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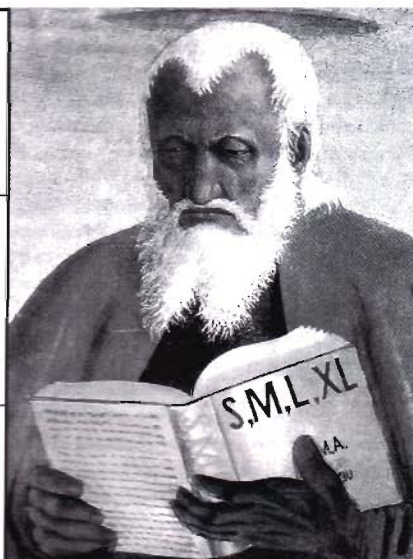
edited by Charles Jencks and Karl Kropf
Academy Editions, 1997
312 pp., \$34.95

Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965–1995

edited by Kate Nesbitt
Princeton Architectural Press, 1996
682 pp., \$50.00; \$34.95 (paper)

Architecture Theory since 1968

edited by K. Michael Hays
MIT Press, 1998
784 pp., \$70.00; \$35.00 (paper)



Madelon Vriesendorp,
*St. Jerome Reading Rem
Koolhaas, S, M, L, X-L, 1997.*
All three books discussed
in this review contain
contributions from
Koolhaas.
(from *Theories and Manifestoes
of Contemporary Architecture*)

Going on three decades or more, the architectural community has been puzzling over what is and what isn't architecture theory, what it consists of, what its purpose might be. It seemed like the subject would never settle down, but now it may have: the anthologies are appearing. The publication of anthologies marks the maturity of an intellectual trend, just as surely as a cover article in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine section signals its demise.

Three significant anthologies of architecture theory have appeared in the United States over the last four years: *Theories and Manifestoes of Contemporary Architecture*, edited by Charles Jencks and Karl Kropf; *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965–1995*, edited by Kate Nesbitt; and *Architecture Theory since 1968*, edited by K. Michael Hays.

As I was pondering the years these books cover, the invitation for my twenty-fifth high school reunion arrived in the mail, prompting, as such coincidences will in midlife, questions: Is this my architectural life? Can I claim the familiar but at times uncongenial legacy described in these anthologies as my own? Must I?

One does, after all, want to belong, to have been part of the memorable movements of one's time. To have been present at the beginning of something—the first days of the Fillmore, or CBGBs, or postmodernism. Perhaps this is one reason we write theory: to certify our place amidst the contingencies of our time. Remember that day? What a time that was. I was there. The flip side, of course, is that people are already starting to talk about deconstruction the way people talk about Woodstock.

The Whole World Wide and Half an Inch Deep

There is, of course, no purely original moment; there are no clean divisions between stages of intellectual development. Each of us does, however, enter the discussion at some particular moment, and it bears keeping in mind that, at that moment, seminal events may appear more recent than they are. For me, beginning my architectural education in the mid-1970s, Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* and Moore, Lyndon, Turnbull & Whitaker's *Condominium I* at Sea Ranch, California, could not possibly have been (as they were) a decade old; they were too prominent in my imagination. Most of us will recall some such building or text that, by showing that architecture might act something like a language, helped to initiate this period of theorization.

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Jencks broke dramatically (some would say infuriatingly) onto this theoretical scene in 1977 with *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. He pointed out that buildings inevitably communicate ideas beyond those concerning structure and use (which were the modern movement's *raison d'être*), and he popularized the notion that modernism had neglected, with dire consequences, the language-like character of buildings. For Jencks, this neglect of language was a social failure, brought home finally in the demolition of St. Louis's Pruitt-Goe Housing.¹

Jencks also carried to exuberant heights Venturi's complaint, voiced in *Complexity and Contradiction*, that late modernism had not only perpetrated social and urbanistic blunders, but had produced tedious, uninteresting buildings. Jencks's career since has been a restless pursuit of interestingness (in this respect, his only near rival is Peter Eisenman), and his recent anthology of theories and manifestos furthers this pursuit.²

By size and title, the Jencks and Kropf anthology declares its affiliation with Ulrich Conrads's popular 1964 collection, *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*. The substitution of "theories" for "programs" in the title is, however, telling. In the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, the period Conrads covers, architecture was unabashedly progressive. It thought the world perfectible, and, by God, intended to perfect it. Every manifesto implied a positive program. In the last third of the century, Jencks and Kropf's territory, "theories" has replaced "programs" in a field in which we increasingly write (and build) commentaries on our troubles, rather than presume to fix them. Thus in Jencks and Kropf, we find many anti-progressive arguments, some historicist and others nihilist in tone. In our current, less unified time, theoretical positions multiply so prodigiously (Jencks and Kropf collect 121 entries in 312 pages) that one might tire of the whole idea of new agendas.³

Jencks is a man for the times. His tastes are catholic. He has always had his eye out for the latest crazes, and he has promoted more than a few himself. It shouldn't surprise us that the most oft-cited author in Jencks and Kropf's collection is Jencks himself. At the same time, this is the only one of the three anthologies that is significantly global in its reach, and the breadth of Jencks and Kropf's hospitality is their anthology's central virtue. They allow, as Nesbitt barely does and Hays

decidedly does not, that architectural thought takes place in India and Malaysia and Egypt, as well as in Venice, New York, and Tokyo.

Yet the breadth of the Jencks and Kropf collection is matched by its lively and insouciant shallowness. To compare: In Conrads's earlier anthology, only 13 of the 68 entries are excerpts; the rest are complete texts. These are, indeed, manifestos: terse, to the point. In Jencks and Kropf, by contrast, only 10 of the 121 entries are written to stand alone. Where Nesbitt and Hays collect complete essays or substantial portions of larger works, Jencks and Kropf assemble snippets of no more than 4 pages in length from what are frequently book-length sources. Of the 130 pages of *Complexity and Contradiction*, the editors include 3 pages; of Kevin Lynch's 180-page *The Image of the City*, 4; of Christian Norberg-Schulz's *Intentions in Architecture*, 3 out of 224 pages.

Jencks and Kropf's book is also marred by sheer carelessness. Without trying, I noticed ten typographical errors, among them this remarkable mishandling of Venturi: "I prefer 'both-and' to 'either-or,' black and white and sometimes gray to black and white." Venturi, of course, wrote, "...to black or white."

Also problematic are the consequences of publishing originally well-illustrated texts without their accompanying images. The brevity of Jencks and Kropf's format makes short shrift of the visual components of its authors' arguments, some of which, such as Venturi's, are *fundamentally* visual. Nesbitt and Hays both include crucial illustrations in those essays that cannot do without them, but in neither book is the number of images generous. Cost is no doubt a factor, but it is also the unsettling case that architecture theory, as represented in all three anthologies, is not greatly concerned with visual judgments.

A Certain Chinese Encyclopedia

The precursor for Nesbitt's collection, as for that of Hays, is Joan Ockman's *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, which sets a high standard for the genre. Neither Nesbitt nor Hays quite lives up to that standard. Among the exemplary characteristics of *Architecture Culture* are, first, that it is introduced by a concise, lucid setting of the historical scene; second, that it explains, again concisely and as clearly, the criteria by which selections are made; third, that while recognizing the impossibility of comprehensive

coverage of a quarter century of thought, it nevertheless seeks to include evidence of the breadth of thought within that period; and fourth, that it avoids the temptation to reduce that breadth of thought in the interests of a singular argument.⁴

Nesbitt attempts to match the first three of these characteristics; regarding the fourth—the framing of a singular argument—she is ambivalent. Her introduction is, if anything, more thoroughgoing than Ockman's (it is certainly longer), and among its virtues is its illumination of institutions and events that are involved in the development of architecture theory, including research centers, publications, and exhibitions. She offers an argument for the necessity of theory, definitions of types of theory, and explanations of five theoretical paradigms within which recent theory operates: phenomenology, the aesthetic of the sublime,

the disclaimer. Nesbitt apparently wants something more definitive from the term, as she spends forty-five pages trying to nail it down. The result is an unresolved and unsatisfying ambivalence about the utility of the term that is meant to be "the subject and point of reference of the entire book."

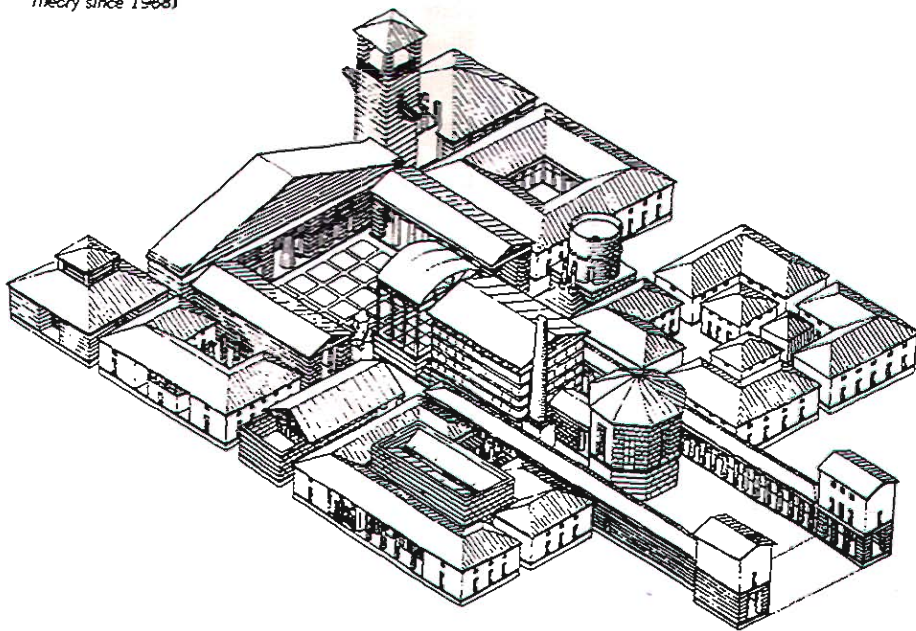
To further confuse things, she organizes the book into *fourteen* chapters, covering, on the face of it, only four of the five paradigms and five of the six themes; she then finds it necessary to supplement these classifications with five not previously distinguished categories of investigation: typology. The School of Venice (which supplies the apparently missing paradigm, Marxism, by way of Manfredo Tafuri's "Problems in the Form of a Conclusion"), nature and site, critical regionalism, and tectonic expression.

This overabundance of organizing apparatus—paradigms, themes, chapters—results in disorganization and confusion. One would be amused if this were that "certain Chinese encyclopedia" of Jorge Luis Borges, in which "animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs," and so on. But it is not. Nesbitt's writing itself is accessible and clear, yet it shares the problem of much poststructuralist architecture: lacking hierarchy, it is a chain of equally weighted, simply declarative statements, each so distinct that the whole remains fragmented. Her work serves, unwittingly, as a critique of that central conceit of poststructuralist architectural thought: that fragmentation is (as one exponent of postmodern consumerism might put it) "a good thing." *Theorizing a New Agenda* demonstrates that fragmentation, far from being a difficult or elusive challenge, is simply what you get when you don't take the time, or don't have the time, to do the job well.

I imagine that haste, not faulty scholarship, is behind the confused organization and bumpy commentary of Nesbitt's work. Whatever its cause, it diminishes what is otherwise the most useful and the most responsible of these three anthologies. It is the most useful because it takes the most care to define its terms and to put its selections in a broad context. It is the most responsible because, unlike Jencks and Kropf's collection, it maintains the integrity of extended arguments, and, unlike Hays's work, it provides a balanced and comprehensive view of the field, one of general use to students and teachers of architecture.

linguistic theory, Marxism, and feminism. In addition to these theoretical paradigms, she identifies six themes that animate architectural thought today: history and historicism, meaning, place, urban theory, political and ethical agendas, and the body.

The reader who wonders if these themes are really parallel or who questions their comprehensiveness has recognized the chief flaw of Nesbitt's work: a cumulative organization that treats unevenly the relationships among its categories. Most telling is her use of the term "postmodern." She writes, "I hope to make clear that postmodernism is not a singular style, but more a sensibility of inclusion in a period of pluralism. Reflecting this, the selected theoretical essays present a multiplicity of points of view, rather than a nonexistent, unified vision." Despite



Leon Krier's 1978 design for a school at St. Quentin-en-Yvelines, France. Krier believed that schools should resemble small cities rather than single, massive structures. (from *Architecture Theory since 1968*)

Whose Line Is It, Anyway?

The quickest way to improve both Nesbitt's and Hays's books would be for the two editors to swap titles, since Hays, in fact, is the one theorizing a new agenda. Out of a field that is as varied as at any time in the history of architectural thought, Hays has fabricated a more or less cohesive representation of architecture theory, or what would better be called *architecture critical theory*, in acknowledgment of its debt to the strain of thought associated with Theodor Adorno and the Frankfurt School.

Hays's agenda in *Architecture Theory since 1968* is troublesome. More disturbing is his attempt to present his agenda as if it *weren't* one. To those of us who might accuse him of taking sides, he rejoins that "the importance of the period in question...is not one of competing styles or group allegiances...but rather of the collective experience of an objective situation." If this were true—if there were in fact agreement about an objective situation—Hays would not need to devote his general introduction to heading off what has become a well-worn set of challenges. These include the charge that architecture critical theory is obscure; that it is subservient to disciplines outside of architecture; that it regularly presents highly manipulated images of the world as if they were objective pictures; that it is socially and environmentally irresponsible; and that it is neither practical nor relevant.

Anticipating the first of these challenges, Hays points out that "this anthology is not an introduction to architecture theory," and that "at least some general background knowledge of the intellectual history of the twentieth century is assumed." These are reasonable disclaimers for any anthology, but they evade the question of what competence, precisely, is expected of the reader. The answer is: a very high competence, indeed; but not, in fact, a "general" knowledge of intellectual history at all. Instead, the intellectual history that supports these selections includes less than it ignores. It is a Eurocentric history, and more exactly a French-German-Italian history. Even within this narrower circle, where Friedrich Nietzsche and the post-structuralists loom large, one need not know—

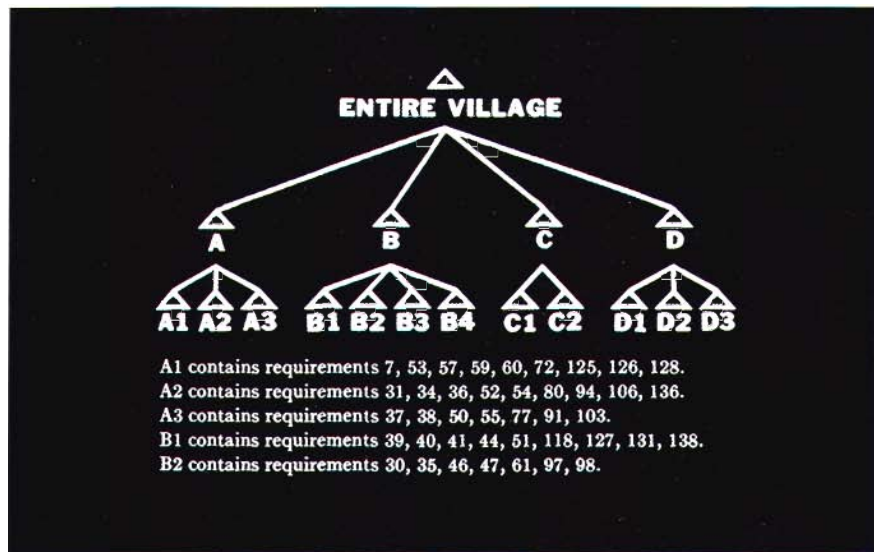
and might be better off not knowing—anything at all about existentialism, German reception theory, or Antonio Gramsci, to give merely a few examples. To have read something by a twentieth-century Briton, other than Colin Rowe or Alan Colquhoun, would be a decided distraction.

In the introductions to individual selections, Hays charts the immediate connections that shape this restricted history, but he does not explain the intellectual terrain as a whole. He does include a useful essay by Jean-Louis Cohen, titled "The Italophiles at Work," which describes how the University of Venice served as a conduit for introducing French critical theory to French architectural thought. Cohen's essay shows how the movement represented in Hays's volume might be properly contextualized.

It is easy, of course, to lambaste the *language* of contemporary theory in any discipline. There are selections in all three of these anthologies that are barely penetrable; and if *Architecture Theory since 1968* in particular were advertised on television, we'd expect a cautionary caption of the sort advertisers put at the bottom of the screen in Nissan Xterra commercials: "Professional readers. Closed course." In fairness, new and difficult thoughts may produce new and difficult language, but they neither need stay that way. We expect the meanings of neologisms to stabilize. Hays, however, does not choose to precipitate that process, and his commentaries are frequently as turbid as the essays they accompany.

Hays simply denies the charge that architecture critical theory is subservient to other disciplines. He writes, "While...there still remain vestiges of older, 'philosophical' criticism that simply apply various philosophical systems to architecture in occasional and opportunistic ways, architecture theory has been, in part, a displacement of traditional problems of philosophy...in favor of...distinctly and irreducibly architectural ideas." Pleasant to imagine, but not true. *Architecture Theory since 1968*, like architecture theory since 1968, is nothing if not an attempt to reduce architectural thought to other modes of thought.

In fact, architecture has consistently trailed broader theoretical scholarship, promoting structuralism at the very moment when, on its home turf, its critique was in full swing, touting deconstruction as that movement was itself being critically challenged. To be forever bringing up the rear of critical studies is a nagging embarrassment, and, it fuels, moreover, an ever-increasing intellectual trade deficit. In what would appear to qualify as properly "intellectual" arenas, architecture has returned next to nothing over the last quarter century—to literary criticism, to philosophy, to political theory.



This diagram from Christopher Alexander's 1964 book, *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*, is an arrangement of 141 requirements for a "properly functioning village" in rural India. These prerequisites include "easy access to drinking water," a "place for village events," and "provision of cool breeze." This diagram is reproduced in Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter's essay, "Collage City," and used as an example of Alexander's reliance on scientific reasoning and "laborious" mathematical models to solve design problems. The essay, first published in 1978, is excerpted in Kate Nesbitt's *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-1995*.

Where architecture has *exported* ideas is in precisely those sectors excluded from Hays's anthology: environmental sustainability and the notion of "livability," a talking point of the 2000 presidential campaign. That livability is a centrist, liberal humanist notion should not discount it as *theory*; it arises from *theoretical* activity in architecture: the theorizing of terms of the relationship between the dimensions and characteristics of physical space and human experience and interaction. Its popular appeal shouldn't disqualify it either; the last time the Left defaulted on popular questions of value, Newt Gingrich took over the House of Representatives.

When it comes to picturing reality, Hays is more candid, if not more lucid, than most of the authors collected in his anthology. He allows, "I have not tried to...anthologize history 'as it really happened.' Rather I have rationally reconstructed the history of architecture theory in an attempt to produce...the *concept* of that history." Admitting this reconstruction, he nevertheless maintains that the anthology describes "the collective experience of an objective situation." But whose collective experience? In his introduction to Eisenman's "The End of the Classical: The End of the Beginning, the End of the End," Hays quotes from an earlier Eisenman essay: "The problem [we face now is] choosing between an anachronistic continuance of hope and an acceptance of the bare conditions of survival."⁵

Eisenman's "choice" is the late colonial conceit of an architect whose own experience is worlds away from "the bare conditions of survival." That he is referring not to malnutrition but to the articulation of building façades doesn't make things any better. The appropriation of the idea of poverty as

an aesthetic gambit may be characteristic of "the collective experience" of ennui among a certain set of intellectuals in midtown Manhattan, but there are "objective situations" more in need of our attention. It is nothing short of bizarre that a theory anthology published in 1998 does not even acknowledge the ideological blindness that adopts the language of famine, *romantically*, to validate rarefied First World architectural production.

Blithely ignoring a world of profound need, but also of profound aspiration, this sort of theory is fundamentally an aesthetic operation in the *derrière garde* of modernism. For all of its references to the "political," it resolutely avoids the contamination of political praxis, of questions of social and economic justice. Such theory appeals not to an activist Marxism but to the politically disillusioned Marxism of the Frankfurt School, with its radical skepticism of good intentions. In "Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology," which opens Hays's anthology, Tafuri spells out the argument: the practice of architecture is so thoroughly incorporated within the mechanisms of capitalist production that it is, as a profession, incapable of improving anything.

Hays does not altogether embrace Tafuri's position—if he did, there would hardly be any point in assembling the anthology—but most of his selections are consistent with this position. They either describe the world as a system of operations in which architecture and architects are haplessly caught up (for example, Mario Gandelsonas, Diana Agrest, Georges Teyssot); or they advise making the best of a bad situation, by putting aside stress-producing ideals (e.g., Venturi, Rowe, and Fred Koetter); or they dismiss 95 percent of the architectural enterprise to celebrate dark-humored production at the margins of the discipline (e.g., Bernard Tschumi, Eisenman, Paul Virilio).

The oddest and most poignant moment in Hays's book is near the end of his introduction, where he writes:

Architecture theory during the past quarter of a century seems to have been produced and read mostly by individuals nurtured on popular culture, schooled on contradiction and paradox, and instilled with the belief that things can be changed, that theory can and must make a difference....These are individuals with some remaining faith in an engaged resistance to "the system" yet still able to be titillated by the ecstatic surrender of the architectural subject to the very forces that threaten its demise. But the almost manic mood swings of those of us who do theory, between exhilaration and contempt for the absolute ease with which signs can be redistributed... cannot, I suggest, be dismissed offhand. They are but a reaction formation against what history has dealt us—a totally reified life—and they are but one side of a demand for something different, *the other side of which is theory itself.* (italics in original)

Never mind the psychoanalytic posturing (by "reaction formation" he means, simply, "reaction"), and never mind the Edgar Allen Poe ending. What is striking here is the giddily stifled recognition of architecture critical theory's inability to engage soberly the moral or ethical problems of the world it describes. This recognition cannot, indeed, "be dismissed offhand." But a coin that is "manic mood swings" on one side and "theory itself" on the other has limited street value.

Which brings us to Hays's most bewildering claim, that the work collected in his anthology is practical—as he puts it, that it is an "essentially practical problem of theory to...relate the architectural fact with the social, historical, and ideological subtexts from which it was never really separate to begin with." So it should be; but the elusive thing, in this volume, is precisely the "architectural fact."

Denise Scott Brown once charged architecture with "physics envy," a longing for the universally law-abiding fact. Lately, as so often happens, envy has been succeeded by disdain. The Theory of Relativity is factually supportable; that is, facts may be, and regularly are, adduced to demonstrate—or challenge—its accuracy. In contrast, Hays's theorists, in flight from behaviorism and "naïve functionalism"—more broadly, from positivism—have all but renounced facts. Measured data now have, with respect to architecture theory, roughly the same status that they hold for young-earth creationists. Indeterminacy is the rule, and diligent investigation of the complexities of formal determination is proscribed.

Consequently, when architects do determine forms, as they must to secure building permits, a stunning naïveté emerges regarding how buildings actually influence behavior. Daniel Libeskind, for example, has recently designed a building he claims will, through the agency of interpenetrating parallelepipeds, "reshape the university as a social organism with common interests and goals."⁶ I, for one, will believe such an achievement when they release the postoccupancy evaluation.

It is the abhorrence of the factual test—whether involving photometers or (God forbid) user surveys—that most distances theory from responsible practice and renders much theoretically engaged practice irresponsible. Hays would dismiss "the much decried split between theory and practice, and the tedious laments about theory's relevance." As one who has, from time to time, committed this very same tedium, and who is doing so now, I must say that one thing I lament about Hays's volume is that it will do nothing to ease the standoff between the theory folks and the practice folks who, huddled on either side of the hall, spend far too much time tediously lamenting one another.

Having made this criticism, I will suggest that what architecture critical theory needs is some theory; that is, a disciplined and rigorous self-critique. Terry Eagleton, in his *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, writes that "theory is in one sense nothing more than the moment when [routine social or intellectual] practices are forced for the first time to take themselves as the object of their own enquiry."⁷ Hays has himself described how such critique might work, by the testing of a discipline's theoretical propositions against both material evidence and background theories.⁸ Close, attentive tests of ideas rarely, however, have the brio that the contemporary scene demands, and so, like Mary McCleod and Ockman's "Some Comments on Reproduction with Reference to Colomina and Hays" (an eminently readable yet systematically critical commentary published in Beatriz Colomina's *Architectureproduction*), at best make only the footnotes in Hays's anthology.⁹ By and large, Hays gives the reader the idea that architecture theory moves along swimmingly, critiquing everything around it, but without internal critique—and such is too nearly the case.

Out of Gas

You've probably had this experience: You come out of the local Piggly Wiggly, and you see these two guys pushing a car toward a gas pump, one at the rear bumper, the other leaning into the open driver's door, trying to push and steer at the same time. You're a thoughtful person, so you put down your six-pack and corn chips and trot over to help. By the time you get there, though, they've got a bit

of momentum going, and you end up just sort of half jogging beside the car with your hand on it. You're not really pushing, but you don't want to waste your good deed, so you pretend that you are, until they get up to the pump. You feel a little disingenuous.

These days, architecture theory is a bit like that—it huffs and puffs at arguments for incoherence and fragmentation when the world is producing those qualities just fine without the help. Within “the discourse” itself, there are a lot of second- and third-generation theorists shuffling alongside the Bataillemobile as it coasts up to the pump.

There is something of this modish fatuity in all three anthologies. For, even though Nesbitt's collection is broad and Jencks and Kropf's compilation is broader still, they share the common ground more intensively developed by Hays, a socially alienated, historically belated, wintry sort of modernism. Accordingly, the only essay to appear in all three anthologies is Eisenman's “Post-Functionalism,” which crystallizes the fundamental, and fundamentally misguided, project of contemporary theory. Viewing man purely as “a discursive function among complex and already-formed systems of language, which he witnesses but does not constitute,” the theory that Hays champions evades, indeed dismisses, architecture's ethical responsibility.

The Eurocentrism, the behind-the-timesness, and the dismissiveness of architecture critical theory—all are products of its nostalgia for a brand of artistic modernism that architecture, during the middle decades of the twentieth century, could not embrace. Modern architecture, ever optimistic and progressive, adopted neither the irrationalism of Dada nor the nihilism that characterized so much of modern art.¹⁰ While the Vietnam War was the seminal catastrophe for literary critical theory of the 1970s, architecture critical theory has continued to look back in wistful anguish to World War I, as if the most important thing in the world were, still, the shock of awakening from Victorian innocence.

Contemporary architecture theory regrets both the positive and the positivistic character of architecture's modernism. Yet the two terms demand distinction: one can be *positive*—hopeful, loving, good-humored—without being *positivistic*; that is, without believing that a hierarchy of scientific methods of determination, with math at the top and sociology at the bottom, accounts for all things. Architecture theory has, however, conflated the two and done its darnedest to deny them both.

The late William Turnbull, Jr., has attributed to Donlyn Lyndon the aspiration to create “places that have the qualities of deep history, exhilarating presence, fundamental lawfulness, cyclical change, sparkling light and infinitely surprising detail.”¹¹ All of these qualities—indeed, the very *words*—are beneath the dignity of the architecture theory chronicled by Hays. Contemporary architecture theory of the poststructuralist stripe, like similarly striped contemporary architecture itself, proceeds by the accumulation of negatives: not humanist, not coherent, not comfortable, not expected. This “architecture of resistance,” as it is sometimes called, is, like America's Cold War policy of Russian containment, a “dry negation,” in which all other possible objectives, all other possible aspirations for architecture, must be subordinated and even sacrificed to the task of resisting some undefined threat.¹²

And so, while intrepid bands of critical theorists pad along beside the sport-utility vehicle of post-structuralism, architecture waits. As Louis Kahn once remarked, it is patient, it can wait a thousand years if it has to. I don't think it will have to wait that long. I'm keeping my eye on the cover of the *Sunday Times*. ■

Notes

- 1 Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).
- 2 Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966).
- 3 Ulrich Conrads, *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970).
- 4 Joan Ockman, with Edward Eigen, *Architecture Culture, 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993).
- 5 A characteristic device of architectural thought (but not architectural thought alone) is to identify a value (in this case, “hope”) with a historical period, and thereby dismiss that value as out-of-date. The bracketed material is Hays's paraphrasing of Eisenman's original text.
- 6 *Architectural Record* 187 (June 1999): 132.
- 7 Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 190.
- 8 K. Michael Hays, “Theory-Constitutive Conventions and Theory Change,” *Assemblage* 1 (October 1986): 117–28.
- 9 In Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Revisions: Papers on Architectural Theory and Criticism*, vol. 2 (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 223–31. This essay should be required supplemental reading for Hays's anthology.
- 10 For a lucid discussion of nihilism in modern art, see William Barrett, *Time of Need: Forms of Imagination in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973).
- 11 This quote appeared as wall text for the fall 1999 exhibition titled *William Turnbull, Jr., FAIA—Grounded Architecture*, at the American Institute of Architects San Francisco gallery.
- 12 Archibald MacLeish, “The Conquest of America,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 184 (August 1949): 17–22.