigated how palaces and country houses elsewhere in Europe were used. Although primarily a description of furniture and accessories, Peter Thorton's *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven and London, 1981) attempted to provide both spatial and societal context. One of the most successful

books to treat how aristocratic dwellings actually worked was Mark Girouard's *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978). Like Girouard's, Waddy's story is one of meaning derived from the combination of spaces in a dwelling, and hinges less on the activities of famous architects than on the shifting needs of various patrons.

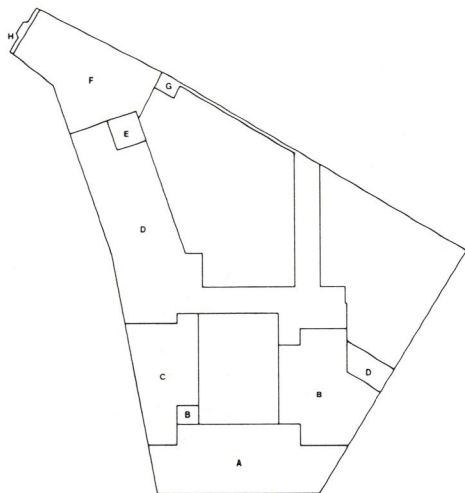
In her ground-breaking book Waddy sees buildings as inseparable from the lives of their inhabitants. "Buildings have lives in time," she writes, "and those lives are intimately connected with the lives of the people who use them. . . . [Buildings] change and perhaps grow as the lives of their users change. Eventually—when for whatever reason, people no longer find them useful—they die." This organic analogy is at the core of Waddy's book; she treats each palace like the house it was, constantly changing from inception through transfers of ownership—not an art object, but a shell containing and sheltering the human organisms within it.

As Waddy explains, the largest of Roman palaces were the homes of cardinals. These elite churchmen, who comprised the celibate ecclesiastical aristocracy of Rome, established the standards followed by others. Their palaces were settings for court life, for the rituals that articulated one's station in society. The prescribed etiquette of receiving visitors shaped the positions and movements of people as well as the architecture. By delving into the rich but hitherto underutilized literature of handbooks on etiquette and palace administration, Waddy reconstructs a world based on the recognition of participants' societal ranks. The apartments in which visitors were received were usually on the *piano nobile*, the raised first floor of a palace. By necessity one had to mount stairs to arrive at the apartment. At the head of the stairs was a reception room, the *sala dei palafrenieri*, then perhaps two antechambers, and finally an audience hall. Behind the audience hall was the room or rooms in which the cardinal ate and slept. A small chapel was probably located off one of the



Palazzo Borghese, engraving by Falda, Rome; 1560–1676. (From *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*.)





Palazzo Borghese underwent a series of building phases that spanned over a hundred years: A: 1560–78; B: 1586–1600; C: 1605–7; D: 1607–10; E: 1608–10; F: 1611–14; G: 1626; H: 1676. (From *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*.)

main rooms. Every movement through this string of spaces was choreographed according to rank, from outer to innermost space in a linear progression, with the cardinal's personal room not open to visitors at all. The rest of the rooms served the apartment or apartments embedded within the palace.

The palace was both a showcase and a shelter. Waddy weaves these two aspects together as she describes the life in the rooms within palaces. Since residents and guests alike arrived to and departed from palaces by carriages, appropriate entrances and exits had to be provided. All the support for a carriage culture—horses (which could number as many as sixty), straw, stable hands, and numerous coaches—had to be housed either at the palace or nearby. Special theaters, picture galleries, ball courts, and libraries had to be incorporated within the structure. We learn that while privies built into walls served the staff, the higher one's status, the more likely one would urinate or defecate in portable facilities removed after use by a servant. Baths and bathrooms appear but were uncommon, as might be expected considering the injunctions against sensual pleasures in Counter-Reformation Rome. One contemporary attributed the demise of daily bath-

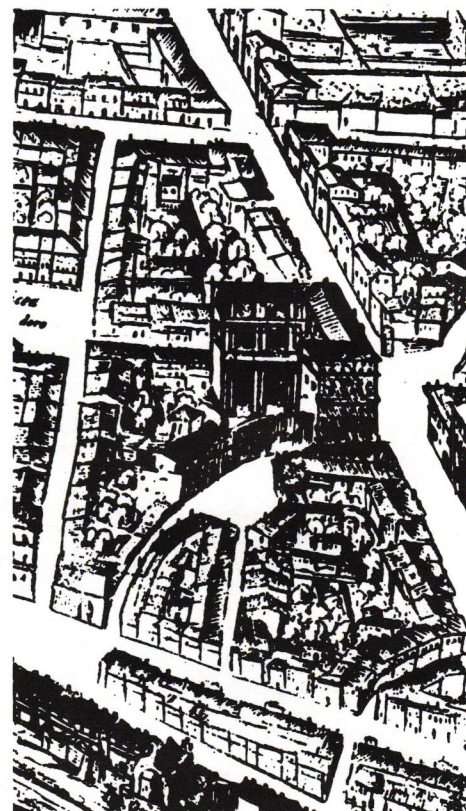
ing to the "modern" 17th-century custom of wearing undershirts!

The place of women in the palace is unsurprising in the context of 17th-century Roman society. In family palaces as well as in public, men and women were segregated. Noblewomen were seen as necessary adjuncts to diplomatic life, even for celibate cardinals, but within the palaces they had their own quarters, including a separate kitchen. A small number of women also served as part of the staff or *famiglia* of a hundred or more individuals living in the palace or adjacent buildings. The *famiglia* included such varied members as butlers, stewards, gentlemen, pages, musicians, artists, tutors, stable hands, guards, cooks, and accountants, each having his or her own rank and station, assigned eating time and place, and sleeping space. It is easy to appreciate the need for contemporary manuals describing the operation of this kind of complex household.

After establishing the anatomy of the palace in Part I, Waddy devotes Part II to the close examination of six specific palaces, four owned by the Barberini family, one by the Borghese, and one by the Chigi. Waddy's investigation in this second part of the book is heavily weighted toward a study of how the Barberinis shaped the plans of their palaces, although by including Carlo Maderno's early 17th-century Palazzo Borghese and Bernini's late 17th-century Palazzo Chigi, she includes enough examples to give us an in-depth sample of the Roman palace as a type. She has chosen palaces owned by families of popes, the cream of society, the paragon which the moneyed aristocrats and clergy of Rome followed. Here she explores "the art of the plan" as it evolved in each one of these structures, demonstrating how architects and patrons integrated earlier structures into even the loftiest of "new" palaces. The art of the plan is an art of accommodation and modification in which the heterogeneous fabric of old and new is fashioned to look complete and homogeneous.

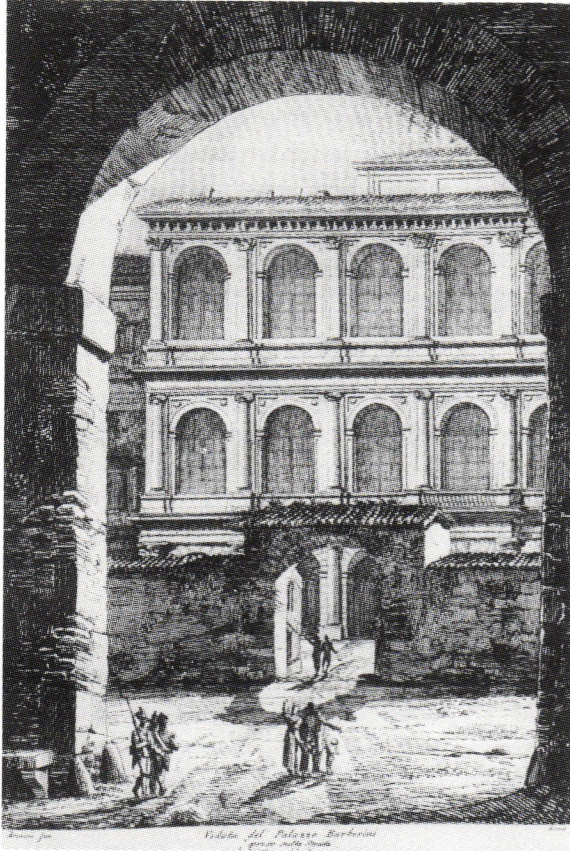
Instead of solely examining the form of palaces in terms of Baroque definitions or the contributions of famous architects,

Waddy focuses on the needs and role of patrons. She sees Francesco Barberini as a patron who actively intervened in the remodeling of the family's *Casa Grande* at Giubbonari in the heart of Rome, as well as in the Barberini palace *alle quattro fontane* on the Quirinale hill. She relates how the complex imagery and spatial progression of Palazzo Barberini depended not only on Urban VIII, but also on the needs of his nephews who occupied its north and south wings. She does not leave the structure as a complete statement of Barberini imagery but instead follows its transformations with subheadings like "Taddeo Moves In, and Out Again," "Antonio Moves In, and Out Again," "Francesco Remodels." After discussing Palazzo Chigi she concludes that the one-hundred-room palace was designed to accommodate only a single man—Flavio Chigi—who held a particular interest in books, paintings, and sculptures.



Tempesta map of Rome, 1593, with detail of the palace after phases A and B (see above left); Palazzo Borghese ultimately filled the entire block. (From *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*.)





Palazzo Barberini, engraving by Rossini; mid-1600s. (From *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*.)

The patrons personalized the vast palaces they created, but the process was far more constant and transitory than we have previously allowed. As Waddy says, "Out of circumstances comes wholeness; and in that whole there is always the possibility of further change."

*Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces* is a monument to careful scholarship and toil, with invaluable information in its text, notes, photographs, appendices, and bibliography. In spite of its exciting new direction, however, the text sometimes bogs down. Waddy's rather dense style is not easy to read and her descriptions are sometimes repetitive. Even aided by copious illustrations and meticulously numbered and lettered plans, following her guided tours takes real discipline and interest. Yet for those who persevere, the book provides great riches. When read in conjunction with John Beldon Scott's superb *Images of Nepotism* (New Jersey, 1991), a study of the meaning of the interior decoration of all

the rooms in Palazzo Barberini, Waddy's book helps to open up the study of Italian 17th-century palaces to 20th-century eyes.

If Hawthorne visited Palazzo Borghese in the 17th century would he have complained as bitterly of the cold? He might have because he was visiting works of art displayed in a summer apartment. But had he seen the art in winter apartments, located where they could catch the sun, perhaps he would have been warmer. In such apartments, where ceilings may have been lower, tapestries hung and fireplaces provided, he may have been more comfortable. He would have been offered a brazier, and would have seen the *famiglia* outfitted in the heavy woolen uniforms issued to help them keep warm. As Waddy argues, comfort was an element in planning. *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces* helps us to feel, hear, touch, and smell the interiors

of these massive aristocratic dwellings, and to experience how they were shaped by daily life in baroque Rome.

Derek Moore

## Filippo Brunelleschi: The Early Works and the Medieval Tradition

HEINRICH KLOTZ

During the past two decades the traditional, comfortable view of Brunelleschi as the formulator of an architectural idiom based on ancient Roman architecture has been replaced in specialist circles by a variety of competing, sometimes mutually exclusive interpretations. Brunelleschi as renewer of ancient architecture, or Brunelleschi as the last of the medieval masons? Brunelleschi as restorer of the classical orders, or as the "Tuscan nationalist" who revived the Florentine Romanesque? Or even Brunelleschi as the first "modern" architect?

The original publication of Heinrich Klotz's book in 1970, based on his 1968 Göttingen dissertation, played an important role in defining the debate about Brunelleschi's achievement. More specifically, this book challenged us to see Brunelleschi in relation to the neglected late 14th-century architects and buildings that constituted his immediate heritage. Strictly speaking, Klotz does not belong to the revivalist camp of Brunelleschi scholars. Instead, he views Brunelleschi as a part of an ongoing Florentine and Tuscan tradition that dates back to the year 1000. While granting that some of these buildings, such as the Florentine Baptistry, Santi Apostoli, and possibly others were held by some 15th-century observers to be ancient or late antique in origin, Klotz believes Brunelleschi can be explained with very few references to ancient Roman architecture per se. Within this late medieval continuum, 14th-century Florentine works, such as the Campanile and Cathedral of Florence, were, according to Klotz, Brunelleschi's abiding sources of instruction and inspiration.

For this 1990 republication Klotz and Rizzoli decided not to revise or update the text and notes. This decision is unfortunate because it would be interesting to know

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROMAN PALACES: USE AND THE ART OF THE PLAN, Patricia Waddy, The Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1991, 456 pp., illus., \$45.00.



what Klotz thinks both of his own early work and the recent course of Brunelleschi studies. The enlarged format has brought many graphic improvements, such as the integration of the illustrations in the text and the addition of eight color plates. Translation from German into English has introduced a number of awkward passages as well as numerous typos, but on the whole the book is more accessible.

The book is more accessible largely because Klotz's text is an extended and very impressive piece of architectural criticism. That much of the historical documentation is now dated is less of a problem than it might be in another book since the summaries of scholarship, discussions of dating, and similar topics are confined to the notes at the end of the book. Klotz might alter his interpretation of certain works if he were to write the book today, but the text, as a description and interpretation of architectural form, remains very compelling.

The first section of the book in particular should be read by students and specialists alike. In a slightly unorthodox but very effective, almost taxonomic, approach, Klotz presents the principles and elements of

"Brunelleschi's style." Under the general headings of "the column" and "the wall," Klotz composes short, highly focused discussions to build a picture of Brunelleschi's design method, his rethinking of architectural composition. These sections, varying in length from a paragraph to several pages, treat very specific building elements, such as column shafts, bases and capital types, as well as more abstract principles, such as repetition and rule, and the pairing of major and minor orders. Brunelleschi's approach is also conveyed in topics such as "the empty surface" and "white." Klotz contends that, in contradistinction to the medieval practice of building with ashlar masonry for walls, piers, and vaults alike, Brunelleschi's use of broad white-washed surfaces to set off the nominally structural membering of a building—pilasters, archivolt, cornices, et cetera—was a legacy of late Trecento Florentine architects, especially Francesco Talenti. In each of these categories Klotz employs a fine hand to establish both the specific forms of the recent past with which Brunelleschi was working and the nature of his transformation of that tradition. This topical presentation allows the formal

themes and habits of composition of Brunelleschi's architecture to be seen across the arc of his career.

The body of Klotz's book is a series of chapters devoted to Brunelleschi's "early works," that is, those which he designed by the mid to late 1420s. It should be kept in mind that Klotz's choice of subjects and his particular medievalist interpretation of them are consciously juxtaposed with the "late works," which were first discussed as a group by Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich in his fundamental essay of 1931, "Spätwerke Brunelleschi's." The church of Santo Spirito, the lantern and tribunes of Florence Cathedral, Santa Maria degli Angeli, and the problematic Pazzi Chapel are therefore not accorded extended discussion here. Where Heydenreich argued that Brunelleschi turned to Roman Imperial architecture to enhance the plasticity and monumentality of his later works, Klotz aims to show the early works in their late medieval context.

Klotz's method reveals both the indebtedness and innovation of the early works. His discussion of the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa, for example, reveals both how radical Brunelleschi's extension of the earlier fabric was and how the architect made certain moves that kept his addition from overwhelming the older ground floor. Brunelleschi formulates the giant order for the palace facade—a form not widely used again until the 16th century—but pulls the pilaster back from the building corner in deference to the weaker colonette below. Diane Zerva's recent book on the palace and other works commissioned by the unusual political association known as the Guelph party supplants some points of Klotz's historical reconstruction, but his essay remains a sophisticated introduction to the building.

The chapter on the celebrated cupola of Florence Cathedral, the eight-sided cloister vault that rivaled the Pantheon in size and exceeded it in complexity, would have benefited most from recent scholarship. Our understanding of the dome's brilliant structure has been revolutionized in the past two decades by a series of discoveries related to the internal geometries of the



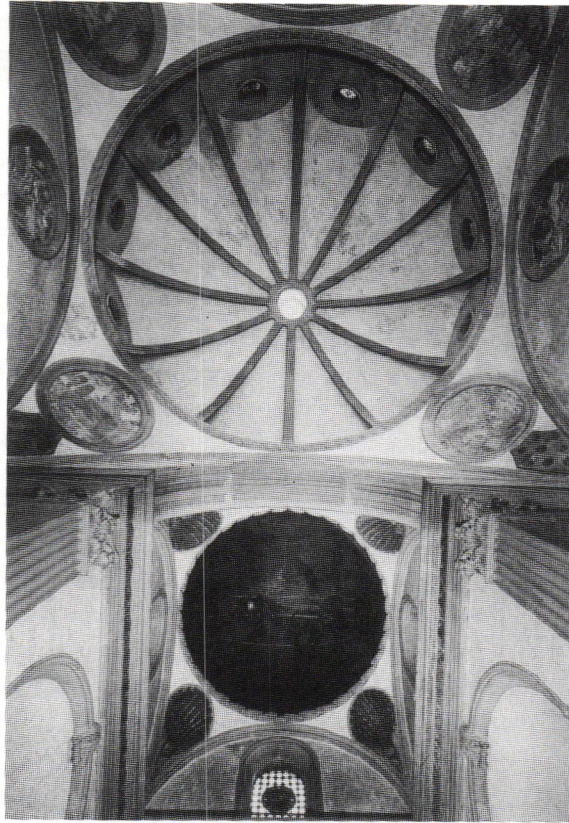
Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence; Filippo Brunelleschi, c. 1420s. (From *Filippo Brunelleschi*.)



masonry that, among other things, allowed the structure to be built without true centering supported from the ground. Writing before these discoveries, Klotz roots his discussion of the cupola in a typological analysis of the other great medieval domes—of Siena, Pisa, and others—that Florence intended to surpass. He also emphasizes the degree to which Brunelleschi was constrained to build the design first put forward in the mid-14th century. The thrust of Klotz's discussion, dated though it is, reminds us that Brunelleschi did not think exclusively in the abstract terms of statics and inverted cones, but surely must have studied in great detail the largest structures built by the living tradition in which he worked.

Klotz's insistence on seeing Brunelleschi's buildings in relation to late medieval building types is particularly effective in the chapter on the *Ospedale degli Innocenti*, the foundlings' hospital of Florence. The charitable hospice was a rather common institution in late medieval Italy, but one might never know it from the usual textbook presentation of the *Ospedale* as the first building of the Renaissance, seemingly sprung fully developed from Brunelleschi's capacious cranium. Klotz shows how the format of the ground-floor loggia with a simple upper floor of regular lights was present in late medieval *ospedali* in Florence, Volterra, Lastra a Signa, and elsewhere. For the *Innocenti* Brunelleschi reformed this arrangement (possibly on the example of the *Villa Giunigi* at Lucca) by framing the loggia with closed-end bays and carrying a pilaster version of the loggia order across them. The clarity of this scheme was vitiated by Brunelleschi's successor architects, as so often happened with his buildings. Klotz's connoisseurship, here as elsewhere, is a vivid aid to understanding.

With the chapter on Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy at San Lorenzo, Florence, Klotz is able to present some of his most novel and surprising conclusions. From his analysis it is clear that, in addition to learning from



The dome of Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence; Filippo Brunelleschi, 1428. (From *Filippo Brunelleschi*.)

Florentine and Tuscan medieval monuments, Brunelleschi studied late medieval buildings in Padua. Brunelleschi adopted not only the basic planimetric and spatial configuration of the Padua Baptistry for the Old Sacristy, but also a number of specific forms; the choir vaulting at the basilica of Sant'Antonio in Padua seems to have been the model for the ribbed melon dome of the Old Sacristy. Evidently Brunelleschi spent considerable time in Padua, and possibly in Venice and other cities of the Veneto. Apart from pointing to early 15th-century political and artistic links between Padua and Florence, Klotz does not, however, explain the meaning of the Paduan associations he discovers.

After the original publication of this book in 1970, Klotz went on to work in other fields, mainly late 20th-century architecture. He was also the founder of the German Architecture Museum in Frankfurt. Meanwhile, the way specialists view Brunelleschi has become increasingly conflicted as other scholars have added their

own interpretations of the nature of Brunelleschi's architecture.

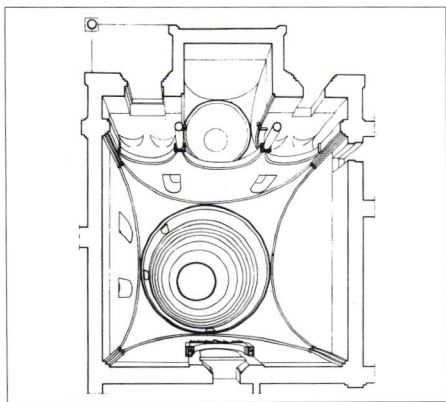
Howard Saalman, another advocate of the "medievalist" view, has continued to refine his own interpretation. He sees Brunelleschi as a continuation and systematizer of late medieval design methods. We can expect Saalman's impending monograph on Brunelleschi to be a forceful summation of this line of thought.

Ernst Gombrich, Howard Burns, and John Onians have also contributed key essays to the debate. Burns argued that "there is not a single major work of Brunelleschi for which a plausible and specific post-antique source (or sources) cannot be suggested." Onians has even claimed that Brunelleschi actually avoided ancient forms. For Onians Florentine Romanesque buildings such as the Baptistry, San Miniato, and Santi Apostoli, themselves composed of many boldly co-opted ancient motifs and actual spolia, represented the cultural tradition that Brunelleschi wanted to revive. Accord-

ing to Onians, Brunelleschi's revival and reform of the Tuscan Romanesque had a political dimension; it was used by Brunelleschi to project a Tuscan "nationalism" against Imperial and other claims and can be understood as an architectural analogue to the elevation of Italian (Tuscan) to the status of Latin as a literary language. Gombrich, however, had seen Brunelleschi's purification of the Tuscan Romanesque as driven by a study of ancient Roman architecture and therefore equivalent to the humanists' honing of their new Latin prose through the study of ancient texts. Recently, Marvin Trachtenberg has proposed an interpretation that, at least for some works such as the Old Sacristy, integrates the revivalist and medievalist positions.

Trachtenberg concludes, "Eventually it will probably be realized that what Brunelleschi took from Rome was indispensable. Tuscan Romanesque classicism was a stiff, limited, provincial reflection—in both time and place—of the rich, supple, refined architectural language of antiquity, which





Isometric perspective of the Baptistery in Padua, which is closely linked to the Old Sacristy in Florence; Filippo Brunelleschi, c. 1260. (From *Filippo Brunelleschi*.)

served to liberate Brunelleschi's imagination from the confines of his native classicism and is surely reflected in the grace and brilliance of his Corinthian style that so out-reaches his Tuscan models." Only in some general works, surveys, and textbooks, in fact, does one still find it unequivocally expressed that Brunelleschi aimed to revive the architecture of the ancients.

Brunelleschi himself left no theoretical writings, no account of his intentions, and no drawings to record his working method. Historians like Klotz had to rely on the evidence of the buildings, the rather thin testimony of the documents, and the 15th-century biographies by Manetti and others in which the "myth" of Brunelleschi as the hero of a rebirth of ancient architecture was first promulgated. To rely primarily on an examination of building form would at first appear a desirable condition for scholarship, but in the case of Brunelleschi this has had some unforeseen consequences.

The problem lies in an assessment of Brunelleschi's intentions. Modern views fall into two broad groups. The formalist view portrays Brunelleschi as an architect concerned with fashioning a rigorous and systematic language of architecture. This instrumentalist approach to the selection and use of architectural sources is portrayed as all but neutral in its cultural associations. In most respects Klotz belongs to this line of thought. Whether he examines the transformation of small-scale motifs or

larger spatial configurations, building types or compositional method, one is left with the impression that form-making for its own sake was Brunelleschi's aim.

On the other side are the revivalist interpretations. Advocates of a revivalist Brunelleschi—be it the revival of antiquity or of the Tuscan Romanesque—are particularly prone to equate the use of a source with the intention to evoke specific cultural associations or iconographic meaning. However, Richard Krautheimer showed us long ago (in his "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'") that architects in pre-modern periods saw similarity among buildings and conceived of architectural sources in ways we can scarcely recognize.

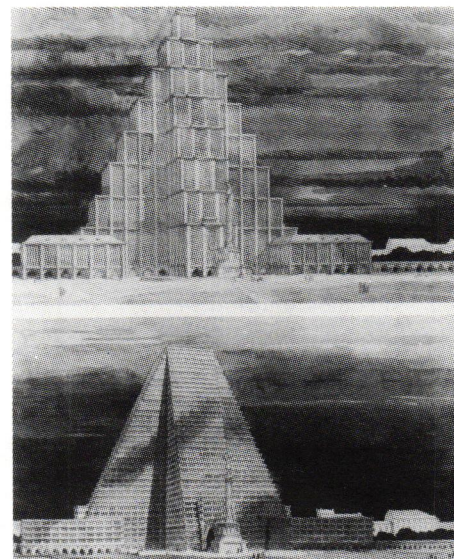
What the formalist and revivalist points of view share is the presentation of Brunelleschi's use of the past—either the way he used architectural tradition, in Klotz's case, or what sources he used—as the end of his architecture. Method is confused with meaning. Brunelleschi's concept of history and his view of historical architecture remain elusive to modern analysis. In the end, his intentions for his own architecture are perhaps more enigmatic now than when Klotz's book was written. The difficulty of Brunelleschi's architecture has, with the help of this book and other studies in the past twenty-five years, become even more apparent.

FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI: THE EARLY WORKS AND THE MEDIEVAL TRADITION, Heinrich Klotz, Rizzoli, 1990, 184 pp., illus., \$45.00.

Mary Pepchinski

## Skyscrapers in Berlin

Berlin and Chicago are the archetypal centers of modernism, yet the buildings that earned each city this distinction are profoundly different. For Chicago, the tall commercial structures, packed into the center of the city, isolated by Lake Michigan and the elevated train, the El, created an island of skyscrapers whose urban planning seems to have been wholly accidental. In contrast, Berlin's *realized* modern architecture did not so profoundly alter its center city. Buildings such as Alfred Messel's Wertheim Department Store (1896), the edifices for culture and communications by Hans Poelzig and Erich Mendelsohn, or the modest towers authored by Emil Fahrenkamp and Bruno Paul, were isolated, well-designed fragments, carefully sited into the fabric of the 19th-century city. Likewise, the modestly scaled, carefully landscaped *Siedlungen* of the 1920s were mostly built away from the inner city, in the outlying northern, western, and eastern districts. When compared to Chicago, the bulk of Berlin's built modern architecture more closely evoked, in scale and in program, the late 19th-century, rather than the 20th-century, metropolis.

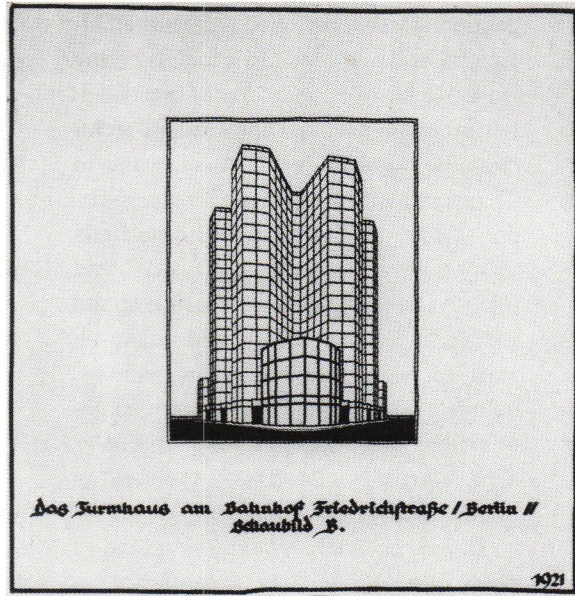


Two versions of the Reichshaus am Königplatz, Berlin; Otto Kohtz, 1920. (From *Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus*.)

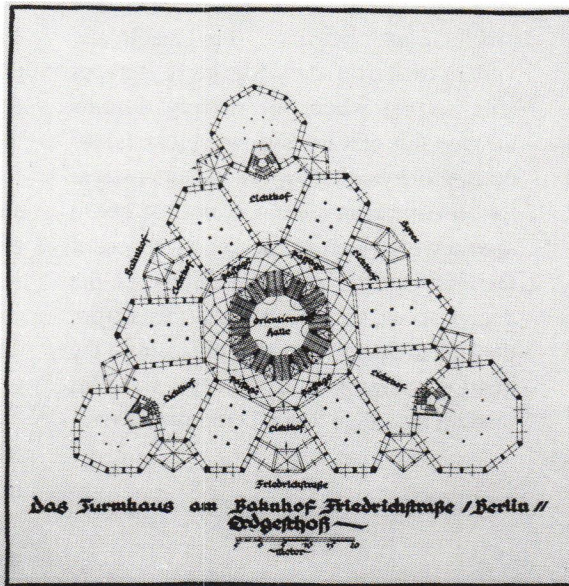


In the early part of the 20th century, Berlin architects became intrigued with the problem of designing tall buildings. The source of this interest emanated from Chicago, a city German journalists and architects had been visiting since the 1890s to report on the new, steel-frame commercial architecture. Beginning around 1910, Berlin architects began developing their own ideas about vertical structures. For example, a prizewinner of the 1910 Gross-Berlin Competition, Bruno Schmitz, proposed a domed, cylindrical, fourteen-story tower, to be situated on Potsdamer Platz. Between 1913 and 1923, the architect K. Paul Andrae produced visionary drawings for tall monumental buildings to be located in Berlin and Dresden; the dark, evocative character of Andrae's drawings predate Hugh Ferriss's renderings of visionary skyscrapers for New York of the 1930s. By the early 1920s, as the desire for tall buildings accelerated, the preoccupation with their careful placement within the existing urban fabric (as opposed to Chicago's haphazard urbanism) intensified. Various proposals were drawn up, explained, published, and circulated, such as the call for the erection of highrises adjacent to major train stations to exploit existing urban transportation systems and the notion that tall buildings should be erected adjacent to parks and squares to allow for light to penetrate more evenly into the structures, while preventing the surrounding streets from becoming dark and sunless.

The story of the (mostly) visionary plans to build skyscrapers in Berlin at the beginning of this century has been thoroughly documented in one exceptional book, *Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus* (*The Cry for the Skyscraper*), edited by Florian Zimmermann. This extensive research project, lasting five years, involved numerous architecture and art history students and instructors from Berlin's Technische Universität. Under Zimmermann's direction, a small



Entry by Hans Soeder to the Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse competition of 1922, Berlin. (From *Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus*.)



Ground floor plan of the tower at Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse of 1922, Berlin; Hans Soeder. (From *Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus*.)

group began researching the 1922 Friedrichstrasse Competition for a month-long seminar. Fascinated by their topic, they extended the scope of the project to include the breadth of skyscraper proposals, competitions, and projects found in Berlin and elsewhere in Germany during the 1920s. Eventually, the architecture department's model-building workshop agreed to reconstruct several of the 1922 competition entries (including Mies's legendary Glass

Skyscraper). This collective work culminated in the aforementioned catalog and an exhibition held at Berlin's Bauhaus-Archiv in 1988.

Unique to Berlin was the degree to which the continuing attempts to construct adequate housing influenced the skyscraper debate. Some critics argued that tall commercial buildings would more efficiently use inner-city land, thus freeing space for housing. Conversely, other architects believed skyscrapers provided a plausible solution for urban housing. Bruno Möhring, for example, authored a design integrating tall, residential buildings in the planning of villa colonies and also developed a typology for a highrise residential block formed by two tall, intersecting cylinders whose center court was open yet lined by ramps that would service the interior entrances of the individual units.

Others imbued their skyscraper designs with purely visionary notions, describing the new society to be found therein. During World War I, the architect Otto Kohtz spent time in a prison camp and dreamed of returning home and erecting a structure to celebrate the Reich's glories. After his return home, he spent the following two decades designing and redesigning his fifty-story, pyramidal Reichshaus. Kohtz conceived of his behemoth, situated diagonally across from the Reichstag, to serve workers in the vast German bureaucracy by providing them, in one colossal beehive, places to live and work, thus eliminating their travel time between home and office.

Throughout the 1920s, numerous competitions for the design of tall buildings were held, the most prominent being the Friedrichstrasse Tower Competition (1922). Although the best-known entry is Mies van der Rohe's Glass Skyscraper, many of the 140 participating architects (such as Hans Scharoun, Hugo Häring, and Hans Poelzig), designed equally expressive buildings or, in the case of the brothers Luckhardt and Franz Hoffmann, undecorated, streamlined



structures that clearly offered an aesthetic alternative to the contemporary, historically clad American skyscraper.

Around 1930, a few modestly tall buildings were finally built in Berlin. Despite the years of speculation preceding their construction, they challenged the prevailing idea of what a tall building should be. Berlin's early highrises did not zoom skyward, dwarf their surroundings, or grow into magnificent, vertical, attenuated towers. Indeed, the architects of these tall buildings seemed intent on both subduing the inherent verticality of these structures as well as sensitively placing them within the existing fabric of the city. Emil Fahrenkamp's Shell Haus (1931) is not a tower but an urban sculpture which steps vertically and horizontally along the Landwehr Canal to a height of ten stories. Another structure, Bruno Paul's elegant, travertine-clad Kathreiner-Hochhaus (1929–1930) is a single building composed of two 6-story wings flanking a 12-story slab. The composition effortlessly modulates a corner transition between a Berlin block and an urban park; from street and park one hardly notices the hidden, hovering "tower" behind the wings.

In retrospect, it is ironic that so little of Berlin's visionary skyscraper ideas were ever realized. Indeed, had all the ideas for tall buildings which were developed between 1910 and 1930 been built, Berlin would have not only been transformed into a unique European metropolis, but, due to the variety of programs and physical forms given this envisioned architecture, certainly one that would have rivaled, or even surpassed, Chicago.

Although *Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus* does not speculate on the quality of these Hochhaus projects, on why so few were realized, or even on the relevance for this study today, the book's achievement is to create a panorama of the architectural scene in Berlin during the 1920s as viewed from the challenge of designing tall buildings. In reading this vast accumulation of work, one is struck with how architectural practice in contemporary Berlin mirrors that of modernism's golden age. The com-

petition system employed to award architectural commissions (an anomaly in the United States yet a mainstay of practice in Berlin) is still used and allows many architects the opportunity to develop and to document their architecture, if only on paper. Today, as in the 1920s, one finds many highly competent, innovative, and talented practitioners who often spend years drawing their dreams and visions on paper for an endless array of competitions, but meet with little success when it comes to realizing this output. In one sense, *Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus* is a celebration of this tradition of unbuilt work.

*Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus* is richly illustrated and its essays offer an exceptional collection of important secondary and primary sources. Because many Americans venture to learn the romance languages before they attempt to study "the awful German language," the breadth and variety of Berlin's cry for the skyscraper will be lost when one merely thumbs through this text to enjoy the pictures. Indeed, if one book deserves to be translated for an American audience, not merely to open a window on a little-known aspect of German design, but also to illustrate the degree to which architectural ideas from the United States were able to fascinate the design community of Europe's stellar modern city, then this is certainly the one.

DER SCHREI NACH DEM TURMHAUS, Florian Zimmermann, editor, Argon Verlag, 1988, 333 pp., illus., \$30.00.

Brian McLaren

## Modern Italian Architecture and the Question of History

Philosophy cannot be separated from the history of philosophy, nor can culture from the history of culture. In the most immediate and relevant sense, one cannot be a philosopher, by which I mean have a critical and coherent conception of the world, without having a consciousness of its historicity, of the phase of development which it represents and the fact that it contradicts other conceptions or elements of other conceptions.<sup>1</sup>

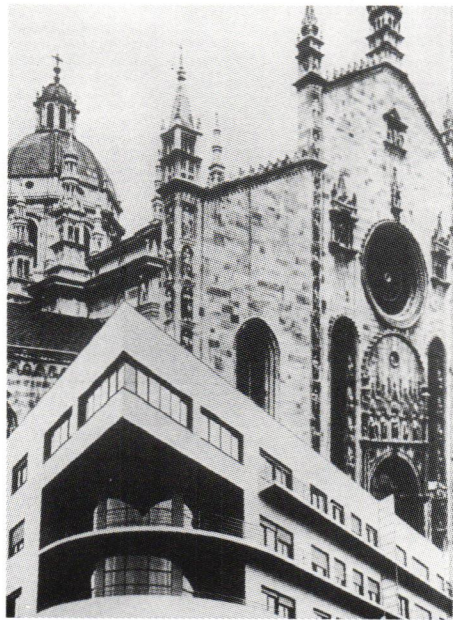
In his prison notebooks, Antonio Gramsci referred often to the question of history, eschewing a singular and deterministic understanding of cultural production in favor of one in which there is an exchange, a conflict between these productions and their specific sociohistorical context. Indeed, Gramsci stated that, far from being the unequivocal result of the predominant forces within a society—the direct expression of the spirit of a specific time—history is imbued with the contradictory impulses and directions of reactionary as well as progressive segments of culture. This kind of dialectical relationship between a given society and its cultural "products" presupposes a struggle, which for Gramsci was a struggle for his own intellectual freedom.

Many contemporary historians and critics have tried to bring such a viewpoint to the writing of history, rewriting, as it were, the history of modern architecture in light of a more critical awareness of the dangers of a hegemonic view of the past. This position is discussed by Fredric Jameson in his article "Architecture and the Critique of Ideology," in which he states that the task of the historian is "not that of producing a representation of history, but rather that of producing a concept of history." He goes on to examine the writings of Italian critic and historian Manfredo Tafuri, referring to his writing technique as dialectical historiography. Like the writings of Gramsci, those of Tafuri show an understanding of

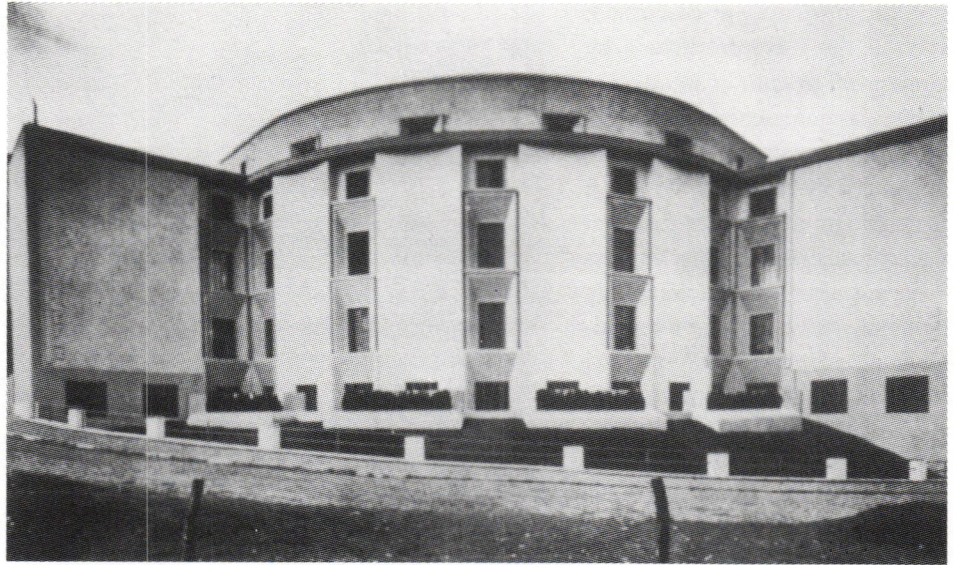


the problematic relationship between the “products” of a given period and the context in which they are conceived and critically understood. Any history is, in this sense, more than the description of a series of events or the discussion of historical facts. It necessarily contains within itself an awareness of its own methodology. Accordingly, to represent a given moment is to reveal its historicity, and through the conflict between the products of history and their context, the act of writing becomes a dialectical “production” in which the reader is involved in historical thought.

As it pertains to the development of modernism in Italy, much recent scholarship has been gauged toward this kind of critical approach to history. In this respect, Diane Ghirardo’s seminal essay “Italian Architecture and Fascist Politics” questions the relationship between architecture and politics during the 1930s, reiterating the sentiments of critic Edoardo Persico, who felt that the polemics of the rationalist architects of the Gruppo 7 created a formalism that avoided the moral questions concerning fascism (see Ghirardo’s essay in the *Journal of the Society of Architec-*



Photomontage by Pier Maria Bardi from *Belvedere dell'architettura italiana d'oggi* (1933), with the facade and cupola of the Duomo of Como and Giuseppe Terragni’s “Novocomum.” (From *Modernism in Italian Architecture*.)



Work House for the War Blind, Rome; Pietro Aschieri, 1931. (From *Modernism in Italian Architecture*.)

*tural Historians* 39, May 1980). Giorgio Ciucci’s *Gli architetti e il fascismo: Architettura e città 1922–1944* asks similar questions, although through a more extensive discussion of the events that unfolded during this period. In presenting architectural culture as a series of facts set against the events of that time, Ciucci conveys an acute awareness of the struggle between conflicting interpretations of a modern architecture for a fascist state.

This leads to the most recent publication on this subject, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940* by Richard A. Etlin. By expanding the breadth and scope of current scholarship this book clearly takes up the challenge begun by earlier works. In Etlin’s own words, the book “seeks to understand the varied and often conflicting convictions about the appropriate cultural expression through a contemporary architecture.” This conflict is expressed by offering tradition and modernity as opposing influences that emerged as cultural imperatives in the early 19th century. Thus, in Etlin’s terms, modernism in Italy was grounded in the sentiments of the Romantic revolution, a cultural movement that underscored the necessity to establish a national identity through architecture. He recognizes, however, that architecture was no less a product of the increasing pressure

for modernization, whose force was often exerted through a call for internationalism in economic and cultural production.

The book goes on to trace the relationship between these influences by studying them through specific centers of interest—Turin, Milan, and Rome—and follows them as their relative importance changes through time. Beginning with the First World Exposition of Architecture in Turin in 1890 and the later development of the *Arte Nuova*, the book proceeds by examining modernism through the “futurism” of Antonio Sant’Elia, the contextualist work of Gustavo Giovannoni and Marcello Piacentini, the subsequent development of the Milanese *Novecento*, and finally the emergence of rationalism in the polemics and the projects of the Gruppo 7. In doing so, Etlin assembles an important body of material on the development of modern architecture in Italy in a book whose strength is the thoroughness of its historiographic content. It is, in this sense, an extensive and definitive text for someone with a specific interest in this subject.

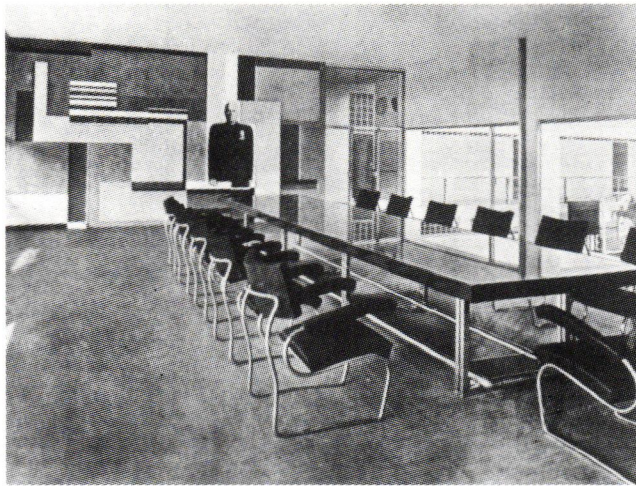
It is also worth noting that the book devotes considerable attention to the relationship between architecture and Fascism, the final section examining in detail how the rationalist architects operated when faced with the need to create a fascist style. Here



specific projects are discussed, such as the Casa del Fascio by Giuseppe Terragni, in an effort to convey a more accurate sense of how the rationalist polemics were influenced by Fascism. This is, in fact, no simple task, as Fascism was characterized by an "aggressive, militaristic and xenophobic nationalism," taking up the challenge of balancing modernity and tradition while ascribing to them specifically political and authoritarian motives. At the same time, Etlin rightfully observes, "Although Fascism proclaimed itself to be a 'totalitarian' regime, neither Mussolini nor other Fascist leaders attempted to impose a single style on Italian architecture."

Indeed, it was within this specified context, amid a conflicted and constantly shifting political climate, and in a country whose industrial economy was in its infancy, that modernism emerged. In such a context the terms "modern" and "rational," already rendered ambiguous by the same technological and political forces that were supposedly their benefactors, were the very terms that the different factions in architecture debated. This struggle within architectural culture, which in Gramscian terms was for the survival of certain beliefs, was best conveyed in the pages of the various magazines and other publications of that time. In this "context" contemporary critics asked serious questions about the positions of various architects in relation to their activities (their exhibitions, built works, etc.) in an effort to clarify and/or polemicize modernism. One such example is *Casabella* magazine, which, through the untiring criticism of Giuseppe Pagano and Edoardo Persico, conveyed a true sense of the seriousness of the conflicts in the development of an authentically modern architecture in Italy:

... critical activity must be based on the ability to make distinctions, to discover the difference underlying every superficiality and apparent uniformity and likeness, and on the ability to discover the



The Salone Riunioni del Direttorio Federale of the Casa del Fascio; Giuseppe Terragni, 1933–36. (From *Modernism in Italian Architecture*.)

essential unity underlying every apparent contrast and superficial differentiation.<sup>2</sup>

This kind of inquiry into the finer distinctions between interpretations of modernity comes through only partially in Etlin's book, perhaps due to the discussion of projects under stylistic categories (Futurism, Novecento, Rationalism), which disallows the categories themselves to be questioned. This kind of approach to history can be limiting, given that many of these movements overlapped, many architects' work changed or evolved, and some work does not fit well into any groupings. One such example is the Novecento movement, presented by Etlin as a Milanese phenomenon, which leaves out the possibility of a parallel in the early works of people such as Pietro Aschieri, Mario De Renzi, and Innocenzo Sabbatini, all of whom practiced in Rome. In a similar way, a complex figure like Aschieri is presented as a rationalist, although his project, the Work House for the War Blind of 1931, is severely limited by discussing it in these terms. These drawbacks reveal a flaw in the historiographic viewpoint of the author, who is inclined to present specific projects as evidencing rather than contradicting historical categorizations and polemical statements by their authors.

Perhaps with a more conditional definition of the terms "Rationalist," "Nove-

cento," and "Fascist" and a more dialectical understanding of the relationship between architectural "productions" (buildings, manifestos, publications, exhibitions) and the context in which they were "represented," a more heterogeneous history could be written. Modernism in Italy emerged during a time of considerable cultural upheaval, a conflictual situation that heightened during the twenty-year period of Fascism. However, despite the difficulties that this period presented to the development of modernism, this evolution is interesting precisely because the question of history—that is, What is modern? What is rational?—was not easily answered.

#### NOTES

1. Antonio Gramsci, "Notes for an Introduction and an Approach to the Study of Philosophy and the History of Culture" (1932–33), in *An Antonio Gramsci Reader*, ed. David Forgacs (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 326.
2. Antonio Gramsci, "Some Criteria of Literary Judgement" (1934), in *Selections from Cultural Writings*, ed. David Forgacs (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 134.

GLI ARCHITETTI E IL FASCISMO—ARCHITETTURA E CITTA 1922–1944, Giorgio Ciucci, Einaudi, 1989, 222 pp., illus., \$35.00.

MODERNISM IN ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE, 1890–1940, Richard A. Etlin, MIT Press, 1991, 736 pp., illus., \$65.00.



Elysabeth Yates Burns McKee

## The ABC's of $\triangle$ $\square$ $\circ$ : The Bauhaus and Design Theory

ELLEN LUPTON AND  
J. ABBOT MILLER, EDITORS

Perhaps the most successful aspect of the exhibition catalog *The ABC's of  $\triangle$   $\square$   $\circ$ : The Bauhaus and Design Theory*, edited by Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller, is its ability to elucidate complex—and fundamental—theoretical aspects of the Bauhaus program. The catalog, a compilation of essays by seven authors of various backgrounds, was originally produced for an exhibition sponsored by The Herb Lubalin Study Center of Design and Typography at Cooper Union in New York during the spring of 1991. Lupton and Miller curated the exhibition. Though originally produced as an appendix to the exhibition, the publication is successful in its own right, providing a succinct yet significant supplement to recent scholarship on the subject. The collection critically reassesses the claims made by the Bauhäusler's (Bauhaus people's) line of inquiry. Yet despite the critical nature of the writing, the various authors taken together present a fair and balanced view, breathing fresh life and relevance into the original experiment.

Both the title of the catalog and the exhibition are borrowed from Russian painter Wassily Kandinsky's "elementary sentence for a language of vision:  $\triangle$   $\square$   $\circ$ ." According to Kandinsky, these three forms or "figures" represent a "universal correspondence" whereby the "dynamic triangle is inherently yellow, the static square intrinsically red, and the serene circle is naturally blue." The search for a visual language that might act like and perhaps equal or—given its "universal nature"—even supersede the communicative capacities of verbal language was the subject of extensive theoretical and practical research at the Bauhaus. This is particularly true during the Weimar and Dessau years (1919–1928), as the works of Johannes Itten, Paul Klee, and Kandinsky, among others, attest. Accord-

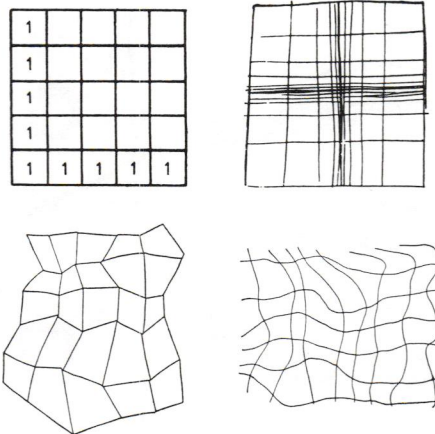
ingly, if there was indeed a "grounding" for the modernist stratagem, it is certainly that the Bauhaus's agenda was not expressly formal—the transmission of a style per se—but *structural* in every sense. The appeal for a universal, visual language (or "language of vision" as it was also referred to) recognized and sought the origins and interrelationships between the senses and knowledge. Similarly, Paul Klee's principle pedagogical thesis, set forth under the aegis of *The Thinking Eye*, proves the correlation between sight and knowledge. Cultural difference would be transcended, communication and understanding facilitated. That the Bauhaus exhibited a missionary zeal in its early years derives from an unswerving faith in the project.

Noting that the title of the exhibition, which included the tag *From Preschool to Post-Modernism*, framed the discourse, the first essay by J. Abbott Miller outlines basic groundwork in a piece aptly titled "Elementary Education." Incorporating numerous subthemes from 19th-century pedagogical drawing, Friedrich Froebel's "gifts and occupations" learning toys, the Kindergarten and Childhood of Art movements (which introduced the notion of facilitating learning through play and art), and finally the "elemental" educational precepts of the Bauhaus, Miller establishes the genealogical lineage and context of the experiment. From this perspective, the Bauhaus, though

clearly a radical revision of pedagogical precepts in the arts and design and a "point of origin" in itself, was not unprecedented nor unheralded.

The Bauhaus's search for primordial forms, as evidenced in Itten, Klee, and Kandinsky's script for the "prehistory of the universal," illustrates the belief that the origins of visual language were thought to operate outside the bounds of history and culture entirely. Kandinsky's elements of pictorial construction are particularly noteworthy in their attempt to distill an overt correlation between verbal and visual language. According to Kandinsky, "Every phenomenon of the external and internal world can be given linear expression." In his theoretical primer *Point and Line to Plane*, Kandinsky proposed abstract geometric components as "constituent parts of pictorial speech." The triangle, square, and circle constitute "essential grammar" for a language of vision. In this case, the linguistic analogy is obvious. As Miller states, however, these provocative first steps did not exploit the linguistic potential of these theories. Indeed, visual language "operated in isolation from, rather than tandem to, verbal language." Though posed here as a question for graphic design specifically, it is this point in particular that anticipates the prevailing discursive drift of the other essays. Miller's assertion that it is the graphic design discipline that will benefit from a reconsideration of the inquiry into visual and verbal language does not discount the value of such a study for the allied arts. The problem of language, formulated with respect to the Bauhaus, is a significant issue for both the fine and design arts, not the least of which is architecture.

Coeditor Ellen Lupton's essay "Visual Dictionary" is in some ways the most original and enlightening of the series. Capitalizing effectively on Miller's article, Lupton further explores the ramifications of universal correspondence in practical terms. Like Miller, she critiques the triangle, square, and circle—the elementary sentence of Kandinsky's language of vision—according to eight parallel themes or propositions regarding the actualization of these figures in



In his *Pedagogical Sketchbook*, Paul Klee introduces variations to the typically static and stable form of the grid; Paul Klee, 1953. (From *The ABC's of  $\triangle$   $\square$   $\circ$* .)



linguistic theory. Paradigmatic modernist “figures,” i.e., the graph, grid, and figure (field), as well as the necessary mechanics of translation between the visual and verbal spheres are insightfully and efficiently rendered. Though Lupton’s work is somewhat enigmatic, the critical relationship between form/structure and content is revealing. As a point of departure, the material is promising and should become a harbinger for further clarification and research.

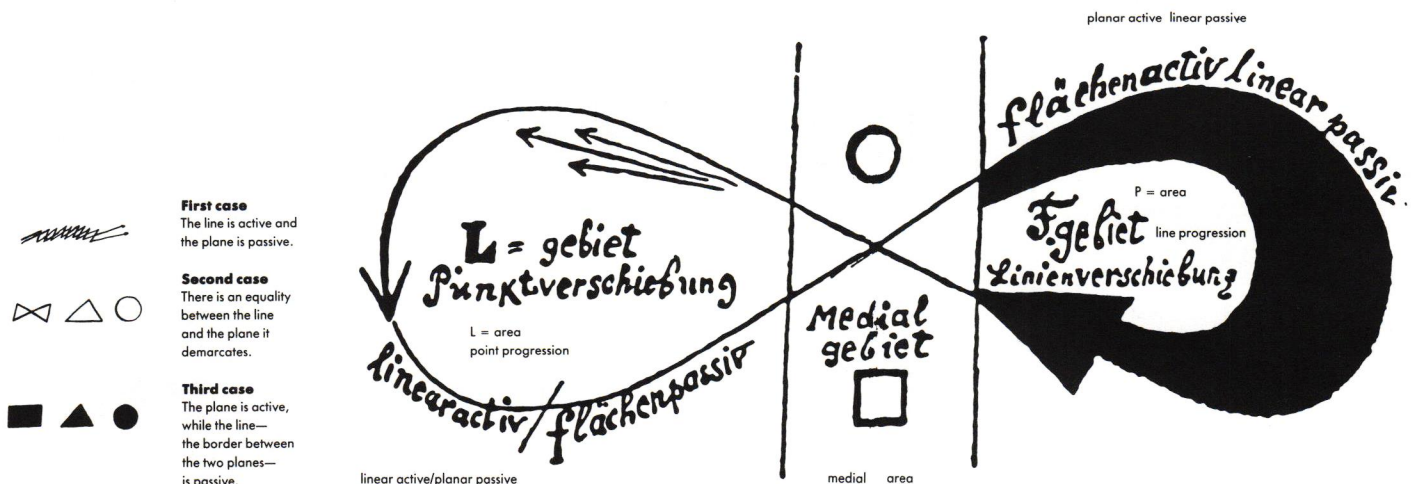
Following Lupton, associate curator Tori Eggherman’s “The Birth of Weimar” depicts the state of Weimar, Germany, lucidly illuminating the chaotic spectacle of a defeated nation undergoing repealed trials of Faustian inner- and outer-directed denouement. The incredible faith and passion generated by the Bauhaus project was, in this context, a propitious resort to something other than the borderline anarchy, relativism, and social and economic degeneration that pervaded postwar German society. Though obviously one cannot equate the two, it is also clear that the Bauhaus and national socialism are rooted in a similar impulse: the search for origins, authenticity, and a “purity of spirit” (as in Heidegger’s *Dasein*) are biases of both movements, one certainly more positive in nature than the other.

Associate curator Mike Mills’s discussion of “Herbert Bayer’s Universal Type in

Its Historical Context” provides original insight into the specific social, political, and cultural context that Bayer and many other Bauhäusler and acolytes attempted to transcend. As a seminal figure of modern graphic design, Bayer’s means and ends are reflected in the development of the design discipline and practice, in particular its role in advertising and corporate interests. Dragging Bayer’s presumption of “universality” down to earth, Mills describes the appeal of “universal laws of reason” as a significant modern advertising stratagem, facilitated by typography’s concomitant—and very comfortable—appropriation by and delineation of corporate interests. The avant-garde was clearly fertile ground for cultivating the economic status quo. Bayer, the designer of the familiar corporate logos for ARCO (Atlantic Richfield Corporation) and CCA (Container Corporation of America), assumed a very visible leadership role in promoting the notion of “corporate image.” In fact, the Bauhaus style of typography was and still is used as a model, rather than an instrument, for any number of commercial interests. What is important about this, however, is that the facile transmutation of a supposed “universal and immutable” typeface—according to Bayer, the result of fixed, iron laws of logic—was clearly not anticipated by those consigned to the prin-

ciples of a universal, visual language. Contrary to prevailing faith in the ability to transcend history, the forces and production of history eviscerate any claims to “universal meaning” or “reason.” In other words, the “meaning of the typeface is ‘not intrinsic to its form, but is continually recreated,’” as Mills put it. Simply, visual language, like verbal language, is not and cannot be immutable, as its proponents suggest here, but is always conditioned by its context.

Pertinent to this issue of *DBR* is Mills’s “Appendix: The Gender of the Universal.” By counterpositioning the subjective/intuitive/feminine attributes with the objective/rational/masculine attributes of Sigmund Freud and other 19th- and 20th-century theorists (who in turn cull these relationships from human history), Mills convincingly explicates the radical fissure between “the one” and “the other.” Modernism, defined here in part as representing the timeless authority of high culture and rational design methodology, is viewed as the rejection of the feminine, in light of its “subjective appeal to fluctuating, amorphous values, popular culture,” and mutability. Further “universality” in this case assumes an active repudiation of subjective (feminine) values as such—a position that is the hallmark of the late-Bauhaus and mature modernism. Excess, superfluity, and change







Walter Gropius invited Herbert Bayer to head the Bauhaus typography and printing workshop in 1925. He played an important role in developing "a new typography" whose geometric armature was aimed at rationalizing the design of letterforms. (From *The ABC's of △ □ ○*.)

clearly run counter to Order, necessary minimal conditions, and transparent functionalism—the basics of "form follows function."

An associated interpretation of these issues is found in Julia Reinhard Lupton and Kenneth Reinhard's essay on psychoanalysis and geometry. The authors, both literary theorists, interpolate and examine the structural or geometric relations inherent in Freud and Jacques Lacan's theories of the psyche, suggesting that they overcame the limitations of "repressed subjectivity" inherent in most modernist discourse by "mapping the psyche" as an "open field," thereby anticipating the (re)construction of the subject in the face of modernism's repressive regimen. Accordingly, psychoanalysis is identified as a move away from "containment and totalization of the subject" towards the "intersubject," whereby the subject is viewed as a complex integration of sign and structure relations.

Alan Wolf provides two entertaining and highly informative short essays on various scientific and perceptual issues associated with design. Though theoretical, Wolf explains the material in practical terms. The first article, "Design in N-Dimensions," is a *Flatlandesque* journey through the "space" of the first, second, and fourth dimensions (the third is understood as obvious). The second piece is a speculative exposé on fractal geometry and its implications for design.

Overall, the success of this slim book depends largely on the fluidity and open-endedness of the individual essays. Assembled together, the articles play off and reinforce each other quite well. Using both

graphic and textual means, each "vignette" effectively renders a multiplicity of texts. Moreover, by incorporating graphic (visual) language with verbal language, much of the subject matter—and point of critique—is exemplified. The form and content of the book are so clearly bound up with each other that it is, in its entirety, didactic and convincing.

As Lupton and Miller state in their introduction, the purpose of their project reaches beyond the immediate question of the Bauhaus. Making an effective case, the authors propose that it is necessary to reconsider "modernist design strategies" in order to "account for culture's ability to continually rewrite the meaning of visual form." The Bauhaus, the quintessential modernist paradigm, is critiqued in light of a postmodern agenda which supposes that "the language of vision is not self-evident or self-contained, but operates in a broader field of social and linguistic values." Their vision, which remains the fundamental bias of the assembled essays, harbors the belief that such knowledge empowers designers to take command of this broader field by assuming the vitality and strength of their work as a form of life.

THE ABC'S OF △ □ ○: THE BAUHAUS AND DESIGN THEORY, Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller, editors, The Herb Lubalin Study Center of Design and Typography/The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, distributed by Princeton Architectural Press, 1991, 63 pp., illus., \$19.95.

Sarah Bodine and Michael Dunas

## Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century

SCOTT MINIK AND JIAO PING

There is a poster in Scott Minik and Jiao Ping's survey, *Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century*, that portrays the triumphant Mao, cup in hand, saluting a cadre of young revolutionaries. The subject of the poster, however, is neither Mao nor his followers but the sea of small books, held high by the crowd as a pledge of their allegiance. There is no mistaking "The Little Red Book" in this picture. One of the most familiar designs of the century, its simple monochrome packaging, emotional use of color, and portable size (enabling it to be tucked away in the breast pocket of every worker's blue smock) is synonymous with the Chinese revolution itself. Successfully communicating Mao's strategy of plain speaking to a massive, rural, uneducated constituency, the "book" far outdistanced any other design produced under Mao, functioning as a reliable source of propaganda and an enduring emblem of the party.

In compiling this survey, the authors set out to redress the general ignorance of China's graphic production in this century, providing a wealth of visual evidence grossly lacking in Western design histories. Their efforts are particularly commendable because in China, graphic design is a stillborn profession. There are no associations, annuals, or museums to collect or promote the work, and, as the authors explain, Chinese society still equates the visual with the written word, to be discarded after its usefulness is exhausted. No special value is placed on the aesthetic. But we could also look at this from another perspective: graphic design, in the context of China's political history, is a contingent mode of communication, as with the poster of Mao and the Red Book, which expeditiously links ideology to modes of production. The question arises throughout the book as to the authors' efforts to assign a





*The Reddest Reddest Sun—Chairman Mao in Our Heart*, published by the Zhejiang People's Art Publishing House, 1968. (From *Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century*.)

Western paradigm to this work, motivated by a need to establish value in terms of aesthetic achievement. As they claim in the preface, we can “transcend the obstacle of language”—we can get the message through the images alone.

Their narrative begins with the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Prior to 1919, cultural reform experienced only modest beginnings in major urban centers. The burgeoning commercial sector introduced Western styles like Art Nouveau, while academies clamored for a revision of teaching practice to expand classical training and ink and watercolor to accommodate a greater exposure to Western oil painting and technical drawing. With the May Fourth protests the call to reform intensified. Initiated by students and the intellectual community, the movement resulted in design taking on the aura of ideology. In Shanghai, the major urban and cultural center, the growth of the middle class and the power of advertising agencies forced design to become acculturated to Western styles—geometric stylization, simplicity, decorative patterning, and eclectic typography were used here in an attempt to transform the proliferation of popular magazines and pulp fiction into

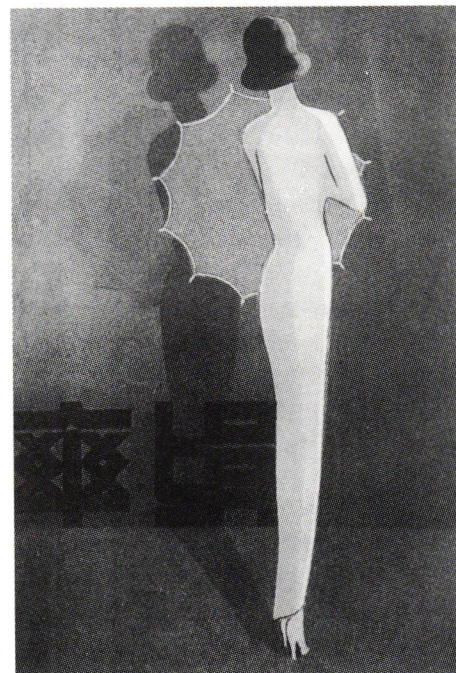
cosmopolitan commodities. A contrasting reform movement became identified with writer and scholar Lu Xun, whose ideas were to figure throughout the story. Lu Xun galvanized the intellectual community in direct opposition to the commercial importation of culture. In his books he extolled the national virtues of inner spirituality and creativity. Bringing together both artists and writers, Lu Xun advocated a return to the vernacular to recover Chinese folk traditions like indigenous drawing, “minority painting,” and woodcut. In this opening scenario, the authors set the ideological agenda for the rest of the history: commercial versus intellectual, foreign versus national, individuals versus institutional, social reform versus cultural tradition, West versus East.

In the 1930s, the Progressive Movement, still under the influence of the May Fourth call for reform, reflected China's desire to modernize, to adapt a rural economy to the demands of an industrialized world. Brief and ineffective, the style resembled somewhat the Western “between-the-wars modernism” with its emphasis on technological imagery, dynamic compositions, and action photography. But the more insistent reference in this work is to the Russian avant-garde, as China continued throughout the century to look to the Soviet Union as a model not only of social and political development but of graphic communication facilitating change.

The largest part of the book is devoted to design under Mao and the Communist Party. The period from the 1930s well into the 1970s was marked by a fierce program of institutional propaganda. The ideological balance shifted decidedly in favor of Lu Xun's philosophy of self-determination in cultural authenticity. Gone from the early days of the May Fourth Movement was the emphasis on individuality, literature, and spirituality, as Mao moved hastily toward the model of Socialist Realism as a more effective means of direct communication. Early on, in the 1930s, the party began organizing left-wing artistic associations whose journals satirized the corrupt national leadership. National magazines origi-

nating in urban areas like Shanghai were quick to climb aboard the patriotic bandwagon of anti-Japanese sentiment in the wake of the 1931 Japanese invasion of Northeast China, as social renewal became increasingly tied to political upheaval. By the end of the 1930s, design maneuvers by the party included propaganda teams that circulated through rural areas with large-scale posters and murals that told of repressive managers, unfair labor practices, and poor working conditions. The images were in the local folk idiom, using traditional caricature and narrative, often tying graphic work to street performances and theater.

“The more artistic it is,” Mao declared, “the more harm it can do to the people and the more it should be rejected.” Mao was determined to forge a program that would appear to be grass roots in its genesis, fostering a constituency of students, workers, peasants, and especially women as the displaced majority, which would be enlisted as active participants in the creation of its own propaganda. Consequently, in the 1940s, he founded the Lu Xun Academy of Literature and Art in the mountains of his military retreat at Yan'an. The goals were



A Shanghai-style advertising poster, *Silk Umbrellas*; Zhao Zi-xiang, 1936. (From *Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century*.)



to spread the teaching of popular graphic idioms—woodblock, papercut, caricature, printmaking, and folk painting, as well as Marxist ideology. At the time, the cultural struggle was still underway between the urban centers in the East, which were under the influence of foreign commerce and the growing resistance of the rural revolutionaries. At the academy, the seeds of Mao's cultural policies were being formed, as students were indoctrinated in cultural production as a self-sufficient enterprise—a blend of Marxist philosophy, traditional techniques, and a working integration, with the surrounding villages as their community and audience. So when the revolution was in progress in the late 1940s, Mao proclaimed the authenticity of the Yan'an experiment as cultural policy and deemed that art and design no longer to cater to private interests but rather serve as a tool for the new social and political order.

The 1950s was a period of relative calm as the revolution entered its romantic stage, and Mao, confident in his assessment of the Yan'an strategy, became preoccupied with his first five-year plan: the goals of economic industrialization and collectiv-

ization. Mao exercised a greater degree of tolerance toward artistic production, anticipating in his "Hundred Flowers" and "Great Leap Forward" proclamations of the mid-1950s that design would follow the course of a mass national culture. In fact, the designs of the period showed movement toward a more revolutionary folk art, with mythical and heroic subjects rendered in a high degree of representation, yet still using the traditional idioms of caricature, minority painting, and woodcuts.

The Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, however, saw a break with the previous decade's tolerance. The pullout of Soviet support in 1960 led to mass revolutionary hysteria in the party. Mao engaged in a media blitz of monumental proportions. Design was brought under strict control, institutionalized and homogenized. This was Mao's desperate attempt to forge a national spirit and to attack antirevolutionary elements. The primary vehicles were posters and billboards, millions of which were disseminated throughout the country. The theme was the heroic revolutionary worker, with Mao as the spiritual figurehead. Despite the repressive nature of the Cultural Revolution, the corporate style of the graphics takes on a power that stands out in China's graphic history. What can be described as hyperrealism derives from the Soviet model but with a traditional Chinese sense of lyricism. The posters, like those of the "model operas," create an anecdotal drama using photo-realist depictions in a dreamlike space. The towering figure of the worker rises above the activity of everyday life, literally in the clouds, as much a symbol of spiritual transformation as it is a lesson in revolutionary praxis.

After the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao, the reconstruction of the 1970s and 1980s was, according to the authors, a period of renewal and freedom. In quoting Deng Xiao-ping in 1979, they note, "Writers and artists must have the freedom to choose their subject matter and method of presentation based upon artistic practice and exploration. No interference in this regard can be permitted." They reiterate the



*The People Changed Their Thoughts and the Field Changed Its Appearance, from the Learn from Heroes and Reflect It in One's Deeds series; Hua Ting-yu, 1974. (From Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century.)*

hope that China's modern graphic heritage can resume its course of self-development. As their concluding chapter headings chart the course—interpretive illustration, conceptual image, New Wave, Modern Folk Revival, structure and expression, signs of democracy—their prescription emulates the West: free of propaganda, free to experiment with international modernism and free to flourish under a tolerant government that respects the independence of graphic design. The volume concludes as it begins with a sincere attempt to capture a fascinating aspect of modern design, and with the continuing dilemma as to its importance as fine art or propaganda.



Advertisement, *The Flowers of the Great Leap*, during the development of a revolutionary folk art; Zhuang Ping and Zhang He-ming, 1958. (From *Chinese Graphic Design in the Twentieth Century*.)

CHINESE GRAPHIC DESIGN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Scott Minik and Jiao Ping, Von Nostrand Reinhold, 1990, 160 pp., 285 illus., \$29.95.



Stefani Ledewitz

## Voices in Architectural Education: Cultural Politics and Pedagogy

THOMAS A. DUTTON, EDITOR

"What does it mean to practice an architectural education of liberation?" With this question, Thomas Dutton brings together thirteen contributing authors, whose responses compose *Voices in Architectural Education*. These are the voices of teachers, students, theoreticians, and practitioners who, despite their different professional roles and experiences, share a common set of values. The book is, above all, a celebration of difference and diversity. From their various perspectives, the authors challenge the boundaries of accepted practice in architecture and architectural education. The diversity of the contributors themselves is reflected in the broad array of issues they raise. Some articles focus on class and income; others, on race and gender. They question the role of design in education, methods of evaluating design, relationships between teachers and students, recruitment policies, the role of cultural and racial minorities in architecture, the relationship of built form to political and economic conditions, and the contribution of architecture to social reform. Just as each author struggles with the commitment to make education a liberating experience that gives voice to the voiceless, so the book itself gives expression to those who have not yet been heard in architectural education.

Despite their many differences, the authors agree on the need to understand architecture and education as part of a larger social and political structure and to recognize the relationship between knowledge and power. The role of power—dominance, resistance, and liberation—in architectural pedagogy and in architectural practice is the two-headed theme that unifies the book. The same imbalances of power and tendencies toward hegemony are seen both in studio and in professional practice, and they share the inclination to legitimize certain kinds of knowledge and values

(essentially white male, middle-class, European) over others. This is the substance of the various critiques that the authors aim at deconstruction, mass production, the selection of studio projects, university hiring processes, history textbooks, and others. It is, in fact, the authors' diverse expressions of a common critique that is the most significant accomplishment of the book.

This is a book that needs to be read in its entirety. Not only do the individual articles reinforce common themes, but they also provide valuable insights into each other. There are, for instance, clear parallels between Karen Kingsley's approach to the problem of gender in architectural history and Brad Grant's attempt to bring visibility to African-American culture. The articles



In "Forms of Resistance," Tony Schuman writes of Belgian architect Lucien Kroll's "kamikaze urbanism" approach—his renovation of a public housing project "provoke[s] . . . inhabitants to challenge their social as well as physical milieu," Alençon, France; Lucien Kroll, 1978. (From *Voices in Architectural Education*.)



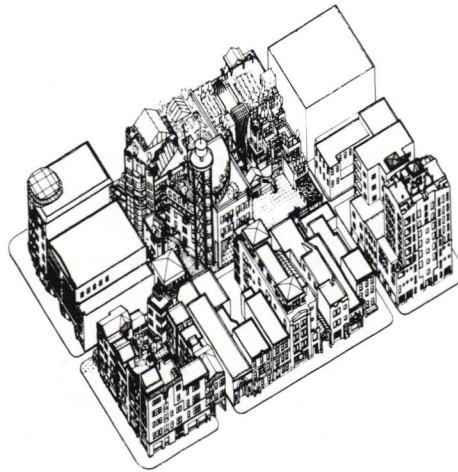
Renovation of Perseigne public-housing project, Alençon, France; Lucien Kroll, 1978. (From *Voices in Architectural Education*.)



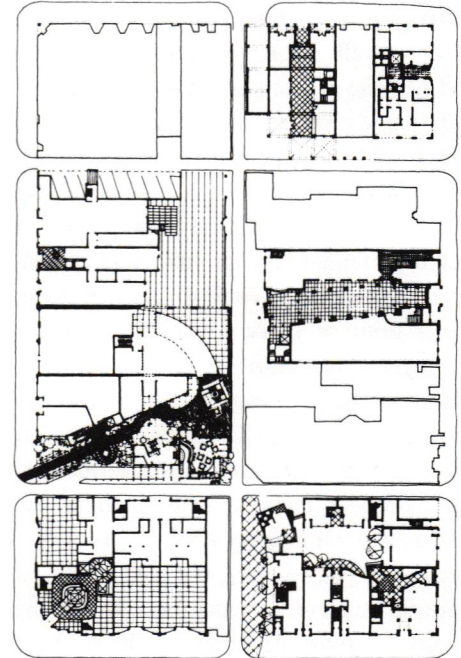
that focus on patterns of discrimination in architecture schools need to be understood within the historical and political context set by Lian Hurst Mann and Jacqueline Leavitt. As a work of critical pedagogy, the book itself is constructed to redefine boundaries between theory and action, teacher and student, author and reader. Although it claims to be divided into two sections, "issues" and "strategies," virtually every article demonstrates in some way an attempt to integrate theoretical critique with positive actions for change. As individual examples of critical pedagogy, however, the articles vary greatly in quality. While some of them are excellent and do indeed "cross the boundaries," others make vague and naive assertions or repeat already-familiar criticisms. Yet even the articles that lack a strong intellectual argument contribute a spirit of dedication to social justice and show sensitivity to human needs. The general tone of the book is insistent but not strident, committed but not confrontational.

It is, appropriately, the opening article by Tony Schuman that sets forth the critical issues in the book by attempting to define an "architecture of resistance." He contrasts current conceptions of architecture's social mission with those of the 1960s. Whereas architect-activists in the 1960s attempted to bring about social change through program and process, architects today are looking to present a social critique through form. Schuman's architecture of resistance would embody both of these dimensions: "The unfinished task of the 1960s thrust toward a social architecture is to engage the critical power of architectural language in the project of social transformation by linking formal image to material life." His challenge, restated throughout the book, is to create an architecture that, in its fullest realization, affirms the life experiences and values of different cultures and thereby resists the cultural hegemony of Western society today.

With reference to such an architecture of "full engagement," Schuman is joined by other authors in criticizing both deconstruction and postmodernism in architecture, which, they assert, are not



Challenging the boundaries of accepted practice in architectural education, Thomas Dutton engages students in a mutual and reciprocal process of defining studio projects; axonometric view and site plan of a group project. (From *Voices in Architectural Education*.)



counterhegemonic, but instead are "anti-hegemonic." Deconstruction in architecture, in particular, fails as a form of resistance because "it celebrates 'difference' in a value-free way that refuses to take sides in the real life social struggle." If deconstruction in architecture is an attempt to state the uncertainty, fragmentation, and conflict of life in an abstract language of form (a debatable proposition but beyond the scope of this review), it is unlikely to have a transformative impact on the social and political structures of oppression. In fact, Lian Hurst Mann points out that "subversion of oppositional meaning supports domination" by subverting opposition itself, and therefore "a pedagogy of aesthetic disorientation offers no socially viable strategy of opposition." Moreover, as an aesthetic or stylistic movement, it is easily "commodified" and appropriated by the power-holders in society.

The creation of a life-affirming architecture of resistance begins, as the graduate-student authors from UCLA argue, with the meeting of existing social standards. They do not try to redefine those standards, but only to speak out against injustices within the currently accepted norms of society. Derogatory remarks about race or gender, biased grading, and double standards are

clearly unethical in any situation. Similarly, failing to learn students' names or taking advantage of their vulnerability at design juries are not good teaching practices. It is, of course, appalling to hear that such unacceptable behavior continues to occur, but it does not cause us to question the legitimacy of our standards.

It is when the authors "problematize" what we accept as legitimate that they begin to challenge the borders of architectural form and education. One way they do this is by bringing to our attention those whose contributions have long been denied by mainstream culture. The very existence of these marginalized workers in architecture and architectural education challenges our beliefs about our history and thereby the possibilities we can imagine for the future. Karen Kingsley shows how the introduction of women's contributions to architecture is a step in a larger strategy for transforming the curriculum of architectural history. The act of rendering visible the invisible, which in itself is far from a sweeping upheaval of architectural education, has far-reaching effects nonetheless.

Brad Grant contends that not only has the work of African-American architects been overlooked, but it has also been developing its own culturally specific aesthetic



that can enrich other cultural understandings as well. Jacqueline Leavitt argues that identifying gender and being aware of gender-based problems in a design studio can open students to new ways of approaching their work. Thomas Dutton engages students in a mutual and reciprocal process of defining studio projects, and Alan Feigenberg challenges students to learn by teaching; both of these teaching strategies recognize the contributions students bring to their own knowledge formation. Anthony Ward's community design process in New Zealand introduces multiple worldviews into decision-making, which prompts students and community participants to "re-conceive" themselves, the land, and their project. In all of these instances, by "giving voice" to those who have not been heard, the authors cross over the boundaries of the commonly accepted roles of architectural practitioners and educators, and ask us to reconstitute those boundaries.

To "practice architectural education in liberatory ways" demands much more than a new intellectual framework. If pedagogy is understood as an integral part of society's political structure and the social fabric of our lives, then the relationships we make with our students and the models we provide through our work are as much a part of our curriculum as a course syllabus. It is quite obvious that this book could not be just a theoretical critique: the authors' reflections on their own experiences, particularly their attempts to model the value of their ideas about listening, questioning, empowering, and liberating, are as essential to the goal of the book as their intellectual underpinnings. Dutton's own account of his struggle to come to terms with the hidden curriculum in his design studio demonstrates with great force how the implicit content of a course can shape design projects, studio crits, and design juries. With concrete examples, Dutton and others illustrate how pervasive and influential our own cultural biases are, and make a convincing argument for starting with an examination of our own values and confronting, as Anthony Ward says, the painful process of relinquishing "long-cherished

and deeply held prejudices which have the quality of the obvious."

It is the fulfillment of human potential that is ultimately the concern of the authors in this book. Like the architects of the sixties that Tony Schuman describes, "the object of their search is the good society, not the perfect building." The importance of pedagogy itself as a process of change, as well as the discussion of specific teaching strategies, reflect an emphasis on the quality of human relationships and social practices. It seems, however, that there is still no resolution to the split between method and form that Schuman described at the outset of the book.

Yet the critique of architecture as cultural politics may itself offer an approach to resolving the dilemma. The idea that architecture has a cultural role distinct from its social purpose, that the form language of a building, for example, can offer a cultural critique while its spatial organization reinforces patterns of social oppression, is commonly accepted, even by some of the authors of this book. If architecture, however, can only be understood as part of its historical-social-political context, then its source of form would not primarily be other cultural artifacts, but the particular context in which it was designed and built.

Assuming we take seriously the idea that architecture is a social activity and its end is a better society, then its cultural significance must not be detached from the everyday life from which it arose and for which it was built. We should then understand architectural history much differently than it is currently taught—not as a lineage of objects in some abstract "advancement" of culture, but, as Ann Dillard describes the study of literature, as the creation of relationships between a particular work and its time. Cultural critique that demands a language of form unrelated to the community in which the building is situated is unlikely to be meaningful for that community and may furthermore contribute to an already overwhelming sense of alienation. Architecture as cultural critique must therefore "speak" a language of form that is understood by the community for which it is

built; or to say it differently, architecture serves the community that understands its language, even if it is only the community of architects themselves.

We need more diverse students and faculty in architecture schools, but not because of the "epistemological advantage" that an individual might have over an oppressed community. Rather, it is because those architects who choose to work toward an architecture of resistance can, in turn, express values and experiences with which people outside the cultural mainstream can identify. If architecture is part of a social context, then its task is not to embody a cultural critique but to become part of that culture's critique; not a liberating object, but part of a continuing process of liberation; not a formal representation of resistance, but an instrument of resistance. It is when architecture becomes part of a community's tradition and enables people to see themselves in it that it acquires cultural significance.

This does not mean that the formal order of architecture is unimportant, or that there is a singular "form" of resistance. The task of giving formal expression to the particular situation of a building is an essential part of a counterhegemonic strategy. But the contributors to *Voices in Architectural Education*, despite their understanding of this problem, do not offer persuasive architectural examples. It is clear that in order to cross the borders of architectural form language, we need to understand much more about the relationship between form and culture. The book leaves us with the disturbing reminder that, however ardent we are in our commitment to social justice and human fulfillment, we still know very little about how a culture expresses itself in architectural form.

---

VOICES IN ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION: CULTURAL POLITICS AND PEDAGOGY, Thomas A. Dutton, editor, Bergin & Garvey, 1991, 295 pp., illus., \$49.95.



Annmarie Adams

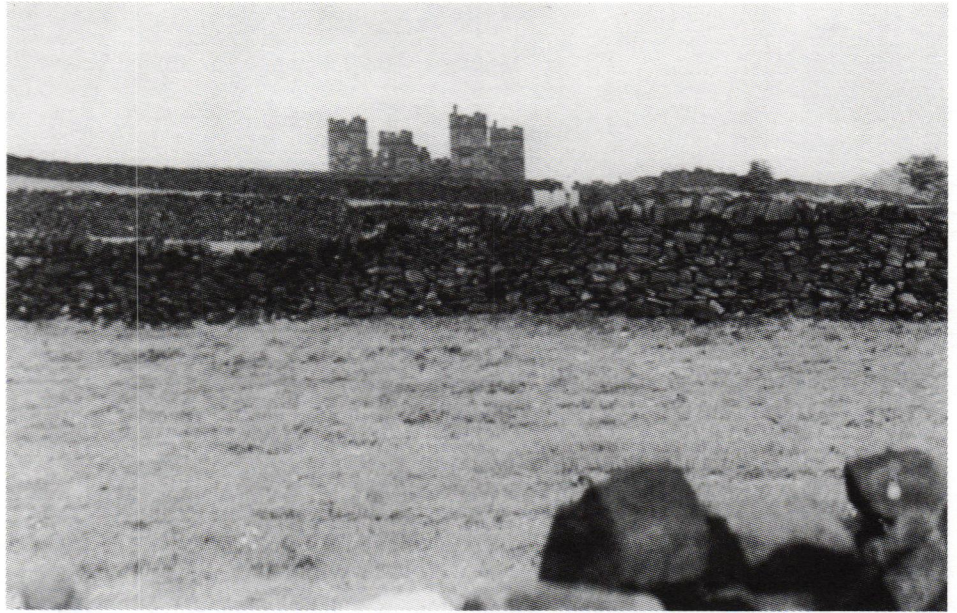
## The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays

JOHN SUMMERSON

Few figures in English architectural history inspire as much admiration as Sir John Summerson. Curator of the Soane Museum in London for nearly forty years, he has had an equally momentous career as an author. *Georgian London* (1946), *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830* (1953), and *Victorian Architecture* (1969)—to name three of his best-known works—are among the finest examples of scholarship in the field. His latest book, *The Unromantic Castle*, a long-awaited sequel to *Heavenly Mansions* (1949), illuminates the scholar's equally impressive career as an essayist.

Thirteen of the fifteen essays that make up *The Unromantic Castle* have been previously published, many in sources inaccessible to the general reader. Together the essays span more than forty years of Summerson's writing, from 1940 to 1981, and range in subject matter from the Elizabethan surveyor John Thorpe, architectural giants Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, and John Soane, to the "building world" (his term) of 19th-century London, Frank Lloyd Wright's British contemporaries, and Edwin Lutyens's Liverpool cathedral. Like *Heavenly Mansions*, the sheer range of investigation in the book is inspiring.

The first and last essays in *The Unromantic Castle* are completely different in approach, offering a tantalizing glimpse into Summerson's private life. The first, which gives its name to the volume, is a highly personal account from 1940 of Summerson's own experiences as a young boy in 1915 attending school at Riber Castle. It was there he discovered the capacity of architecture to exhilarate. The book ends with a pro-



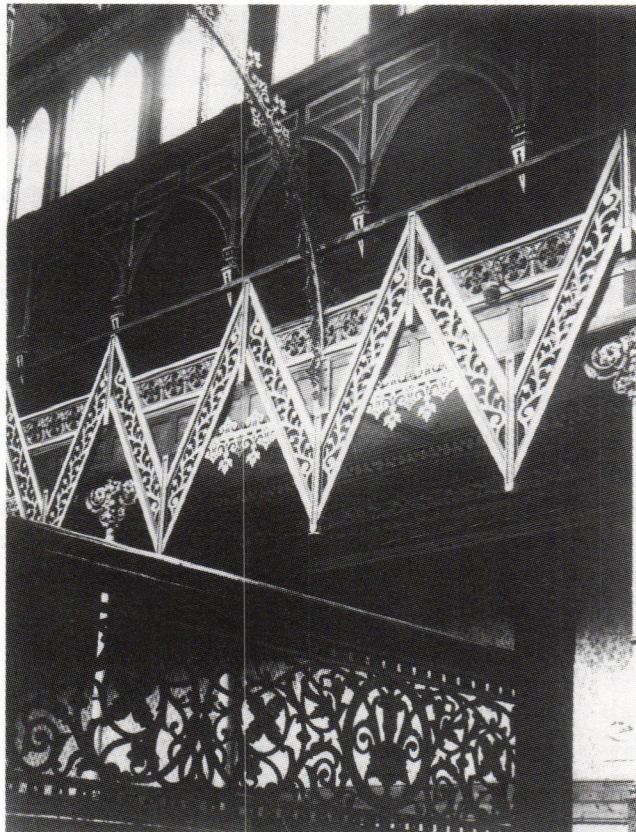
Distant view of Riber Castle, Matlock, Derbyshire; John Smedley, 1862. (From *The Unromantic Castle*.)

posal from 1957 for a "theory" of modern architecture, included here, according to the author, for its "curiosity value." He

says it marked the time when his generation "lost touch with the real world."

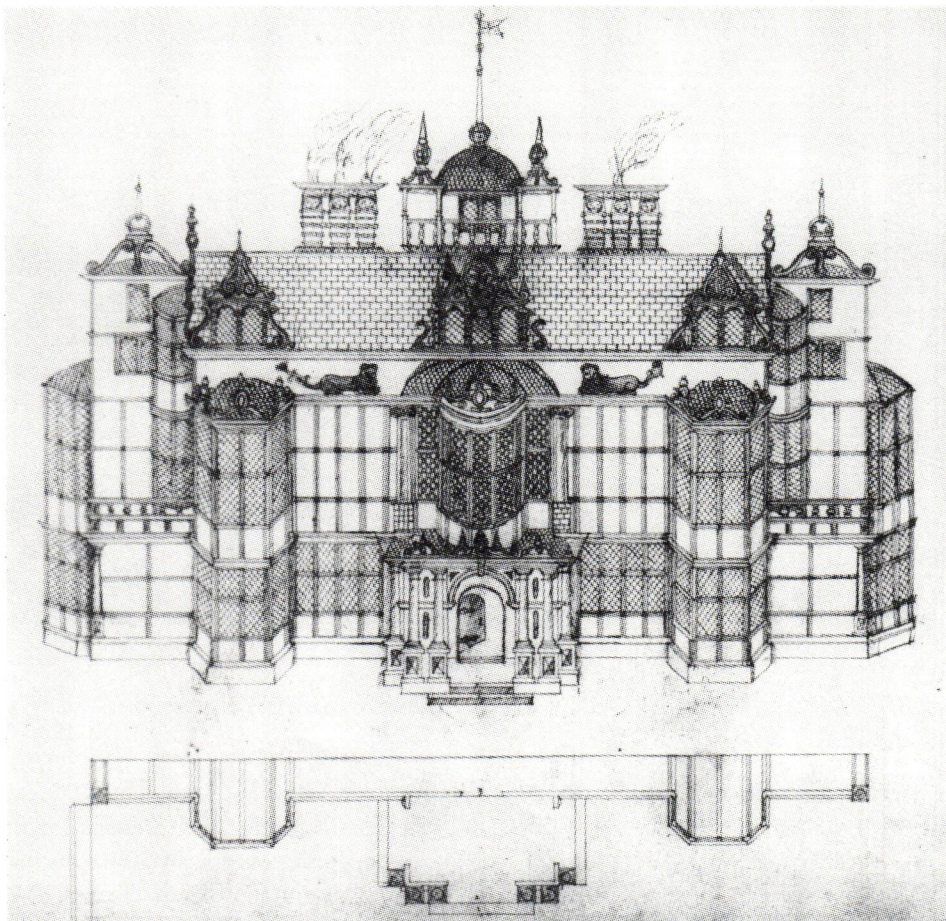
Readers expecting the exquisite prose and penetrating analysis that distinguish Summerson's other books will not be disappointed by *The Unromantic Castle*. Despite the time that has elapsed since some of the original publication dates, the essays are refreshing, and in several cases upset previously accepted interpretations of significant architectural careers, buildings, or activities. Indeed, Summerson questions the nature of the field itself in ways which, even in republication, seem extraordinarily prophetic.

As early as 1973, for example, his stated intention was "to take a small slice of architectural history, stand it on its head and see what falls out." Believing that "an architectural historian should, from time to time, look over the shoulders and under the feet of conventionally accepted heroes and try to see what went on around them and on what they stood; and furthermore, to see whether that hinterland may not contain some very adequate heroes of its own," he never apologized for



Cast-iron and wood embellishments in the saloon of the "stylistically unclassifiable" Riber Castle, Matlock, Derbyshire; John Smedley, 1862. (From *The Unromantic Castle*.)





Design for a timber-frame house, probably Campden House, Kensington; Sir Walter Cope, mid-to-late 1500s. (From *The Unromantic Castle*.)

omitting “celebrities” from his work. Nearly two decades later, the hinterland remains largely unexplored, though many have ventured, perhaps inspired by his lead.

The essays in *The Unromantic Castle* also show Summerson’s courage in questioning the evaluation of British architects. Charles Rennie Mackintosh, he claimed in 1963, occupies a special place in the architectural history of England only because of our urge as historians to “pioneer-hunt.” C. F. Annelsey Voysey, according to Summerson, was influential precisely because he was *not* brilliant. Even Sir Edwin Lutyens does not escape Summerson’s penchant to reevaluate. His name, however, is reinstated to the canon of architectural greatness; his unbuilt cathedral at Liverpool is likened to the work of Bramante, Bernini, and Wren.

Other essays—particularly those on the 19th century—offer relatively straightfor-

ward and thorough analyses of major building types and materials. Their directness of approach makes these essays welcome additions to reading lists in architectural history courses. “In the past fifty years much has been written on Victorian architects and architecture,” he begins the essay on 19th-century building materials, “but almost nothing on Victorian *building*.” In characteristic Summerson mode, he perceives a gap in the field and fills it with solid research. The ensuing essay is a logical, step-by-step examination of the technological innovations in the 19th-century construction industry. It is hard to gauge the immensity of its contribution to continuing scholarship on 19th-century cities and buildings, but it is even more difficult to imagine how we have managed this long without it.

Like the work of the late Peter Collins, who professed profound admiration for

Summerson as a scholar, *The Unromantic Castle* exudes a sense of authority that derives only from a close and thorough reading of primary sources. One senses, for example, throughout Summerson’s work that he has exhausted *every* document associated directly or indirectly with his subject. His reading of periodicals—like Collins on treatises—is particularly thorough.

Like Collins, too, Summerson the historian is, ultimately, a rationalist. He aims in this book, like his others, to explain history in its simplest terms, relying on conceptual “charts,” “graphs,” and “diagrams” throughout the essays in order to clarify his steps. All his explanations are reasonable deductions. For example, contemporaries of Frank Lloyd Wright are for Summerson only those born within eight years of the American architect; building trades are only those listed in *The Builder*; he counts the number of books published on a particular topic in a particular year; the rules, for Summerson, are set by the era he is studying, rather than his own.

The allure of Summerson’s style derives partly from these no-nonsense research methods. “The main thing,” he concludes the book, “is to get that history right and to get it clear.” He guides us through his process; he explains what sources tell us and what others hide. His questions are straightforward; his answers, too. Who was John Thorpe? What was the relationship of Wren’s architecture to his scientific inquiries? Why was Soane obsessed with death? Who were Victorian builders? Replete with exclamations, his prose retains the spontaneity and the joy (!) of the researcher’s discovery.

*The Unromantic Castle* is a book everyone from the beginning architectural enthusiast to the most erudite scholar will treasure. Like the other works of this great architectural historian, its scope of inquiry extends far beyond its immediate subject, reminding us that the questions are at least as important as the answers.

THE UNROMANTIC CASTLE AND OTHER ESSAYS, John Summerson, Thames & Hudson, 1990, 288 pp., illus., \$35.00.



## ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

ANNMARIE ADAMS is an assistant professor at the School of Architecture, McGill University.

SARAH BODINE, with Michael Dunas, writes about design and craft, and lectures at the University of the Arts and Tyler School of Art in Philadelphia.

ZEYNEP ÇELİK teaches architecture at the New Jersey Institute of Technology and is the author of *The Remaking of Istanbul* (1986) and *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (University of California Press, 1992).

MARGARET CRAWFORD is chair of the history and theory of architecture program at the Southern California Institute of Architecture. She is currently working on a study of the psychogeography of Los Angeles. Her book, *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life*, which she edited with Martin Wachs, was recently published by the University of Michigan Press.

MICHAEL DUNAS, with Sarah Bodine, writes about design and craft, and lectures at the University of the Arts and Tyler School of Art in Philadelphia.

ALICE FRIEDMAN is an associate professor of art and codirector of the architecture program at Wellesley College. She is currently writing a book on gender, program, and the making of the modern house.

BARBARA HOOPER is a doctoral student in urban planning at UCLA. She recently published a paper on the gendering of the city and of urban and regional planning theory in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, 13 (1992). She and Edward Soja are currently collaborating on a book about "the spaces that difference makes."

STEFANI LEDEWITZ is a practicing architect and teaches design and person/environment relations at Carnegie-Mellon. She has written articles on studio teaching and design education.

LIANE LEFAIVRE writes on problems of cultural history and criticism and, in collaboration with Alexander Tzonis, has published several articles and the books *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order* (MIT Press, 1986) and *Architecture in Europe Since 1968* (Rizzoli, 1992). She is currently preparing *Eros, Architecture, and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, a study of the metaphor of the building as a body in Renaissance humanism.

ELYSABETH YATES BURNS McKEE is an assistant professor of architecture at Rice University.

BRIAN McLAREN is an architect and assistant professor of architecture at Washington University, teaching courses in design and the history of modern architecture in Italy.

DEREK MOORE is an architect in New York and adjunct assistant professor of architecture at Columbia University.

BARBARA OLDERSHAW received her master's degree in architectural history and criticism from the UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Planning. She currently devotes her time to feminist activism, and is involved in renovating The Women's Building in San Francisco, the first multicultural community center in the United States owned and operated by women.

MARY PEPCHINSKI is an architect in Berlin. She teaches architecture at the Technische Universität Berlin and writes about architecture and urbanism for publications in the United States and Europe.

ADRIANA PETRYNA is a doctoral student in architectural history at the University of California at Berkeley.

LISA SULLIVAN is a graduate student in architectural design at the University of California at Berkeley and a mother of two children.

EDWARD W. SOJA is professor of urban and regional planning and associate dean of the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning at UCLA. He has written extensively on urban restructuring in Los Angeles and on critical spatial theory, and is the author of *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (Verso, 1989). He and Barbara Hooper are currently collaborating on a book about "the spaces that difference makes."

JILL LAHN STONER teaches architecture at the University of California at Berkeley.

STEPHEN TOBRINER teaches architectural history at the University of California at Berkeley.

HENRY URBACH is an architect and writer whose projects explore the interplay of desire and ideology in architecture. His writings have appeared in *Metropolis* and *Newsline*, and his essay, "Prima Facie: Facing the Hyperreal," was recently published by New Langton Arts. He has articles forthcoming in *Sites* and *Assemblage*, and recently began Ph.D. studies at Princeton.

ABIGAIL A. VAN SLYCK teaches architectural history at the University of Arizona, where she directs a seminar on women and



American architecture. Her article, entitled "Gender and Space in American Public Libraries, 1880–1920," was recently issued in the SIROW Working Paper Series, published by the Southwest Institute for Research on Women at the University of Arizona.

HAYDEN WHITE is a professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz. He teaches in the history of consciousness, literature, and history programs, and is the author of *Metahistory*, *The Content of the Form*, and *The Tropics of Discourse*, all published by Johns Hopkins University Press.

JUDITH WOLIN is a professor of architecture at the Rhode Island School of Design, and has been a guest professor at Harvard, Princeton, Yale, and Rice. Her other articles on Russian Constructivists have appeared in *Perspecta* and the *Chicago Architecture Journal*.

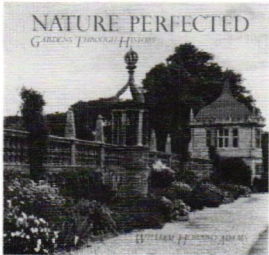


## DESIGN BIBLIOPHILIA

A list of recently published books on architecture and urbanism compiled for the Society of Architectural Historians by Judith Holliday, librarian at Cornell.

50 years of the National Buildings Record 1941–1991. London: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1991. 68 pp. £14.95. ISBN 0-904929-27-2

Adams, William Howard. *Nature Perfected: Gardens Through History*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1991. 356 pp. \$49.95. ISBN 0-89659-919-1



Agrest, Diana. *Architecture from Without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice of Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991. 203 pp. \$30.00. ISBN 0-262-01115-8

Allibone, Jill. *George Devey, Architect 1820–1886*. Cambridge, Eng.: Butterworth Press, 1991. 189 pp. £25.00. ISBN 0-7188-2785-6

Architekten Schweger + Partner: *Bauten und Projekte*. Stuttgart: Haq, 1991. 320 pp. ISBN 3-7757-0304-7

Bachler, Hagen, and Monika Schlechte. *Führer zum Barock in Dresden*. Dortmund: Harenberg, 1991. 230 pp. DM34.80. ISBN 3-88379-611-5

Bechmann, Roland. *Villard de Honnecourt: la pensée technique au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et sa communication*. Paris: Picard, 1991. 384 pp. F370. ISBN 2-7084-0367-2

Benevolo, Leonardo. *La cattura dell'infinito*. Rome: Laterza, 1991. 137 pp. L25000. ISBN 88-420-3746-X

Berlin und seine Bauten: Teil V Band C–Schulen. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1991. 471 pp. ISBN 3-433-02205-4

Bianca, Stefano. *Hofhaus und Paradiesgarten: Architektur und Lebensformen in der islamischen Welt*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1991. 305 pp. DM88. ISBN 3-406-34919-6

Blair, John, ed. *Saint Frideswide's Monastery at Oxford: Archaeological and Architectural Studies*. Gloucester; Wolfeboro Fall, NH: A. Sutton, 1991. 285 pp. £35.00. ISBN 0-86299-773-9

Boboli 90: atti del convegno internazionale di studi per la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione del giardino. Florence: Edifer, 1991. 2 vols. L95000

Borsi, Franco, and Paolo Portoghesi. *Horta*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991. 413 pp. Trans. of Victor Horta. \$85.00. ISBN 0-8478-1290-1

Breeze, Carla. *L.A. Deco*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991. 96 pp. ISBN 0-8478-1434.

Les chantiers de la Renaissance: actes du colloques tenus à Tours en 1983–1984. Paris: Picard, 1991. 287 pp. (De architectura) F320. ISBN 2-7084-0406-7

Chernikhov, Iakov Georgievich. *Konstruktion der Architektur und Maschinenformen*. Berlin: Birkhauser, 1991. 232 pp. + 40 pls. DM118. Reprint of 1931 ed. ISBN 3-7643-2497-X 5.00. ISBN 0-582-0636-4

Colquhoun, Ian, and Peter G. Fauset. *Housing Design in Practice*. Essex: Longman Scientific & Technical, 1991. 365 pp. £85.00. ISBN 0-582-0636-4

Delehanty, Randolph. *In the Victorian Style*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1991. 180 pp. \$35.00, \$22.95. ISBN 0-87701-750-6, 0-87701-741-1

Denyer, Susan. *Traditional Buildings and Life in the Lake District*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1991. 208 pp. £18.99. ISBN 0-575-04552-3



Emmerson, Roger. *Winners & Losers: Scotland and the Architectural Competition: an exhibition for the Edinburgh International Festival*, RIAS Gallery, August 12 to September 1991. Edinburgh: RIAS Gallery, 1991. 43 pp. £2.95. ISBN 1-873190-03-4

Farel, Alain. *Le troisième labyrinthe: architecture et complexité*. Montreuil/Bois: Les Editions de la Passion, 1991. 230 pp. F169. ISBN 2-906229-12-1

Fladmark, J. M., et al. *Tomorrow's Architectural Heritage: Landscape and Buildings in the Countryside*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publ., 1991. 192 pp. £14.99. ISBN 1-85158-378-5

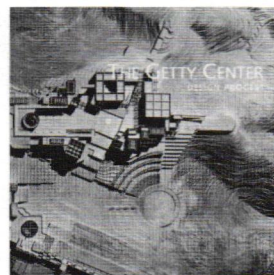
Forsthuber, Sabine. *Moderne Raumkunst: Wiener Ausstellungsbauten von 1898 bis 1914*. Vienna: Picus, 1991. 205 pp. ISBN 3-85452-112-X

Frank O. Gehry: *projets en Europe: 13 mars/10 juin 1991*. Paris: Centre de Creation Industrielle, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1991. Unpaged. F95. ISBN 2-85850-568-3

Frei, Hans. *Konkrete Architektur? Über Max Bill als Architekt*. Baden: Verlag Lars Muller, 1991. 319 pp. DM54. ISBN 3-906700-22-4

Gandelonas, Mario. *The Urban Text*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991. 95 pp. \$14.95. ISBN 0-262-57084-X

Germany, Lisa. *Hartwell Hamilton Harris*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1991. 252 pp. ISBN 0-292-73043-8



*The Getty Center: Design Process* / Harold Williams. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 1991. 141 pp. \$40.00. ISBN 0-89236-210-3

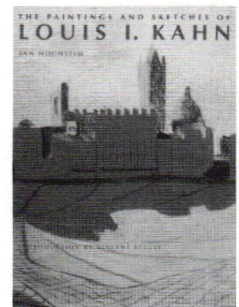
Gradidge, Roderick. *The Surreal Style*. Kingston upon Thames, Surrey: The Surrey Historic Buildings, 1991. 144 pp. L15.95. ISBN 0-9517022-0-3

Griswold, Mac K., and Eleanor Weller. *The Golden Age of American Gardens: Proud Owners, Private Estates, 1890–1940*. New York: Abrams, 1991. 408 pp. \$67.50. ISBN 0-8109-3358-6

Gudmundson, Wayne. *Testaments in Wood: Finnish Log Structures at Embarrass, Minnesota*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1991. 83 pp. \$16.95. ISBN 0-87351-268-5

Hermann Hertzberger 1959–1990. Tokyo: A+U, 1991. 247 pp. (A+U April 1991 extra edition) \$55.00. ISBN 4-900211-33-8

Hildebrand, Grant. *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's Houses*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1991. 192 pp. \$55.00, \$29.95. ISBN 0-295-97005-7, 0-295-97108-8



Hochstim, Jan. *The Paintings and Sketches of Louis I. Kahn*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991. 340 pp. ISBN 0-8478-1381-9

Hollein, Hans, et al. *Paolo Piva: Design and Architektur*. Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1991. ISBN 3-7017-0700-6

Jacobs, Michael. *Northern Spain: The Road to Santiago de Compostela*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1991. 150 pp. ISBN 0-87701-850-2

Kahler, Gert, ed. *Architektur: Bauen in Stuttgart seit 1990*. Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1991. 269 pp. DM68. ISBN 3-528-08723-4



Kostof, Spiro. *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*. Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1991. 352 pp. \$50.00. ISBN 0-8212-1867-0

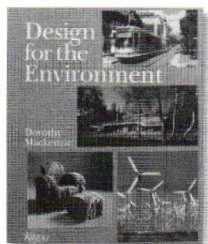
Kurokawa, Kisho. *Intercultural Architecture: The Philosophy of Symbiosis*. London: Academy Editions, 1991. 208 pp. £35.00. ISBN 1-85490-047-1

Lancaster, Clay. *Antebellum Architecture of Kentucky*. Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1991. 338 pp. \$50.00. ISBN 0-8131-1759-3

Laws, Bill. *Traditional Houses of Rural France*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1991. 160 pp. ISBN 1-55859-222-9

Leith, James A. *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares and Public Buildings in France, 1789–1799*. Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1991. 363 pp. \$60.00. ISBN 0-7735-007574

Lichtenstein, Claude, ed. *Ferdinand Kramer: der Charme des Systematischen: Architektur, Einrichtung, Design*. Giessen: Anabas Verlag, 1991. 292 pp. (Werkbund-Archiv; Bd. 23) DM78. ISBN 3-87038-163-9



Mackenzie, Dorothy. *Design for the Environment*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991. 176 pp. ISBN 0-8478-1390-8

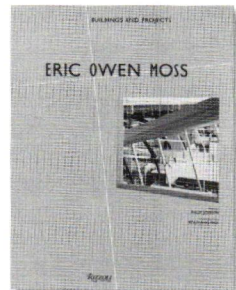
Mansbridge, Michael. *John Nash: A Complete Catalogue*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991. 336 pp. \$75.00. ISBN 0-8478-1308-8

Marrey, Bernard, and Marie-Jeanne Dumont. *La brique à Paris*. Paris: Picard/Editions du Pavillon de l'Arsenal, 1991. 219 pp. F240. ISBN 2-7084-0414-8

McGrew, Patrick. *Landmarks of San Francisco*. New York: Abrams, 1991. 304 pp. \$49.50. ISBN 0-8109-3557-0

Meehan, Patrick J. *Frank Lloyd Wright Remembered*. Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1991. 254 pp. \$29.95. ISBN 0-89133-187-5

Minnaert, Jean-Baptiste. *Pierre Barbe architectures*. Liege: Mardaga, 1991. 327 pp. ISBN 2-87009-437-X



Moss, Eric Owen. *Eric Owen Moss, Buildings and Projects*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991. ISBN 0-8478-1448-3

Neumeyer, Fritz. *The Artless Word: Mies van der Rohe on the Building Art* / translated by Mark Jarzombek. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991. 386 pp. \$50.00. Trans. of *Mies van der Rohe*. ISBN 0-262014047-0

Nitschke, Gunter. *Garten-architektur in Japan: rechter Winkel und natürliche Form*. Cologne: Taschen, 1991. 319 pp. DM50. ISBN 3-8228-0269-777; DM45. ISBN 0-582-0636-4

*Palladio in Alabama: An Architectural Legacy*. Montgomery: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1991. 80 pp. ISBN 0-89280-029-1

Pinchon, Jean-François. *Edouard Viermans: architecte de la Cafe Society*. Liege: Mardaga, 1991. 335 pp. ISBN 2-87009-411-6

Pollak, Martha D. *Turin, 1564–1680: Urban Design, Military Culture, and the Creation of the Absolutist Capital*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991. 267 pp. ISBN 0-226-67342-1, 0-226-67344-8

Ranzani, Ermanno and Luisa Ravera, eds. *Giovanni Michelucci a Sant'Agostino: disegni per il Teatro di Olbia*. Genoa: Sagep, 1991. 103 pp. L25000. ISBN 88-7058-386-4

Rem Koolhaas: *Conversations with Students*. Houston: Rice Univ., School of Architecture, 1991. 80 pp. (Architecture at Rice; 1991 )

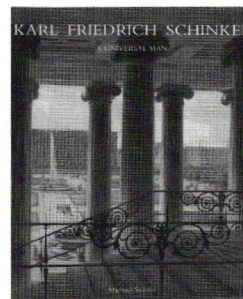
Ritz, Richard E. *An Architect Looks at Downtown Portland*. Portland, OR: The Greenhills Press, 1991. 104 pp. \$19.95. ISBN 0-9629661-1-8

Saboya, Marc. *Presse et architecture au XIXe siècle: Cesar Daly et La Revue Generale de L'Architecture et des travaux publics*. Paris: Picard, 1991. 335 pp. F300. ISBN 2-7084-0417-2

Savage, Christine E. *New Deal Adobe: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Reconstruction of Mission La Purisima 1934–1942*. Santa Barbara, CA: Fithian Press, 1991. 162 pp. \$9.95. ISBN 0-931832-75-6

Scully, Vincent Joseph. *Architecture: The Natural and the Manmade*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. 388 pp. \$40.00. ISBN 0-312-06292-3

Sharp, Dennis, ed. *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Architects and Architecture*. New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1991. 256 pp. \$39.95. ISBN 0-8230-2539-X



Snodin, Michael, ed. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press in assoc. with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991. 218 pp. \$40.00. ISBN 0-300-05165-1, 0-300-05166-2

Strocka, Volker Michael. *Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8–10)*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1991. 143 pp. (Hauser in Pompeji; Bd. 4) ISBN 3-7774-5130-4

Szabo, Albert, and Thomas J. Barfield. *Afghanistan: An Atlas of Indigenous Domestic Architecture*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1991. 264 pp. \$80.00 ISBN 0-292-70419-4

Thomas, George E., et al. *Frank Furness: The Complete Works*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991. 385 pp. \$64.95, \$39.95 ISBN 1-878271-04-0, 1-878271-25-3

Titler, Robert. *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1500–1640*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991. 211 pp. ISBN 0-19-820230-X

Van Zuylen, Gabrielle. *The Gardens of Russell Page*. New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang, 1991. 255 pp. \$50.00. ISBN 1-55670-170-5

Vince, John. *The Country House: How It Worked*. London: John Murray, 1991. 143 pp. £9.95. ISBN 0-7195-4769-5

Woller, Bettina-Marline. *Deutsche Palastbaukunst 1750–1850: Theorie-Entwurf-Praxis*. Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1991. 211 pp. DM78. ISBN 3-528-08744-7

Wright, Patrick. *A Journey through the Ruins: The Last Days of London*. London: Radius, 1991. 294 pp. £16.99. ISBN 0-09-173190-9

Yegul, Fikret. *Gentlemen of Instinct and Breeding: Architecture at the American Academy in Rome, 1891–1940*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991. 242 pp. ISBN 0-19-506319-X

Zukowsky, John, and Ian Ward-ropper. *Austrian Architecture and Design: Beyond Tradition in the 1990s*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1991. 160 pp. ISBN 3-433-02341-7





## This publication is available in microform.

University Microfilms

International reproduces this publication in microform: microfiche and 16mm or 35mm film. For information about this publication or any of the more than 13,000 titles

we offer, complete and mail the coupon to: University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Call us toll-free for an immediate response: 800-521-3044. Or call collect in Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii: 313-761-4700.

☐ Please send information about these titles:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Company/Institution \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

University  
Microfilms  
International



## THREE AMERICAN ARCHITECTS

*Richardson, Sullivan, and Wright, 1865-1915*

James F. O'Gorman

O'Gorman discusses the individual and collective achievement of this recognized trinity of American architecture and traces the evolution of forms created during these architects' careers.

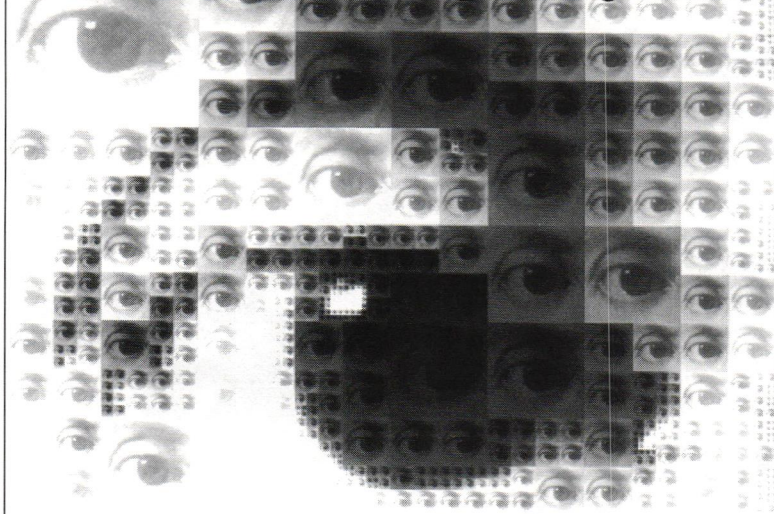
"A major contribution to our understanding of the beginnings of modern American architecture." — David Hamilton Eddy,

*Times Higher Education Supplement*

Paper \$12.95 190 pages  
96 halftones, 15 line drawings

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
5801 SOUTH ELLIS AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

## Visual Truth?



"From this moment on, photography is dead — or, more precisely, radically and permanently redefined as was painting one hundred and fifty years before."

## THE RECONFIGURED EYE Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era

William J. Mitchell

Enhanced? Or faked? Today the very idea of photographic veracity is being radically challenged by the emerging technology of digital image manipulation. Photographs can now be altered in ways that are virtually undetectable, and photorealistic synthesized images are becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish from actual photographs.

*The Reconfigured Eye* provides the first critical analysis of the digital imaging revolution.

275 pp., 55 b & w illus, 30 color illus, 25 line illus.  
\$39.95

To order call toll-free 1.800.356.0343 or 617.628.8569

The MIT Press  
55 Hayward Street  
Cambridge, MA 02142



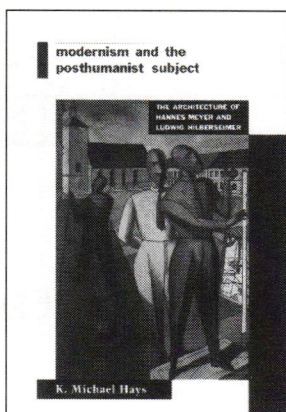
# Worldwide Voyages

## **POLYPHILO** **or The Dark Forest Revisited** **An Erotic Epiphany of Architecture**

*Alberto Pérez-Gómez*

"*Polyphilo* is a brilliantly sharp and original reflection of the pop aspects of our visual culture. As a critical restatement of the environmental and sexual mores of the 1990s it will be much discussed." — George L. Hersey, Yale University

352 pp., 235 illus. \$39.95 (October)



## **MODERNISM AND THE POSTHUMANIST SUBJECT** **The Architecture of Hannes Meyer and Ludwig Hilberseimer**

*K. Michael Hays*

"In this original, rigorous, and sophisticated study K. Michael Hays draws on European theory to illuminate the philosophical and epistemological assumptions of the utopian and revolutionary architectural avant-garde of the 1920s and 1930s. Hays breaks new ground in identifying the gradual disappearance of the autonomous subject as a central motif of modern architectural history." — Anson Rabinbach, The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art

352 pp., 139 illus. \$35.00

## **HANS POELZIG** **Reflections on His Life and Work**

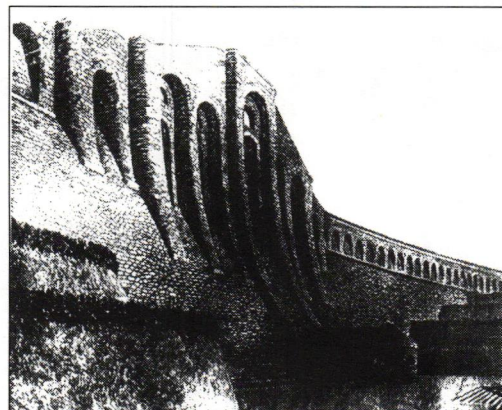
*Julius Posener*

*edited by Kristin Feireiss*

This first detailed study of Poelzig in English, with 350 illustrations, brings to light one of the most interesting architects working in Germany during a period when the course of architecture was profoundly changed.

An Architectural History Foundation Book

348 pp., 350 illus. \$50.00 (October)



## **TECHNICS AND ARCHITECTURE** **The Development of Materials and Systems for Buildings**

*Cecil D. Elliott*

In this richly illustrated history Cecil Elliott focuses on a neglected aspect of architecture, the technics of building form.

480 pp., 351 illus. \$65.00



## ARCHITECTURE AND IDEOLOGY IN EASTERN EUROPE DURING THE STALIN ERA

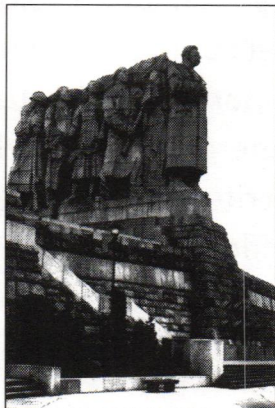
**An Aspect of Cold War History**

*Anders Åman*

Since 1978, Anders Åman has been researching, photographing, and documenting the architectural style known as Socialist Realism. In the midst of the current statue toppling, this book records in over 200 illustrations the government-planned buildings, cities, parks, and monuments from the Stalinist postwar period in Eastern Europe, providing a valuable record and analysis of the relation between architecture and the state in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and former East Germany.

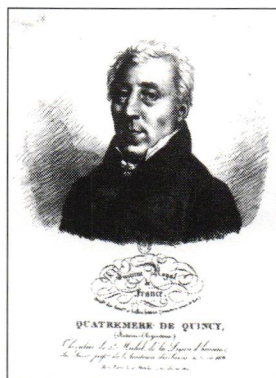
An Architectural History Foundation Book

356 pp., 253 illus. \$35.00 (October)



## QUATREMERE DE QUINCY AND THE INVENTION OF A MODERN LANGUAGE OF ARCHITECTURE

*Sylvia Lavin*



"One of the most original, convincing and important books in the field of late 18th and 19th century architectural history. This is a book of great importance for architects and architectural critics, theoreticians, and historians." —

Richard Pommer, New York University

352 pp., 16 illus. \$39.95

## GERMAN REALISTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

*Georg Lukács*

*translated by Jeremy Gaines and Paul Keast*

350 pp. \$35.00 (November)

*Now in paperback*

## JOZÉ PLECNIK

**Architect: 1872-1957**

*edited by François Burkhardt, Claude Eveno, and Boris Podrecca*

*translated by Carol Volk*

"This is the most comprehensive coverage yet to appear in English. . . . The story is worth reading, the book is handsomely produced, and the richness of Plecnik's work can be fully appreciated from the numerous outstanding illustrations." — Simon Pepper, *Times Literary Supplement*

216 pp., 300 illus., 54 in color \$16.95 paper (October)

## ARCHITECTURAL DIPLOMACY

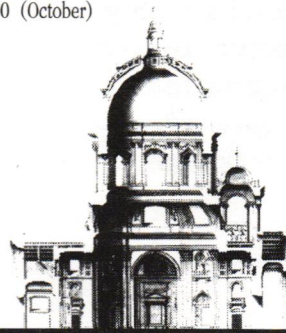
**Rome and Paris in the Late Baroque**

*Gil R. Smith*

Gil Smith observes that at a time when building activity in Rome was greatly diminished, the Accademia became a successful laboratory of ideas.

An Architectural History Foundation Book

416 pp., 226 illus. \$50.00 (October)



To order books call toll-free 1.800.356.0343 or 617.628.8569. MasterCard and VISA accepted.

**The MIT Press**  
55 Hayward Street  
Cambridge, MA 02142





# assemblage

A Critical Journal of Architecture and Design Culture

*K. Michael Hays, Alicia Kennedy, and  
Catherine Ingraham, Editors*

**"Assemblage has emerged as the most distinguished and widely read journal of history, criticism, and theory in architecture. From its inception, the editors have guided the development of the journal with wisdom and considerable passion."**

**— Anthony Vidler**

**"The format of Assemblage is distinctive and distinguished; it speaks of a highly intellectual content and committed contributors."**

**— Art & Design**

Provocative, polemical, and exploratory, **Assemblage** offers a forum in which the issues of contemporary architecture can be debated in reference to historical and theoretical criteria and, moreover, with a critical understanding of their relevance to the production of everyday life.

Each extensively illustrated issue of **Assemblage** offers the best and most current texts and projects by leading and emerging scholars, theorists, and practitioners from a multiplicity of disciplines.

Published by the MIT Press in April, August, and December.

ISSN 0889-3012.

Outside the U.S.A. add \$14 postage; Canadians add 7% GST. Prepayment is required. Send check drawn against a U.S. bank in U.S. funds, MasterCard or VISA number to: MIT Press Journals, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02142. 617-253-2889 FAX 617-258-6779

Yearly rates  
\$60 Individual  
\$95 Institution  
\$35 Student

**MIT Press Journals**  
55 Hayward Street  
Cambridge, MA 02142  
617-253-2889  
FAX 617-258-6779



THE MIT PRESS

# OCTOBER

*Edited by*

ROSALIND KRAUSS

ANNETTE MICHELSON

JOAN COPJEC

YVE-ALAIN BOIS

BENJAMIN H.D. BUCHLOH

HAL FOSTER

DENIS HOLIER

JOHN RAJCHMAN

Art

Theory

Criticism

Politics



42.

Published quarterly.

ISSN 0162-2870.

Village Voice

*"OCTOBER, the 15-year old quarterly of social and cultural theory, has always seemed special. Its nonprofit status, its cross-disciplinary forays into film and psychoanalytic thinking, and its unyielding commitment to history set it apart from the glossy art magazines."*

Student & Retired: \$22.00

Institution: \$80.00

Individual: \$32.00

## Yearly Rates:

Outside USA add \$14.00 postage and handling. Canadians add additional 7% GST. Prepayment is required. Send check drawn against a U.S. Bank in U.S. funds, Mastercard or VISA number.

AT THE LEADING edge of arts criticism and theory today, OCTOBER focuses critical attention on the contemporary arts and their various contexts of interpretation. Original, innovative, provocative, each issue of OCTOBER examines the interrelationships operating between the arts and their critical and social contexts.

Come join OCTOBER's exploration of the most important issues in contemporary culture. Subscribe today !

## MIT Press Journals

55 HAYWARD STREET  
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02142  
UNITED STATES  
TEL. 617-253-2889  
FAX: 617-258-6779

OCTOBER:

DESIGN: A. KU



*Design Quarterly*—America's most distinguished journal of the built environment—comprehensively covers the most significant developments today in architecture, design, and graphics. Each issue offers concise writings on the spectrum of design disciplines, history, and books, while several issues include a diversity of topics, from fashion design to advertising.

With behind the scenes, professional accounts and a variety of distinguished contributors such as Sir Stephen Spender, architect Frank Gehry, and artist Richard Haas, the journal examines social and cultural ramifications of contemporary objects and structures. Unlike similar periodicals, *DQ* gives probing answers to the hows and whys of design.

# Design Quarterly

Martin Filler, Editor

## 1993 Rates

Individual \$28 Institution \$60  
Outside U.S.A., add \$14  
postage and handling.  
Canadians also add 7% GST.  
Prepayment is required. Send  
check—payable to *Design  
Quarterly*, drawn against a U.S.  
bank in U.S. funds—Master-  
Card or VISA number to:

## MIT Press Journals

55 Hayward Street  
Cambridge, MA 02142  
TEL: 617 253-2889  
FAX: 617 258-6779  
hiscox@mitvma.mit.edu

Published quarterly by  
The MIT Press in  
spring/summer/fall/winter.  
ISSN 0011-9415



# Design Book Review

☐ Please **begin** my subscription  
☐ Please **renew** my subscription

## Prepayment required

☐ check or money order enclosed  
(check must be drawn on a U.S.  
bank in U.S. funds)

## Rates

(check one)      U.S.      Canada\*      All Other  
Countries

Individual	<input type="checkbox"/> \$30	<input type="checkbox"/> \$47.08	<input type="checkbox"/> \$44
Institution	<input type="checkbox"/> \$60	<input type="checkbox"/> \$79.18	<input type="checkbox"/> \$74
Student/ Retired	<input type="checkbox"/> \$20	<input type="checkbox"/> \$36.38	<input type="checkbox"/> \$34

(copy of current ID required)

\*Price reflects shipping and handling plus 7% GST.

☐ charge to my ☐ MasterCard  
☐ VISA

Card # \_\_\_\_\_

Expiration date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_ **BC92**

# Design Book Review

☐ Please **begin** my subscription  
☐ Please **renew** my subscription

## Prepayment required

☐ check or money order enclosed  
(check must be drawn on a U.S.  
bank in U.S. funds)

## Rates

(check one)      U.S.      Canada\*      All Other  
Countries

Individual	<input type="checkbox"/> \$30	<input type="checkbox"/> \$47.08	<input type="checkbox"/> \$44
Institution	<input type="checkbox"/> \$60	<input type="checkbox"/> \$79.18	<input type="checkbox"/> \$74
Student/ Retired	<input type="checkbox"/> \$20	<input type="checkbox"/> \$36.38	<input type="checkbox"/> \$34

(copy of current ID required)

\*Price reflects shipping and handling plus 7% GST.

☐ charge to my ☐ MasterCard  
☐ VISA

Card # \_\_\_\_\_

Expiration date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_ **BC92**

# Design Book Review

Please send the following back issues of *Design Book Review* at the price of \$16 each:

<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 14
<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 15
<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 16
<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 17
<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 18
<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 19
<input type="checkbox"/> 13	<input type="checkbox"/> 20
	<input type="checkbox"/> 21

☐ I am ordering \_\_\_\_\_ copies at \$16 each.  
☐ Canadians add \$5 per issue for postage and handling  
plus 7% GST.  
☐ All other countries outside U.S.A., add \$5 postage and  
handling.

## Prepayment required

☐ check or money order enclosed  
(check must be drawn on a U.S.  
bank in U.S. funds)

☐ charge to my ☐ MasterCard  
☐ VISA

Card # \_\_\_\_\_

Expiration date \_\_\_\_\_

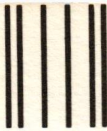
Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

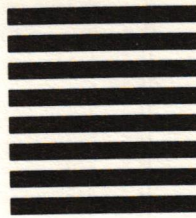
Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_ **BC92**





NO POSTAGE  
NECESSARY  
IF MAILED  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES



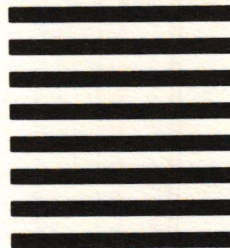
**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**  
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 309 BOSTON, MA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

**MIT Press Journals**  
55 Hayward Street  
Cambridge, MA 02142-9902



NO POSTAGE  
NECESSARY  
IF MAILED  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES



**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**

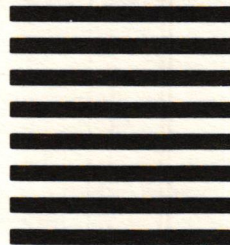
FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 309 BOSTON, MA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

**MIT Press Journals**  
55 Hayward Street  
Cambridge, MA 02142-9902



NO POSTAGE  
NECESSARY  
IF MAILED  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES



**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**

FIRST CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 309 BOSTON, MA

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

**MIT Press Journals**  
55 Hayward Street  
Cambridge, MA 02142-9902

