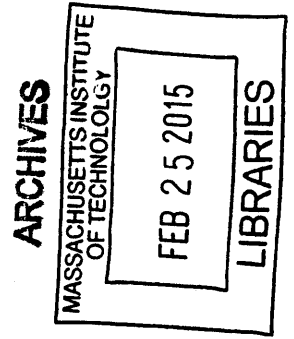


**DRAWING ON ARCHITECTURE:  
THE SOCIOAESTHETICS OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS, 1970-1990**

by

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Drawing on Architecture:  
The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990

by

Jordan Scott Kauffman

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on September 12, 2014 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History and Theory of Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines a period in the late twentieth century when architectural drawings provoked a profound re-evaluation of architecture. It does so through novel research of the individuals, galleries, institutions, and events—and the networks that originated therefrom—that drove this reappraisal by shifting the perception of architectural drawings.

During the 1970s and 1980s, for the first time, architectural drawings became more than an instrument for building. Prior to this period, except for scattered instances, buildings were considered to be the goal of architectural practice; architectural drawings were viewed simply as a means to an end. However, through a confluence of factors architectural drawings emerged from this marginal role. Drawings attained autonomy from the architectural process and were ultimately perceived as aesthetic artifacts in and of themselves.

No attention has been given to this shift, and recovering this period's forgotten history reveals a rich and complex tapestry. Research unearths interrelated individuals, galleries, institutions, and events outside of practice that impacted the perception of architectural drawings during this period. This reveals the uniqueness of this period, for at no other time was debate generated in the same way, since at no other time did the necessary structures exist to support this change. During this period, architectural drawings became the driving force of architectural debate, not for what architects put in them, but for what others asked them to be and saw in them.

Through exhibitions that emphasized drawings in and of themselves, through collectors and galleries, through the development of a market for architectural drawings, and through the interrelation of these, all of which this work reconstructs for the first time, the role and perception of drawings fell between and among aesthetic, artistic, architectural, commercial, conceptual, cultural, and historical understandings. It was this shifting that drove questioning during this period of nearly all facets of architecture.

Thesis Supervisor: Mark Jarzombek  
Title: Professor of History and Theory of Architecture

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I do not know how to say thank you enough to my mother, Robin Davis, and my stepfather, Jay Hooper, for their unfailing support and encouragement. They have edited most of this work, and any eloquence in its prose belongs to them. My father, Michael Kauffman, my stepmother Sharon Kauffman, and my grandmother Rhoda Kauffman supported me in more ways than can be expressed. Thank you.

Special gratitude is given to my grandparents, Samuel and Selma Elkin, who instilled in me the importance of education. My deepest pride arises from having had my grandmother as part of my life. Her strength, kindness, and understanding provided inspiration to me throughout this project and continue to influence me throughout my life. My deepest regret is that she was not able to see the completion of this project. This work is dedicated to her.

Finally, the CCA deserves another special thank you for introducing me to my wife. Marie—though it is great to finish this dissertation, the best thing that happened during the entire experience was meeting you. Thank you for everything.





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“You can’t collect buildings.”  
—R. M. Stern<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Joseph Giovannini. "Museums make Room for the Art of Architecture." *The New York Times* (May 20, 1984).



## TIMELINE OF MAJOR EVENTS

**1971**

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Museum of Modern Art founds Department of Drawing

November 13 – January 10

*Education of an Architect: A Point of View—The Cooper Union School of Art and Architecture, 1964-1971.*

Museum of Modern Art

**1972**

---

Five Architects, book

**1973**

---

Barbara Pine, first purchase of architectural drawings

**1974**

---

February 25 – May 24

*Works on Paper*

Museum of Modern Art, Penthouse

**1975**

---

Five Architects, reprint

Spaced Gallery opens

March 13 – May 11

*Architectural Studies and Projects*

Museum of Modern Art, Penthouse

October 29 – January 4

*The Architecture of The École des Beaux-Arts*

Museum of Modern Art

**1976**

---

Gilman Collection of Architectural Drawings begins

CONT'D

---

**1977**

---

The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts, book

January 15  
Opening of The Drawing Center

March 26 – May 24  
*The Drawings of Antonio Gaudi*  
The Drawing Center

June 7 – August 14  
*200 Years of American Architectural Drawings*  
Cooper-Hewitt Museum

October 22 – November 12  
*Architecture I*  
Leo Castelli Gallery

September 20 – November 6  
*America Now: Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture*  
Cooper-Hewitt Museum  
The Drawing Center

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**1978**

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Max Protetch Gallery opens  
New York City, USA

June 16 – August 13  
*The Travel Sketches of Louis I. Kahn*  
The Drawing Center

---

**1979**

---

Galleria Antonia Jannone: Disegni di Architettura opens  
Milan, Italy

January 20 – March 4  
*Visionary Drawings of Architecture and Planning*  
The Drawings Center

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**1980**

---

Aedes: Galerie für Architektur und Raum opens  
Berlin, Germany

CONT'D

Galerie van Rooy opens  
Amsterdam, Netherlands

October 18 – November 22  
*Architecture II: Houses for Sale*  
The Leo Castelli Gallery

---

**1983**

April 21 – July 30  
*Great Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects*  
The Drawing Center

October 22 – November 15, 1983  
*Architecture III: Follies: Architecture for the Late-Twentieth-Century Landscape*  
Leo Castelli Gallery

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**1988**

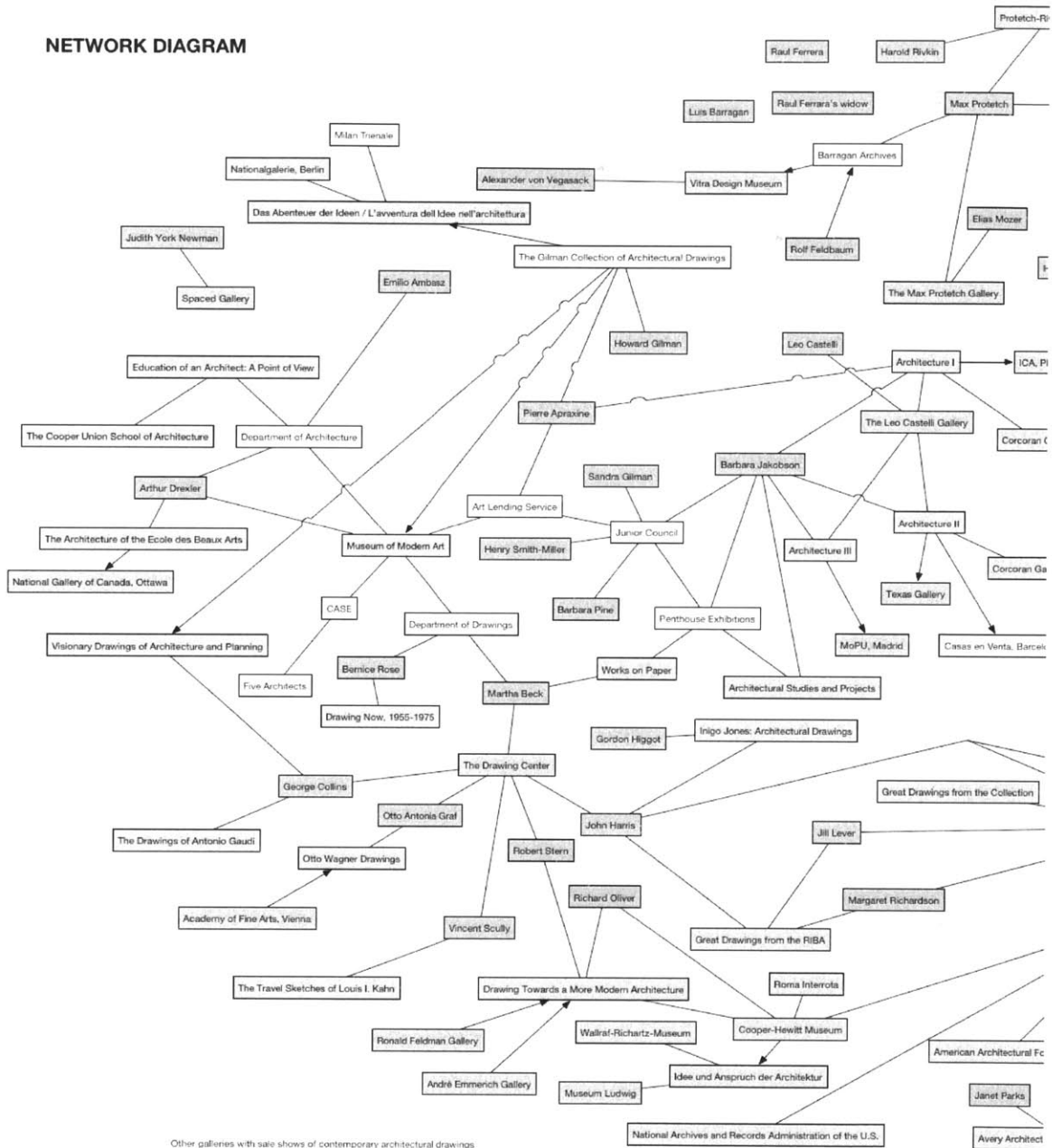
November 13 – January 16  
*Otto Wagner: Drawings*  
The Drawing Center

---

**1989**

April 8 – July 22  
*Inigo Jones: Architectural Drawings*  
The Drawing Center

NETWORK DIAGRAM



Other galleries with sale shows of contemporary architectural drawings

- |                           |                            |                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| <b>New York</b>           | <b>Cincinnati</b>          | <b>London</b>        |
| Florence Duhl Gallery     | Carolyn Schneebeck Gallery | Manspace Gallery     |
| Rosa Esman Gallery        | <b>Denver</b>              | <b>Milan</b>         |
| Ettinger Gallery          | Vesti Fine Arts            | Galleria Sofenno     |
| Prakapas Gallery          | Zeppelin Gallery           | Galleria Schubert    |
| Michael Ingbar Gallery    | <b>Atlanta</b>             | <b>Zurich</b>        |
| Ronald Feldman Gallery    | Form and Function Gallery  | Galerie Jamleh Weber |
| Urban Architecture        | <b>San Francisco</b>       | <b>Rome</b>          |
| John Nichols Gallery      | Philippe Bonnafont Gallery | Galleria Apollodora  |
| <b>Chicago</b>            | <b>Dallas</b>              | <b>Vienna</b>        |
| Richard Grey Gallery      | Mattingly Baker Gallery    | Galeria Kalb         |
| Ruth Vold Gallery         | N. No O. Gallery           | <b>Tokyo</b>         |
| Young Hoffman Gallery     | <b>Los Angeles</b>         | GA Gallery           |
| Franklin & Struve Gallery | Kristin Keser Gallery      | Miyami Gallery       |
| <b>Boston</b>             | <b>Paris</b>               | Gato-do Gallery      |
| Hankus Krakow Gallery     | Archivito Gallery          | Ueda Gallery         |
| <b>Miami</b>              | Nina Dausset Gallery       | <b>Fukuoka</b>       |
| Moos Art Gallery          |                            | Artium Gallery       |

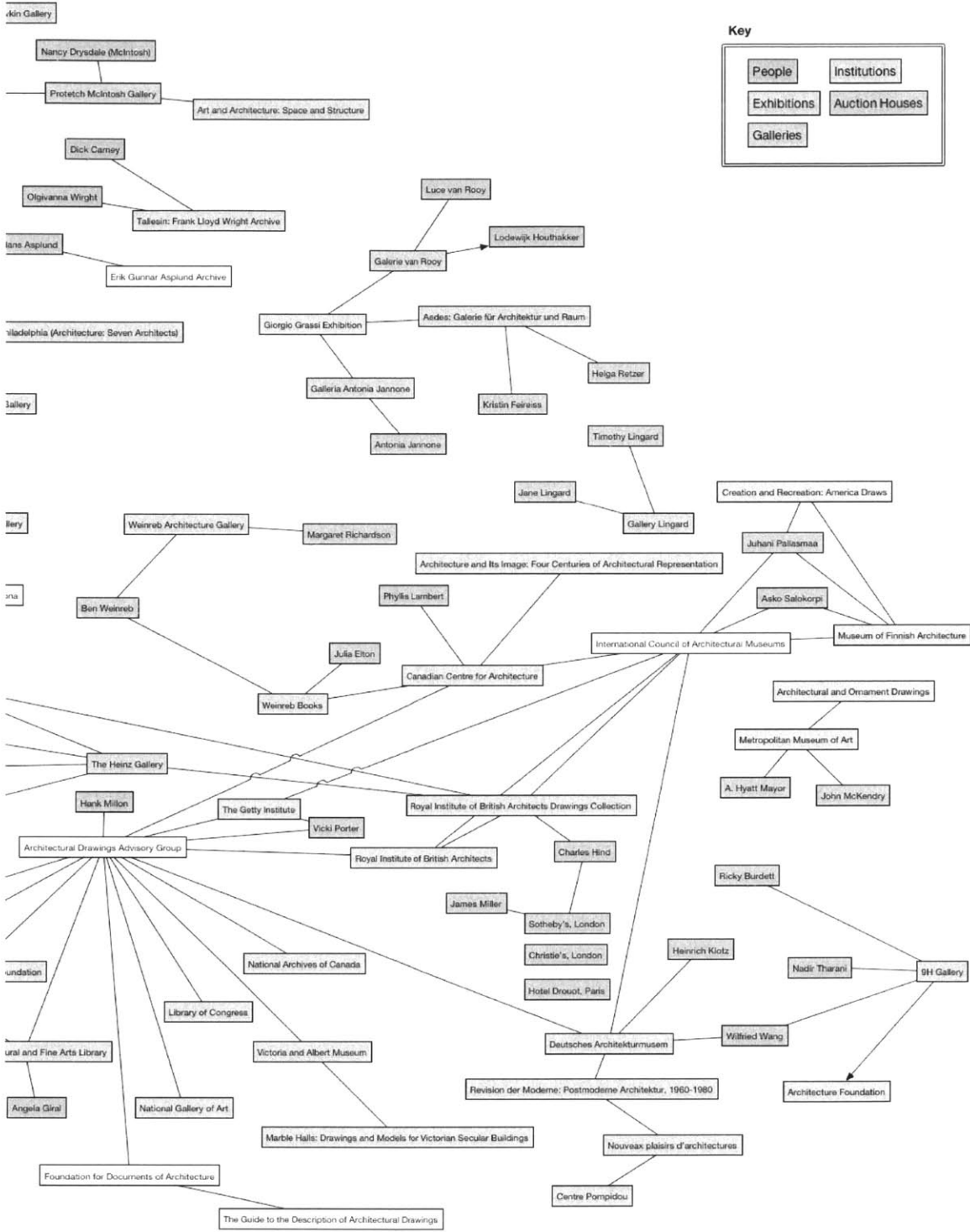
Other galleries and booksellers with sales of historical architectural drawings

- |                        |                         |                        |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>New York</b>        | <b>England</b>          | <b>Rome</b>            |
| Shepherd Gallery       | Henry Potts             | Galleria Carlo Virgilo |
| Artems Fine Arts       | Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox   | <b>Munich</b>          |
| ARTIS Group            | Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.  | Galerie Camoi          |
| William H. Schaub      | Hugh Pagan              | <b>Dusseldorf</b>      |
| <b>Paris</b>           | Charles Plant Fine Arts | C.G. Boerner           |
| Galerie Plaza          | Fischer Fine Arts       |                        |
| Galerie Daniel Greiner |                         |                        |

Other Exhibitions not included in gallery lists

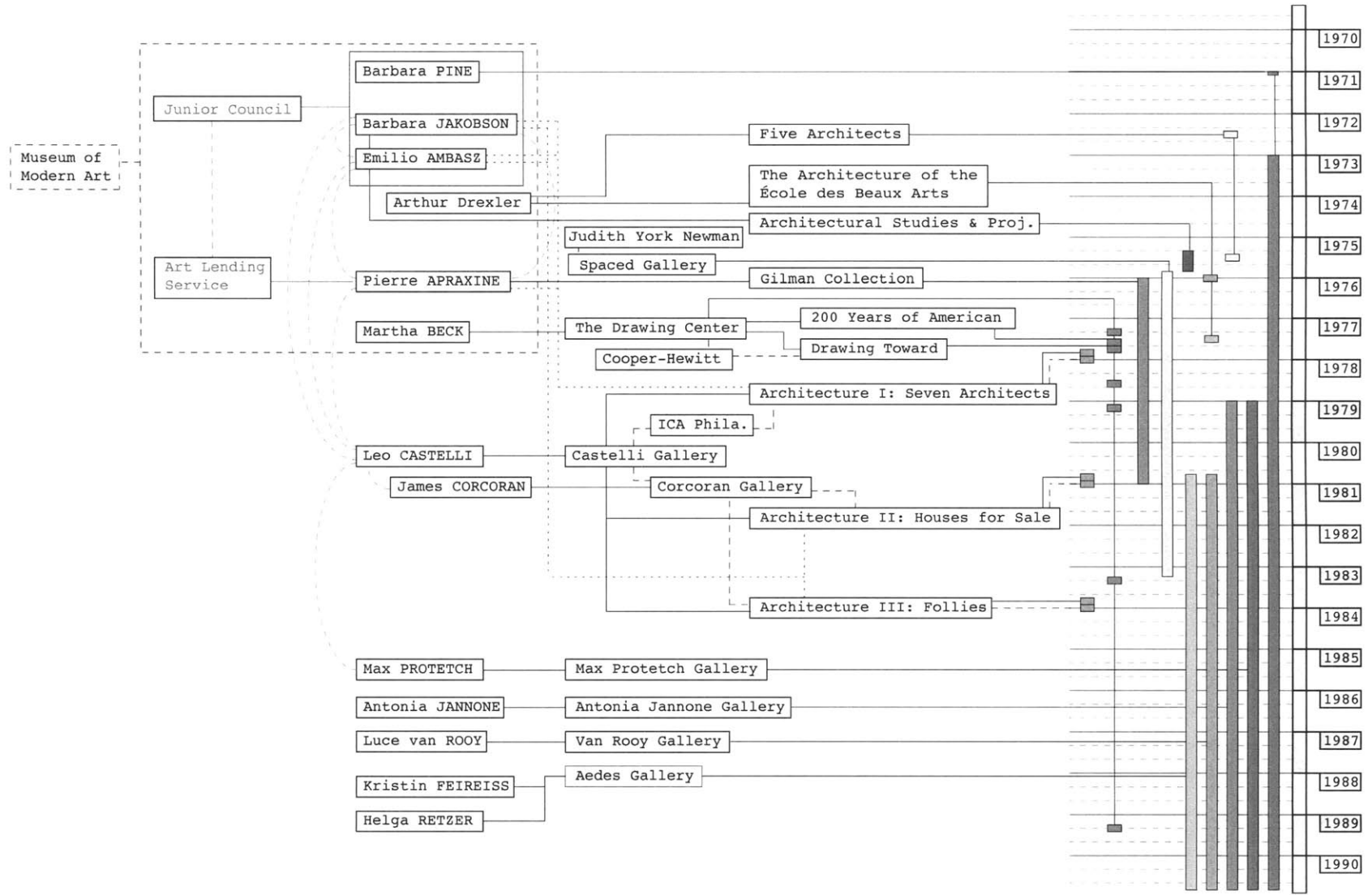
Austrian Architecture, 1860-1930	L'art de l'architect-
Architekturzeichnungen, 1478-1979	Images et imagina
Drawings, the Pluralist Decade	Building a Nationa
Palladio Drawings	Buildings on Paper
H.H. Richardson Drawings	Drawing Toward B
Architectural Fantasy and Reality	





↳ Trois siècles de dessin d'architecture  
 res d'architecture  
 Image: Architectural Drawings for the American Democracy, 1789-1912  
 Rhode Island Architectural Drawings, 1825-1945  
 ildings: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics

### NETWORK DIAGRAM



## INTRODUCTION

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“It is tempting to attribute the enormous surge of interest in architectural drawings in the last couple of years to the depressed state of the architectural profession itself—if no one hires an architect to build, he can at least make pictures.

“It is not so simple as that.”<sup>2</sup>

—Paul Goldberger, *The New York Times*

During the 1970s and 1980s, architecture experienced a profound change. For the first time, architectural drawings became more than an instrument for building. Prior to this period, except for scattered instances, buildings were considered to be the goal of architectural practice; architectural drawings were viewed simply as a means to an end. The consideration of architectural drawings for their use for their use can be traced at least as far back as Alberti, who in 1452 first made the distinction between design and building.<sup>3</sup> This understanding continued into the twentieth century. The architect Oliver Reagan stated in 1920 that “. . . [A] Drawing is ‘only a means to an end,’ and that end is either to convey to the contractor and their workmen the instructions they need in order to

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<sup>2</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Architectural Drawings Make Comeback to Respectability,” *The New York Times* (September 22, 1977).

<sup>3</sup> In Alberti’s discussion of lineaments, which relates directly to the design of a building, he understood these lineaments as being distinct from material properties: “It is the function and duty of lineaments . . . to prescribe an appropriate place, exact numbers, a proper scale, and a graceful order for whole buildings and for each of the constituent parts, so that the whole form and appearance of the building may depend on the lineaments alone. Nor do lineaments have anything to do with material . . .” Although both design and construction were important for Alberti, he emphasized that the work of the architect is in designing, while the translation of the design is left to clerks who supervise the project. See especially Leon Battista Alberti. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 7, 318.

construct the thing conceived by the architect, or, . . . to convey . . . the architect's solution of the problem. . ."<sup>4</sup> As late as 1962, Louis Kahn is credited with stating, "The painter sketches to paint, the sculptor draws to carve, the architect draws to build."<sup>5</sup>

However, through a confluence of factors in the 1970s and 1980s, architectural drawings emerged from this "marginal" role, and came to be perceived as autonomous objects. This led to a complete rethinking of architecture. The conventional definition of architecture as bricks and mortar was questioned, as the relevance of architectural drawings gained traction in discourses about the meaning of the architectural. At an extreme, some believed that buildings were merely representations of the drawings. It was posited that architecture was embodied in the drawings themselves.

This transformational shift has not been given any historiographical attention. Although it is generally acknowledged that this change occurred, it is commonly attributed to two fundamental reasons. The first is economic, acknowledging the recession in the 1970s that resulted in fewer opportunities for architects to build—since architects were not building, they turned to drawings. The second is structural, referring to the process of architectural design—recognizing that architects directly make drawings, not buildings.<sup>6</sup> A third less common reason, which has gained traction only

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<sup>4</sup> Oliver Reagan, "Notes on Drafting," in *Pencil Points Reader: A Journal for the Drafting Room, 1920-1943*, Eds. George E. Hartman, and Jan Cigliano (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 6.

<sup>5</sup> As stated in Laurie Olin "Drawings at Work: Working Drawings, Construction Documents," in *Representing Landscape Architecture*, Ed. Mark Trieb (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2008), 141-159.

<sup>6</sup> This is an observation by Robin Evans, which is still common currency in discussions about the relationship of architects to their work, wherein he states, "I was . . . struck by . . . the peculiar disadvantage under which architects labor, never working directly with their objects of thought, always working at it through some intervening medium, almost always the drawing . . ." See Robin Evans, "Translations from Drawing to Building," *Translations From Drawing to Building and Other Essays* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 156.

recently, correlates the rise of drawings with the rise of architectural publications—drawings were shown to explain buildings.<sup>7</sup> All of these explanations locate this shift solely with architects and their productions. However, attributing the shift to these causes oversimplifies the situation and recovering this period’s forgotten history instead reveals a rich and complex tapestry. Research unearths a group of interrelated individuals, galleries, institutions, and events outside of practice that impacted the perception of architectural drawings during this period. The events primarily consisted of exhibitions of architectural drawings as well as the development of a market for architectural drawings. Although a market developed wherein architectural drawings became collectible commodities that were bought and sold, the primary outcome was that the development of a market drove a reconceptualization of architectural drawings. This understanding had ontological implications for drawing specifically, and architecture generally.

A written history of these spheres of influence is absent in the literature. Even the importance of drawings in this era has been repressed. Books considered seminal to the understanding of this period make scant reference to architectural drawings. Examples include Charles Jencks’s *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* (1977), Paolo Portoghesi’s *Postmodern: The Architecture of the Postindustrial Society* (1982-3), and Heinrich Klotz’s *The History of Postmodern Architecture* (1988). Ironically, Portoghesi’s and Klotz’s books even feature drawings on their covers.<sup>8</sup> While there were books, such

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<sup>7</sup> Despite this assertion, as will be seen in the body of this dissertation, publication did not mean that the original drawings were valued. For those making the claim for increased attention through publication, see Bart Lootsma, “Delays,” *Hand-drawn Worlds/Handgezeichnete welten*, Kristin Feireiss Ed. (Berlin: Jovis Verlag GmbH, 2003), 28. See also Colomina, Beatriz and Craig Buckley, Eds. *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X – 197X* (Barcelona and London: Actar, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Portoghesi’s book features a drawing by Portoghesi, Giampaolo Ercolani, and Giovanni Massobrio for the headquarters of the Local Health Department, Vallo di Diano, 1980-1981.

as Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani's *Architecture of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in Drawings: Utopia and Reality* (1982) and Heinrich Klotz's *Postmodern Visions: Drawing, Paintings and Models by Contemporary Architects* (1985), that utilized drawings, the drawings were only employed to represent buildings. More recent publications have probed deeper into architecture during this period, but likewise have ignored drawings. These include K. Michael Hays's 2009 book *Architecture's Desire: Reading the Late Avant-Garde* which addressed this period through an analysis of architecture's philosophical underpinnings, and Emmanuel Petit's 2013 book *Irony, or, the Self-critical Opacity of Postmodern Architecture*, which sought to understand how irony was used as a productive tool for thinking through architectural issues. Despite the enormous contributions of these books to understanding this period, they do not address architectural drawings. In all of these publications, the meaning and importance of drawings are rendered practically invisible.

In discussing architectural drawings, therefore, this study opens a new area of inquiry and examines this unique period in order to understand the questioning generated by the changing perception of architectural drawings. This period *is* unique. At no other time was debate generated in the same way. At no other time did the necessary structures exist to support this change. During this period architectural drawings became the driving force of architectural debate, not for what architects put in them, but for what others asked them to be and saw in them.<sup>9</sup>

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Klotz's book features eight of the 14 drawings by O.M. Ungers of axonometric views of urban houses for the historic center of Marburg, Germany of 1976.

<sup>9</sup> Even though architectural drawings were collected prior to this period, the level, depth, and kind of activity was insufficient to support the transformation that ultimately occurred in the 1970s and 1980s; there was no open market. Vasari was perhaps the first to collect architectural drawings in the 16th century as a collection for his *Libro de' disegni*, which included architectural drawings by Donato Bramante, Filippo Brunelleschi, Francesco di Giorgio, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Andrea Palladio, Giuliano da Sangallo, Antonio da Sangallo, Francesco da Sangallo, Il Boccacino,

These unique circumstances call for an approach that examines how things emerge, proliferate, and capture public attention. This work will embark on a socioaesthetics,<sup>10</sup> which explores how architectural drawings came to be understood as aesthetic objects within the context of the exhibitions and the market, and the effects of this during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>11</sup> It is a study that affirms the idea that sociological causes influence the interpretation of something as aesthetic. Objects are aesthetic not because of some quality inherent in them, but because they are perceived as such.<sup>12</sup>

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Antonio Particini, Tiberio Calcagni, Andrea Sansovino, Antonio Rossellino, Lorenzo Donati, Domenico Rignano, Benedetto da Rovezzano, Fra Giocondo, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Vincenzo Scamozzi. But this form of collecting was not typical. It has been more common throughout history for architects to collect drawings of other architects to serve as exemplars from which to learn for their own practice. One of the most well known examples is Inigo Jones's early 17th century purchase of Palladio's drawings. Another well-known example is the 17th century collection of French architectural drawings assembled by Nicodemus Tessin the Elder and his son, Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, that was used to develop a style of architecture for Sweden.<sup>10</sup> At present, the areas in which the term socioaesthetics have been applied are wholly different than utilized by this author. One use describes aesthetics in the realm of sociology, such as society, culture, economy, and other traditionally non-aesthetic domains. Another describes the "aesthetic possibilities inherent in the research and observation of social structures." The third describes how someone might live aesthetically within society.

<sup>11</sup> There have been some sociological studies in architecture, though the sociology is markedly different than is undertaken in this project. Recently Albena Yaneva conducted a study in the Office for Metropolitan Architecture, where she was concerned to show how buildings coalesce through a complex process within an architecture team and between this team and their clients. See Albena Yaneva, *The Making of a Building: A Pragmatist Approach to Architecture* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009). A sociological approach toward a historical topic was used in Alexander Caragone's book on the Texas Rangers, a group of individuals who came together at the University of Texas, Austin for a few short years and eventually influenced much of architectural education in the US. See Alexander Caragone, *The Texas Rangers: Notes From an Architectural Underground* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).

<sup>12</sup> This work can be compared to certain sociological studies in the history of art that understand art emerging through the sociological functions of the artworld. But it does not do so, as much work in the history of art does that draws from sociology, to reveal how objects are constructed in order to negate an assumed immutability of them. This work begins from the assumption that objects are constructed. This allows for insight that is more productive. The artworld was first theorized in writing by Arthur Danto in 1964; its first long form analysis was by Howard Becker in 1982. This understanding of art reveals the value in understanding the social framework in which art is constituted. It understands the attribution of something as art as an act perpetuated by a network of people. An example of the critical sociology that this work moves beyond is exemplified by, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, who uses the sociology of art to show that the perception of art objects is a result of many fields that are not intrinsic to the object itself. See for

Thus, this work studies the sociological framework of the time in order to understand the genesis of architectural drawings as autonomous objects and the effects of that understanding. That is, it addresses how drawings came to be *perceived* as aesthetic objects. It studies the networks through which this occurred: the individuals and institutions that created events for the promotion of architectural drawings and the reception of the drawings that these events produced.

Although the principle objective of this work is to contribute to the historiography of the 1970s and 1980s, it also contributes to the historiography of architectural drawings. The literature on architectural drawings is prolific. One of the first books on this topic was Reginald Blomfield's *Architectural Drawing and Draughtsmen*, published in England in 1912. Blomfield, an architect, was inspired to help students recognize the importance of good drawing within practice by "show[ing] that architectural draughtsmanship is not cut off from the family of Art, but that in the hands of artists of genius, it has gone far, and takes a higher place than has usually been assigned it by artists and critics."<sup>13</sup> To this end, Blomfield surveyed English, French, and Italian architectural drawings from the Middle Ages through the eighteenth century and

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instance, Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984) and Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). A type of work closer to this one is the early, groundbreaking work of Nathalie Heinich. In books such as *La gloire de van Gogh* (1991) and *Ce que l'art fait à la sociologie* (1998), she theorizes how things get ". . . their coherence and their meaning in the eyes of the actors." Stated by Heinich in an interview with online magazine *Machete*. See *Machete* Vol. 2, No. 12. (Oct 2010). <http://www.marginalutility.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/macheteoctober-web-.pdf> (accessed October 22, 2012).

<sup>13</sup> Reginald Blomfield. *Architectural Drawing and Draughtsmen* (London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1912), v. Blomfield recognizes some precursors to his study in papers given at the Royal Institute of British Architects by William Burges in 1860, and one by Maurice B. Adams in 1885, as well as a book by Richard Phené Spiers, *Architectural Drawing*, in 1887 that described drawing techniques.



essentially created one of the early histories of architectural drawings. In essence, the ascendancy of architectural drawing in the 1970s and 1980s can be rooted in this book. It was as if, to rephrase Douglas Crimp, architectural drawings, though invented earlier, were really only *discovered* in the 1970s and 1980s,<sup>14</sup> even if the seed for their discovery had been planted earlier. At the same time, Blomfield's book is a foundational text that makes a history of architectural drawings viable.

Studies have examined architectural drawings in myriad ways. Some have focused on material facts that affect the production of drawings,<sup>15</sup> while others have concentrated on the techniques employed<sup>16</sup> or the philosophical implications of these techniques.<sup>17</sup> Others have given attention to the changing roles of drawings,<sup>18</sup> the role of drawings within the design process,<sup>19</sup> or have discussed various types of drawings.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Crimp, Douglas. "The End of Painting." *October* 16 (1981): 69-86, who traces the collapse of painting to the invention of photography, but who details why "[p]hotography may have been invented in 1839, but it was only *discovered* in the 1970s."

<sup>15</sup> See Ackerman, James. "Villard De Honnecourt's Drawings of Reims Cathedral: A Study in Architectural Representation." *Artibus et Historiae* (1997): 42.

Francis Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*. 2d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). See also Carmen Bambach, "Renaissance Drawings: Material and Function," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000-). [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/drwg/hd\\_drwg.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/drwg/hd_drwg.htm) (October 2002). Accessed July 25, 2014.

<sup>16</sup> See for instance, Jurgis Baltrušaitis. *Anamorphic Art*. Trans. W.J. Strachan (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977). Yve-Alain Bois "Metamorphosis of Axonometry," *Daidalos* No. 1 (September 1981): 41-58. Massimo Scolari, "Elements for a History of Axonometry," *Architectural Design* 55, no. 5-6 (1985): 73-78. Ann Huppert's essay "Envisioning New St. Peter's: Perspectival Drawings and the Process of Design," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 2 (June 2009): 158-77, and Cammy Brother's *Michelangelo, Drawing, and the Invention of Architecture*. Also Charles de Tolnay, *History and Technique of Old Master Drawings; a Handbook* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972).

<sup>17</sup> For example, Bernhard Schneider, "Perspective Refers to the View, Axonometry Refers to the Object," *Daidalos* 1 (September 15, 1981): 81-95. See also Jacques Lucan, *Composition, Non-Composition: Architecture and Theory in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>18</sup> See Ackerman, James S. *The Reinvention of Architectural Drawing, 1250-1550* (London: Sir John Soane Museum, 1998).

Ackerman, James. "The Origins of Architectural Drawing in the Middle Ages and Renaissance," pgs 27-66 in *Origins, Imitation, Conventions: Representation In the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> For example, see Robin Evans, "Translations from Drawing to Building," *AA Files*, No. 12

Reference books of drawings have also been compiled.<sup>21</sup> There have been some notable histories of architectural drawings that discuss drawings without reference to buildings.<sup>22</sup>

This work complements these histories, insofar as it writes a history of architectural drawings in the 1970s and 1980s. However, what distinguishes this work from prior histories is its focus on how drawings were understood and the impact of the changing perception within the intellectual climate of the 1970s and 1980s. By expanding the history and scope of analysis of architectural drawings, it is hoped this work would influence future discourse on architectural drawings of other periods.

A unique opportunity has been afforded by this work in that many of the individuals involved in the events discussed are still living. It has been possible to interview many of them about the events, their thoughts, and their opinions about this period, as well as their own motivations. All of the interviews and correspondences

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(Summer 1986): 3-18. See also James S. Ackerman, "San Giovanni de' Fiorentini and the Sforza Chapel," *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986 [1961]).

<sup>20</sup> Often these are all discussed together. See for instance, Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher S. Wood (New York and Cambridge: Zone Books, 1991), Hubert Damisch, *The Origin of Perspective*, trans. John Goodman (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994), Alberto-Perez Gomez and Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), Massimo Scolari, *Oblique Drawing: A History of Anti-Perspective*, trans. Jenny Condie Palandri (London and Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012 [2005]).

<sup>21</sup> See Claudius Coulin, *Drawings by Architect: From the Ninth Century to the Present Day* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1962). See also Neil Bingham, *100 Years of Architectural Drawings: 1900-2000* (London: Lawrence King Publishing, Ltd., 2012).

<sup>22</sup> One of the first explicit attempts to produce a history of architectural drawings that was not intended for another purpose is the six part essay James Burford, "The Historical Development of Architectural Drawing to the End of the Eighteenth Century." *The Architectural Review* (July-December 1923): 1-5, 59-65, 83-87, 141-145, 156-160, 222-227. Another is the 1931 essay by Carl Linfert, "Die Grundlagen der Architektur-Zeichnung (Mit einem Versuch über französische Architecture-Zeichnung des 18. Jahrhunderts)." *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen* 1 (1931): 133-246. One contemporary to the period discussed in this work is Helen Powell and David Leatherbarrow, *Masterpieces of Architectural Drawing* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1982).

directly connected to the formation of this work are listed in the “Interviews” list and the “Correspondence / Discussions” list at the end of this volume. While each individual’s statements and opinions about his or her experiences have been taken from the interviews, where possible, events have been corroborated from archival evidence. Where this was not possible, it is noted.

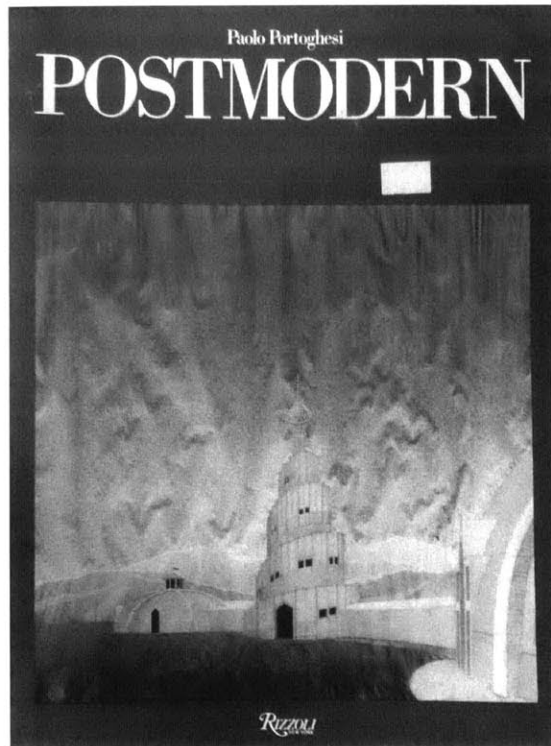
The kind and amount of information shared by each individual varied widely. As a result, this work exhibits discrepancies in the comparative depth of descriptions about different individuals, galleries, collections, and institutions. At the time of writing this work, some of those interviewed for this history were not as forthcoming about their experiences, possibly because their legacies are still being formed and they have a vested interest in how history is recorded. It would have been ideal if everyone were as forthcoming about their experiences as Barbara Pine, Barbara Jakobson, and Pierre Apraxine, or as candid as Max Protetch and Kristen Feireiss.

It would have also been ideal if every gallery had an archive as extensive as the Leo Castelli Gallery or was as organized as the Museum of Modern Art. However, this is not the case, as in many instances archives have yet to be assembled or in some instances, even to be considered. Consequently, it was often necessary to gather and to organize material from the personal papers and correspondences of many individuals.

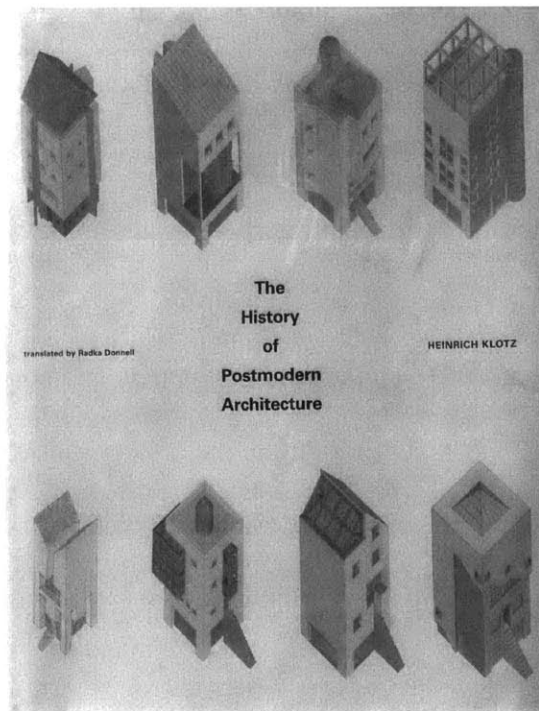
Overall, though, the history that was uncovered is rich and complex, and the material that has been amassed enables a comprehensive understanding of the issues that arose during this critical moment in architecture.

IMAGES

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*Postmodern: The Architecture of the Postindustrial Society.* Cover.  
Paolo Portoghesi



*The History of Postmodern Architecture.* Cover.  
Heinrich Klotz

## CHAPTER 1

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### FROM PROCESS TO OBJECT: DRAWINGS AS DRAWINGS

“You might say that architectural drawing has been rediscovered.”<sup>23</sup>  
—Paul Gapp, *Chicago Herald Tribune*

“Now . . . drawing is more than a footnote to architecture.”<sup>24</sup>  
—Jane Holtz Kay, *The Nation*

In the early 1970s, a general anxiety about the future of architecture was pervasive. Modern architecture’s hold on practice was waning, as a search to understand and address its failures was underway. Jane Jacob’s *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, published in 1961, the *Team 10 Primer*, published in 1962 and reissued in 1968, Robert Venturi’s *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* and Aldo Rossi’s *The Architecture of the City*<sup>25</sup> in Italy, both published in 1966, all instigated critical thinking about Modern architecture and planning. By the mid 1970s, critiques became more explicit. This was illustrated by Malcolm McEwen’s *Crisis in Architecture* and Peter Blake’s *Form Follows Fiasco: Why Modern Architecture Hasn’t Worked*, which were both released in 1974, and *The Failure of Modern Architecture* by Brent C. Brolin, released in 1976.

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<sup>23</sup> Paul Gapp, “Architecture: Drawing on the Past,” *Chicago Herald Tribune* (December 4, 1977).

<sup>24</sup> Jane Holtz Kay, “Books on Architecture: Two Hundred Years of American Architectural Drawings and The Architecture of the École des Beaux Arts,” *The Nation* (December 19, 1978): 665.

<sup>25</sup> Published in Italy as *Architettura della città*, this book was translated into English in 1982.

Although the idea that Modernism could be displaced did not gain steam until the 1960s, thoughts that Modernism could be superseded were perceived as early as 1945, when Joseph Hudnut titled an essay “The Post-Modern House.”<sup>26</sup> In 1961, Nikolas Pevsner referenced the term Postmodern in his talk “The Return of Historicism” and would use it again in 1966 and 1967.<sup>27</sup> Both Hudnut and Pevsner applied Postmodern to describe a simple temporal relationship with Modernism. Charles Jencks made the first effort to actually define the term in detail in his 1975 article “The Rise of Post-Modern Architecture” in the *AA Quarterly*, where he utilized “Postmodern” to describe recent architectural practices.<sup>28</sup>

These publications formed the beginnings of Postmodern discourse and thought about the future of architecture. But they all address one thing: the future of architectural design. Central to this discourse was the assumption that what constitutes architecture, at its most fundamental level, would remain constant.

However, this was not the case. In the early 1970s, a latent condition at the heart of architecture began to impact thinking about the field. The relationship between drawings and buildings began to be questioned. Architectural drawings began to be

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<sup>26</sup> Joseph Hudnut, “The Post-modern House,” *Architectural Record* 97, No. 5 (May 1945): 70-75.

<sup>27</sup> Pevsner first used the term in 1961 in his talk “The return of historicism,” He uses the term again in two articles published in *The Listener* (December 29, 1966 and January 5, 1967). Also in 1967, he gave two talks on the BBC Third Programme entitled “The anti-pioneers.” In one of these talks, he again used the term to describe contemporary architecture. Excerpts of these talks were published in “The Anti-Pioneers,” *Architects' Journal* 145, No. 5 (February 1, 1967): 279-280, though Pevsner’s use of “postmodern” was not included.

<sup>28</sup> This was the beginning of Jencks’s effort to define Postmodern architecture. He reluctantly uses the term in this article, as he sees the designation of something “post” as negative. He opens the essay, “The title is evasive of course. If I knew what to call it, I wouldn’t use the negative prefix ‘post’.” And he continues, “‘Post Modern’ won’t do the job [of being a term to describe what follows Modernism].” Charles Jencks, “The Rise of Postmodern Architecture,” *Architectural Association Quarterly* 7, No. 4 (October / December 1975): 3-14. He subsequently embraces the term, though. Jencks’s *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* was published two years later. See Charles Jencks, *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977). This book is currently in its seventh edition.

understood as autonomous objects outside the process of design. By the mid 1970s, this issue would shake the foundations of architecture as the fundamental understanding of architecture, not just design and practice, was reconsidered.

A number of public exhibitions that featured architectural drawings as their subject provided a foundation for this perceptual shift. The drawings in these exhibitions were not meant as a display to elucidate buildings, as was common in public exhibitions before this period.<sup>29</sup> Rather, their purpose was to understand the drawings in and of themselves and how they inflected architecture. To this end, many of the works on display were consciously selected because buildings had not or could not be built from them. The methods of display and the locations of exhibitions were also key. These exhibitions varied in the types and combinations of works shown—sometimes only featuring contemporary works, sometimes focusing on historical works, and at other times including a combination of the two. As a result, the shift in the perception of architectural drawings was occurring alongside a rediscovery of architectural history. As Postmodernism became understood as an increasingly viable critique of Modernism in architecture, drawings assumed a primary role. Their status within the creative process was problematized, as drawings began to have a meaning of their own.

This reconsideration of architectural drawings took place on the heels of a similar shift in conceptual art, where drawings were no longer seen only as a support medium for sculpture or painting, or another “final” product. The 1975 exhibit, *Drawing Now, 1955-1975*, shown at the Museum of Modern Art and curated by Bernice Rose, was the first major exhibition that celebrated drawings in their own right. It treated the subject

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<sup>29</sup> Exhibitions of drawings were common in architectural societies prior to this period, as a way for architects to share their work. See for instance the T-Square Club in Philadelphia, PA.

retrospectively, showing that drawing had been emerging as an art from at least the mid-1950s. This shift was largely instigated by artists; institutions subsequently began to embrace the idea. This differed from what occurred with regard to architectural drawings, where institutions played an equal, if not more important role in generating a shift in the perception of architectural drawings as final works of art. This view, in turn, also influenced the practices of architects.

There were some notable exhibitions of architectural drawings prior to this period. The Museum of Modern Art in New York displayed *Visionary Architecture* in 1960, *Frank Lloyd Wright Drawings* in 1962, and *Architectural Fantasies: Drawings from the Museum Collection* in 1967. There was a small exhibition of work of Abraham, Hollein, and Pichler at MoMA, also mounted in 1967. Pichler and Hollein had been the subject of exhibitions in Vienna at least since 1963, when their work was shown at the Galerie nächst St. Stephen. Entitled *Architektur*, it showed a combination of models, drawings, and montages. Also in 1967, the Architectural League of New York mounted an exhibition of drawings and paintings by John Hejduk and Robert Slutzky entitled “The Diamond and The Square.”

But by the mid 1970s an epochal shift occurred, as a certain critical mass was achieved. This chapter traces a number of seminal exhibitions of architectural drawings during the 1970s and 1980s that were integral to this shift.



**EDUCATION OF AN ARCHITECT: A POINT OF VIEW—THE COOPER UNION SCHOOL OF ART & ARCHITECTURE, 1964 – 1971.**

An exhibition that drew attention to drawings was shown from November 13, 1971 to January 10, 1972 at the Museum of Modern Art. The exhibition, *Education of an Architect: A Point of View*, was unlike any other it had previously shown. It was an exhibition of student works from the Cooper Union. The dean of the School of Art and Architecture, John Hejduk, instituted an educational program largely based on a series of formal exercises, the results of which were primarily drawings.<sup>30</sup> As formal exercises, many of works did not resemble or only marginally resembled buildings. Drawings predominated the exhibition, though models were shown as well.

When Ada Louise Huxtable, architecture critic of *The New York Times*, reviewed the exhibition, she was critical of the applicability of the Cooper Union's program to actual architectural practice but saw the drawings as a redeeming quality. She wrote, "At Cooper Union they [the students] are learning to draw. While others rush to embrace sociology and interdisciplinary studies, these students are dealing in complex, sophisticated, abstract, intellectual exercises deliberately divorced from 'meaning' and social issues, with a meticulous and exquisite draftsmanship that sent shivers up one's

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<sup>30</sup> Though Hejduk is often credited with the renewed attention to drawings at the Cooper Union, his change to the curriculum was to base it on abstraction and Modernism. Attention to architectural drawings existed prior to his deanship in 1975 and prior to his arrival at Cooper as professor of architecture in 1965. The catalogue for an exhibition of architectural drawings titled *The Architect's Eye* held at the Cooper Union Museum in 1962 makes this clear. It begins the introduction with "All forms of creative art enjoy popularity for a time. They subsequently fall into disfavor, only to be 'rediscovered' by a later generation. This is the case with architectural draftsmanship, which lost the high esteem it once commanded. At the moment the consideration it traditionally received one more is being restored. A striking indication of this renewed sanction is seen in the fact that the faculty of the School of Architecture at Cooper Union now requires students to master the evolution of architectural design through a graphic discipline."

spine.”<sup>31</sup> Likewise, an anonymous reviewer in *Architectural Forum* was also taken by the drawings: “...[D]azzling the show certainly was. Not since the shiningest hours of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts has there been a student body so brilliantly trained in draftsmanship. . .”<sup>32</sup>

Overall, though, there was considerable indecision about this exhibition and what it revealed about the training of architects at the Cooper Union. The fact that students did not seem to be learning skills applicable to solving real world problems, dealing with sociological needs or understanding culture, made it difficult to see the merits in such an education.

This separation of abstract, formal explorations from social and cultural concerns is a theme that would recur in the work of a group of architects (of which Hejduk was one) who published a book of their work in 1972.

## **FIVE ARCHITECTS**

Between 1964 and 1969, a number of informal meetings were held, the goal of which was to develop discourse about architecture through discussions of architectural projects. A number of New York area architects and educators participated. Meetings were first held at Princeton and later at the Museum of Modern Art. In 1969, Arthur Drexler, curator of the department of Architecture and Design, organized a more formal meeting to be held in a conference room at MoMA. He invited some of the participants in the group to make presentations. Held as one of the Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment (CASE) meetings at MoMA, this gathering took place over two days on

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<sup>31</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, “Cooper Union Projects Vary Architecture Show,” *The New York Times* (November 13, 1971).

<sup>32</sup> Anonymous, “Forum: 1920 Revisited,” *Architectural Forum* 135, no. 5 (December, 1971), 65.

May 9 and 10, 1969. Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey,<sup>33</sup> John Hejduk, and Richard Meier, who knew each other through academic connections, all presented projects, while Kenneth Frampton was invited as the critic.

Sometime after the meeting, Eisenman contacted the other presenters with the idea to disseminate their works. He telephoned each of them and simply said, “Let’s make a book.”<sup>34</sup> When they asked about cost, Eisenman estimated that it would likely cost each of the participants 200 dollars. Partly motivated by this low price, with little to lose, they all invested. At its completion, however, each participant’s share of the cost was approximately 3,000 dollars.<sup>35</sup> Eisenman related that to get the book published, he simply walked into the bookstore owned by the publisher of Wittenborn and Company and said to the owner, George Wittenborn, “Hey, I’ve got a wonderful idea for a book.”<sup>36</sup> When Wittenborn heard the idea, he agreed. They decided to print 500 copies, assuming that was the maximum number of books that would sell.<sup>37</sup>

The book was titled *Five Architects*. It contained drawings of projects, text describing the projects, photographs of the buildings, an introductory text by Colin Rowe and criticism of the projects by Kenneth Frampton.

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<sup>33</sup> Richard Meier remembers that it was Richard Henderson, who co-designed the house with Gwathmey, that was presented at the meeting. See Barbaralee Diamonstein interview with Richard Meier in Barbaralee Diamonstein *American Architecture Now* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 105. Many of the dates that Meier recalls in this interview regarding the New York Five do not correspond to dates published elsewhere.

<sup>34</sup> Related by John Hejduk in Barbaralee Diamonstein interview with John Hejduk in Barbaralee Diamonstein, *American Architecture Now II* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 129.

<sup>35</sup> See Barbaralee Diamonstein interview with John Hejduk in Barbaralee Diamonstein, *American Architecture Now II* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 129-130.

<sup>36</sup> See Barbaralee Diamonstein interview with Peter Eisenman in Barbaralee Diamonstein, *American Architecture Now II* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 73.

<sup>37</sup> Wittenborn and Company was well known in the art world both for its publication of art books, such as the *Documents of Modern Art* series, and a small gallery space where artwork would be displayed called the “One-Wall Gallery.”

The book made them famous. First published in 1972 by Wittenborn, it was republished by Oxford University Press in 1975 and again in 1977. It was translated into Spanish and published by Gustavo Gili in Barcelona in 1979 and reprinted in 1982. In 1976, Officina Edizioni in Rome published an Italian version. Exhibitions of the work in the book were assembled. One, titled *The New York Five*, the label by which they became identified, was held at Art Net in London in 1975;<sup>38</sup> exhibitions were also held at the Princeton School of Architecture and in Naples, Italy.

The architects themselves made no claims to espousing a movement or to even being a coherent group. Meier, in recalling the moment, stated, “*Five Architects* [was] meant to be a memorandum, a memento of the occasion . . . [T]here was no intention to put out a polemical manifesto.”<sup>39</sup> But presented as they were, in one volume, and introduced in the same essay by Colin Rowe, they were commonly understood as representing similar architecture.

Though they themselves made no claim as a group, in the preface to the first edition of the book Arthur Drexler alleged that “. . . with only a little exaggeration” these five architects “may . . . be said to constitute a New York School.”<sup>40</sup> When Paul Goldberger wrote an article about them for the *New York Times* in November 1973, they were designated as the New York Five.<sup>41</sup> The moniker stuck and the five distinct

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<sup>38</sup> These are listed in *Michael Graves : Selected and Current Works* (Mulgrave, Victoria: Images Publishing Group, 1999) and *Eisenman Architects : Selected and Current Works*. (Mulgrave, Victoria: Images Publishing Group, 1995).

<sup>39</sup> As stated in Michael Calderone, “The New York Five,” *New York Observer* (December 19, 2005). <http://observer.com/2005/12/the-new-york-five/> (Accessed June 21, 2014).

<sup>40</sup> Arthur Drexler “Preface,” *Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hejduk, Meier* (New York: Wittenborn & Company, 1972), 1.

<sup>41</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Architecture’s ‘5’ Make Their Ideas Felt.” *New York Times* (November 26 1973). By 1974 the moniker had already been established. See Paul Goldberger, “Should Anyone

architects became known as the New York Five. “[I]t became a *thing*. . . It just happened,” Meier stated.<sup>42</sup>

The group attained further renown when shortly after the publication of *Five Architects* another group of architects came together to critique them. The critiques were published in May 1973 in *Architectural Forum* with the title “Five on Five.”<sup>43</sup> Robert Stern, Jacquelin Robertson, Charles Moore, Allen Greensberg, and Romaldo Giurgola criticized the Five for their interests in form, asserting that local culture, politics, and social concerns should inflect architecture.<sup>44</sup> This debate became known as the “Greys” (Five on Five) against the “Whites” (New York Five).

Though some of the Five Architects eventually looked unfavorably at formalism,<sup>45</sup> the formalist tendencies of the group were also emphasized by Colin Rowe and Kenneth Frampton in the book. Frampton discussed the projects “from a formal point of view,” emphasizing that there was “no anthropomorphic key with which to judge their size.”<sup>46</sup> This lack of reference to the human body separated them from lived experience and made them explicitly formal exercises. Colin Rowe’s essay discussed the legacy of

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Care About the ‘New York Five?’ . . . or About Their Critics, the ‘Five on Five?’” *Architectural Record* 155 (February 1974): 113–16.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> “Five on Five,” *The Architectural Review* (May 1973): 46–47. Essays were Roberts Stern, “Stompin’ at the Savoye,” Jacquelin Robertson, “Machines in the Garden,” Charles Moore, “In Similar States of Undress,” Allen Greensberg, “The Lurking American Legacy,” and Romaldo Giurgola, “The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie.”

<sup>44</sup> At least this is how they were popularly received. In reality, the differences were not so pronounced and each group of five architects did not fit into the groups so neatly. See Paul Goldberger, “Should Anyone Care About the ‘New York Five?’ . . . or About Their Critics, the ‘Five on Five?’” *Architectural Record* 155 (February 1974): 113–114.

<sup>45</sup> As Paul Goldberger states, “as the five men became more successful, what Mr. Gwathmey disdained is precisely what the architects came to symbolize: the triumph of image over idea.” See Paul Goldberger, “Architecture View: A Little Book That Led Five Men to Fame.” *The New York Times*, February 11, 1996 (Accessed Jun 3, 2014).

<sup>46</sup> Kenneth Frampton, “Criticism,” *Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hejduk, Meier* (New York: Wittenborn & Company, 1972), 9.

Modernism in America, a modernism, he saw, as not imbued with any of the political and social significance it had in Europe. Freed from these concerns, the use of Modernism was reduced to formal exercises. Drexler and Goldberger likewise highlighted this.

Drexler emphasized the formal properties derived “. . . from Le Corbusier of the twenties and thirties . . .”<sup>47</sup> Goldberger said that what bound the five was their interest in “pure form.”<sup>48</sup> This no doubt served to frame the reception of the work.

Though photographs of many of the buildings were included in the book, they were largely ignored. The drawings were seen as more significant than the photographs and the texts describing the projects. The drawings became primary, as the site of the intellectual work in this architecture. Eisenman’s and Hejduk’s projects illustrated this particularly well, as the development of their projects could be traced through the drawings they included.

Further, some began to perceive these productions as art. As one person who opened a gallery after seeing this publication said, “Led by the so-called New York Five . . . a new art form was developing: The architectural drawing as visual art.”<sup>49</sup> As if to emphasize this, on the occasion of the exhibition at Peter Cook’s ArtNet in London in 1975 where three of the five architects met for four nights of discussion, a review ran with the title and theme “The Architect as Intellectual Artist.”<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Arthur Drexler “Preface,” *Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hejduk, Meier* (New York: Wittenborn & Company, 1972), 1.

<sup>48</sup> Goldberger, Paul. “Architecture’s ‘5’ Make Their Ideas Felt.” *New York Times*, November 26 1973.

<sup>49</sup> Luce van Rooy correspondence with author (September 12, 2012). It may have also helped that Wittenborn was already well known for publishing art books, such as *The Documents of Modern Art*.

<sup>50</sup> John Maule McKean, “The Architect as Intellectual Artist,” *Building Design* (October 10, 1975): 8.

While architectural drawings were beginning to be perceived in new ways at this time, it was not until later that they would get their strongest boost. In 1975, the year of the second run of *Five Architects*, an exhibition was mounted at the Museum of Modern Art that would have wider repercussions.

### **THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ÉCOLE DES BEAUX-ARTS**

*Five Architects* played an integral role in the perception of architectural drawings, especially contemporary ones, as works of art. Three years later, an exhibition was displayed at the Museum of Modern Art that brought architectural drawings to the forefront. From October 29, 1975 to January 4, 1976, the pivotal *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* was mounted.<sup>51</sup> Arthur Drexler was the curator. The exhibition contained over 200 architectural drawings. One hundred and sixty drawings representing 69 projects that had been prepared by students of the École between 1756 and 1861 were on show. The remainder of the exhibition was comprised of drawings by Henri Labrouste for the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Charles Garnier for the Paris Opera, and a composite plan, section, elevation, and perspective of Viollet-le-Duc's entry to the Opera competition. All of the drawings were mounted in passe-partouts, though the original

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<sup>51</sup>The exhibition also traveled to Ottawa, where Drexler gave a speech for the opening. It did not cause controversy when shown there, which speaks to a particular environment in New York City. It was supposed to travel to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, but there was no funding available. There was interest, too, in Montreal, Quebec City, Providence, and St. Louis, but no one was able to commit. See letter to Richard Oldenberg from Richard Palmer on December 15, 1975. Curatorial Exhibition Files #1110. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Influenced by this exhibition, in May 1978, a week was dedicated to the Beaux-Arts at the Architectural Association. An exhibition was mounted and a conference was organized by Robin Middleton. See Robin Middleton, *AD Profiles 17: The Beaux-Arts* (London: Architectural Design, 1979).

intent was to have them framed.<sup>52</sup> Concluding the exhibition were two rooms containing photographs of 28 Beaux-Arts buildings from France and the US.<sup>53</sup>

In conjunction with the exhibition, two symposia moderated by Drexler took place on November 11 and November 18.<sup>54</sup> The first day was focused on four themes, “The politics of teaching,” “the theory of composition,” “the uses of the past,” and “the idea of architectural legibility.” Richard Chaffee, Henry Russell Hitchcock, Neil Levine, Vincent Scully, and David van Zanten presented the first night. November 18 was dedicated to “The Academic City and the Modern Movement.” George Baird, Carl Schorske, and Anthony Vidler addressed issues dealing with “form and polemics of the modern movement’s attack on the academic city; Paris, Chicago, Canberra, New Delhi, Haussmanization, the reassessment of Beaux-Arts urban aesthetics and the future of modern urbanism.”

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<sup>52</sup> Framing was abandoned due to funding issues and time constraints. See Note Dec 23, 1975 in Museum of Modern Art Archives. Curatorial Exhibition Files #1110. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

<sup>53</sup> This exhibition is considered one of the most momentous exhibitions that the Museum of Modern Art has mounted. Despite this, it almost had to be taken down early. It was only when organizers of Bernice Rose’s *Drawing Now* determined how to construct the walls for her exhibit that Drexler’s show could remain. A letter to Drexler from Richard Palmer sent in the middle of the Beaux-Arts show on December 19, reads, “Dear Arthur: It has now been decided finally that we will be able to complete the necessary new construction for the DRAWINGS NOW installation in the Garden Wing Gallery without having to close the BEAUX ARTS exhibition early. I regret the concern that the possibility of having to close your show early caused you and others on the staff and am pleased that we have been able to work our plans out so that the schedule does not have to be changed. Attached is a copy of my memo with today’s date to Bernice which indicates how we plan to proceed with the renovation of the gallery.” Rose’s exhibition did not feature any architectural drawings. In a sense, the two exhibitions were complementary.

<sup>54</sup> An unused response card to indicate attendance is in the archives at Museum of Modern Art Archives: CUR, Folder 1110.



Because this was at the Museum of Modern Art, it caused controversy.<sup>55</sup> Since its inception, the architecture department advocated a form of architectural modernism largely derived from Bauhaus practices. Its success in doing so led MoMA to be largely credited with bringing modernism to the fore in the U.S., especially through their seminal 1932 exhibition *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*. This early exhibition was mounted in direct opposition to the then prevailing Beaux-Arts system of architecture in order to promote modern design. Thus, this exhibition and symposia on the Beaux-Arts seemed to contradict the mission of the museum. “There is considerable shock effect entering these galleries, so long sacrosanct to the modernists’ cause . . .” one reviewer wrote.<sup>56</sup> It was partly this reversal that drove much of the attention to the exhibition. And because of it, the exhibition generated extreme responses.

Some proclaimed that the exhibition signified the end of Modernism. Reviews were titled “Is Modern Architecture in Its Death Throes?,”<sup>57</sup> “A Harbinger of a Return to the Classic,”<sup>58</sup> “Escape from a World of Glass Boxes,”<sup>59</sup> and most definitively, an assessment of the exhibition two years later was titled “Architecture . . . and the ‘death of modernism’.”<sup>60</sup> A forum on the exhibition was held at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies in New York (IAUS) 18 days after the exhibition closed. At this forum,

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<sup>55</sup> It was also controversial since the revolts that caused the dissolution of the past Beaux-Arts were only 7 years prior.

<sup>56</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, “Modern Architecture in Question,” *New York Review of Books* (November 27, 1975): 6.

<sup>57</sup> Manuela Hoelterhoff, “Is Modern Architecture in Its Death Throes?,” *The Wall Street Journal* (March 3, 1975).

<sup>58</sup> Florence Berkman, “A Harbinger of a Return to the Classic,” *The Hartford Times* (December 28, 1975); 32. She continues “. . . [I]t is making a 360 degree [sic] turn in proposing a concept in architecture which it rejected almost 50 years ago.” Berkman, of course, means a 180-degree turn, returning to the architecture that it rejected.

<sup>59</sup> Manuela Hoelterhoff, “Escape from a World of Glass Boxes,” *The Wall Street Journal* (December 2, 1975).

<sup>60</sup> Mike Steele, “Architecture . . . and the ‘death of modernism’” *Minneapolis Tribune* (December 4, 1977).

some participants, including Ulrich Franzen, opined that with this exhibition MoMA was announcing the death of Modernism.<sup>61</sup>

Through Drexler's show, these critics gave voice to debates that had been ongoing at least since 1966, when Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown published *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* or even since 1961 when Jane Jacobs published *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. There were others, as well, who critiqued Modern design and its applicability to society at a time when the promises of Modern architecture were not being met. They saw the exhibition as finally marking the moment when Modernism could be supplanted.

Others thought that MoMA was calling for a revival of the Beaux Arts. James Rossant, who spoke at the IAUS forum, was one.<sup>62</sup> Some, critical of the Beaux-Arts being shown at the Modern, handed out buttons at the opening on which was written, "Bring Back the Bauhaus."<sup>63</sup>

Paul Goldberger summed up the breadth of debates this exhibition generated. "It is astonishing how many different meanings this exhibition has been given. It signals the end of modernism, some critics cried . . . It is a return to beauty and humanism in architecture, others said . . . And still others interpreted the exhibition as a crisis in

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<sup>61</sup> Franzen states, "For the Museum of Modern Art's Department of Architecture to announce in 1975 that modern architecture is dead. . ." Ulrich Franzen, "The Beaux Arts Exhibition," in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings From a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973-1984* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 674.

<sup>62</sup> James Rossant, "The Beaux Arts Exhibition," in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings From a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973-1984* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 675.

<sup>63</sup> Barry Bergdoll in "Complexities and Contradictions of Post-Modern Classicism: Notes on the Museum of Modern Art's 1975 Exhibition *The Architecture of the École Des Beaux-Arts*," in *The Persistence of the Classical: Essays on Architecture Presented to David Watkin*, edited by Frank Salmon (London: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd., 2008), 206-207, reveals that this was "an ironic comment conceived by the architectural critic Suzanne Stephens and the architect Susanne Torre, both recent alumnae of Drexler's Department of Architecture and Design."

architectural education today . . .”<sup>64</sup> To this could be added that some viewed it as a critique of the museum itself.<sup>65</sup>

Drexler did aim to address these issues through the exhibition, but was certainly not seeking to end Modernism. In the preface of the exhibition catalogue, he relayed that the goal was to effect a reevaluation of it. He states, “. . . [W]e are no longer so certain as to what [Modern architecture] should become and how it should be taught. . . . [T]he literature of the modern movement has helped to perpetuate confusion as to what was lost, let alone what the battle was about.”<sup>66</sup> When asked directly whether he would like to see the Beaux-Arts tradition return to architecture, he responded, “No, not really.”<sup>67</sup> Likewise, at the IAUS forum, where he was invited as a respondent, he stated, “Some observers thought the show was meant to bring on a Beaux-Arts revival. That was not the case.”<sup>68</sup> Further, on April 11 and 18, 1984, at the height of Postmodernism, Drexler gave two lectures at the Architectural League arguing for a continuation of Modernism. Entitled “Unfinished Modernism,” where he addressed his concern that Modernism stalled because its goals had been fulfilled and it was in need of revitalization. As he concluded the preface of the exhibition catalogue, he states, “A more detached view of

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<sup>64</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Debate Lingers After Beaux-Arts show,” *The New York Times* (January 6, 1976); 38.

<sup>65</sup> See for instance Robert Campbell, “This Show is a Statement,” *The Boston Evening Globe* (November 16, 1975). He states, “The real subject is the Museum of Modern Art itself.”

<sup>66</sup> Arthur Drexler, “Preface,” *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art); 3. Published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, shown at the Museum of Modern Art.

<sup>67</sup> Barbaralee Diamonstein, *American Architecture Now II*. (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 65. In this same interview he states that though the revival of the Beaux-Arts architectural style is not what he would like, he thinks the Beaux-Arts system of training might of value. It was much more adaptable than the short-lived modern education; as a system it lasted for over 200 years before it was replaced.

<sup>68</sup> Arthur Drexler, “The Beaux Arts Exhibition,” in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings From a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973-1984* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 686.

architecture as it was understood in the nineteenth century might also provoke a more rigorous critique of the philosophical assumptions underlying the architecture of our time. Now that modern experience so often contradicts modern faith, we would be well advised to reexamine our architectural pieties.”<sup>69</sup> This shows that he was not looking to supplant Modernism with an appeal to historical styles, but that he was pushing for a renewal of it through an understanding of the history of architecture.

Whether this was accomplished in the exhibition was not certain. Goldberger did not think the exhibition had much applicability to architectural practice, since the exhibition focused too much on drawings and did not analyze Beaux-Arts buildings thoroughly enough to assess its success. In a review written after the exhibitions closed, he lamented “. . . the limited attention given to built works . . .”<sup>70</sup> That they were ignored, “had the effect of elevating a number of beautiful, but ultimately vapid, designs at the expense of built buildings of real genius.”<sup>71</sup> The focus on the drawings in the exhibition, “. . . is unfortunate since, unlike paintings, when these drawings are left to speak for themselves as pure art their voice is feeble. . . .”<sup>72</sup> Goldberger saw the merit of drawings in terms of the buildings they project. For him, the drawings did not offer enough insight into the built work, which is where the successes and failures of architecture can be judged (inferring that the buildings are the architecture), and makes an appeal for the forthcoming book to deal more with buildings.

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<sup>69</sup> Arthur Drexler, “Preface,” *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art); 3. Published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, shown at the Museum of Modern Art.

<sup>70</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Debate Lingers After Beaux-Arts show,” *The New York Times* (January 6, 1976); 38.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

In contrast to this reaction to the drawings, many, including Goldberger himself in a review written after his first visit to the exhibition, saw them as the heart of the exhibition. The nature of the responses varied: for some, they were a basis for debates about the future of architecture; for others, the focus was solely on the drawings exhibited, ignoring debates about the profession.

In both cases, the drawings caused a sensation; they were a revelation. There is not one review of the exhibition that mentions the photographs that were part of the exhibition more than in passing. The invitation itself highlighted the drawings. It stated, “Many of the more than 200 drawings in watercolor and ink, some as large as 18 feet wide and extraordinary in their opulent and varied detail, have not been unrolled since they were submitted by students to their professors at the École des Beaux Arts 150 years ago.”<sup>73</sup>

Two reviews in particular were extremely enthusiastic about the drawings. The first was from Goldberger. His first reaction to the drawings is in marked contrast to his later review. They were paramount, they were beautiful objects, and indeed they were the exhibition’s *raison d’être*: “. . . [I]t is the drawings that are the show’s reason for being, and they are incomparable. Visually, this is the most beautiful architectural exhibition in memory and among the most attractive shows of any kind ever mounted in New York. The drawings —virtually none of which have ever been displayed anywhere—range from tiny, rapid sketches to extraordinary presentation drawings 10 feet long done with detail so perfect that one is tempted to overlook the architecture itself and think only of

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<sup>73</sup> This is as stated in Ada Louise Huxtable, “Beaux-Arts, the Latest Avant-garde,” *The New York Times* (October 26, 1975). The largest two were left at the École des Beaux-Arts because there was no efficient way to hang them. To do so meant knocking down walls and breaking through ceilings. These drawings by Henri-Thomas-Edouard Eustache were of a train station, the elevation of which was 30 feet long, while the section was 15 feet high.

technique. Some are in monochrome, others have rich coloring to them; each and every one is a stunning object in itself.”<sup>74</sup>

A critic for the *Washington Post*, Wolf von Eckhardt, agreed with Goldberger.

The drawings, “. . .are breathtaking. In quick sketches, delicate washes and elaborate renderings . . . they show us what the best of Beaux-Arts architecture was about.”<sup>75</sup>

Because of the drawings, “The show is . . . no doubt, the most exciting architectural event of the decade.”<sup>76</sup>

One visitor to the exhibition could hardly contain her enthusiasm. In a letter written to Drexler she effuses, “I’m still in an absolute glow over last night’s opening and the spellbinding beauty of those drawings! . . . WOW!! BRAVO, BRAVISSIMO!!”<sup>77</sup>

Architects themselves were likewise taken by the drawings. At the IAUS forum James Rossant expressed that, “The nature of the drawings themselves, of course, put to shame, in sheer brilliance, modern architectural rendition, leaving us breathless.”<sup>78</sup> At this same event, Robert Stern stated, “One of the most obvious charms of the Beaux-Arts drawings we see in the Museum is the use of delicate washes of color. And the use of color is not a device to tart up the drawing, as in so much of our current rendering but rather as an element in the design process; one which we have lost and one which we

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<sup>74</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Beaux-Arts Architecture at the Modern,” *The New York Times*, (October 29, 1975): 46.

<sup>75</sup> Wolf von Eckhardt, “Beaux-Arts and the Nation’s Capital” *The Washington Post* (November 1, 1975); Style: 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> From a letter from Pearl Moeller to Arthur Drexler on October 28, 1975. Museum of Modern Art Archives: CUR, Folder 1110. Pearl Moeller worked at the Museum of Modern Art, first as a secretary in the film department, then in the library, as the special collections librarian.

<sup>78</sup> James Rossant, “The Beaux Arts Exhibition,” in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings From a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973-1984* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 675.

should probably seek to recapture.”<sup>79</sup> Peter Smithson was struck the most by a Labrouste drawing of Paestum. He wrote, “The rendered shadows of the feathers of the arrows and the shadows of the shields lashed to the columns are drawn so lightly that it’s almost impossible to believe it was done by human hand. It’s the best rendered drawing I’ve ever seen. . . . I was overwhelmed by the eloquence of the drawings.”<sup>80</sup>

This reaction to the drawings from practitioners was so pronounced because drawings of this nature had largely fallen out of favor within Modern architectural practice. As space became understood as a constituent quality of architecture, drawings were abandoned in favor of models to represent ideas. Drawings, where they were used, were reduced to as close to diagrammatic as possible. As James Stirling observed, “Instead of drawings, architectural models are the medium of today, particularly in America . . .”<sup>81</sup> An assessment of the effects of this exhibition in 1978 speaks similarly. It credits the exhibition, and the drawings in it as having “encouraged contemporary architects to present design ideas through drawings. This is new, because modern architects spurned such personal expression in favor of precise, measurable, and three-dimensional models.”<sup>82</sup> In the questioning of Modernist techniques, drawings moved to the fore.

Though this attention was given to the drawings, it is not clear if Drexler saw drawing as the main focus of the exhibition. While a large book-length catalogue was

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<sup>79</sup> Robert Stern, “The Beaux Arts Exhibition,” in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings From a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973-1984* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 682.

<sup>80</sup> James Stirling, “Once a Jolly Swagman: Some Thoughts After Seeing Labrouste’s Drawing of Paestum,” *AD Profiles 17* (London: Architectural Design, 1979[?]): 34.

<sup>81</sup> James Stirling, “Beaux Arts Reflections,” *AD Profiles 17: The Beaux-Arts* (London: Architectural Design, 1979[?]): 88.

<sup>82</sup> Manuela Hoelterhoff, “Is Modern Architecture in Its Death Throes?,” *The Wall Street Journal* (March 3, 1978).

planned for the exhibition, it was not completed in time. Speculations are that Drexler delayed completing his essay, concerned about the reception of the show.<sup>83</sup> What did accompany the exhibition was a 40-page catalogue. The bulk of the catalogue included a textual history of the *École des Beaux-Arts*, illustrated by drawings from the exhibition. 29 drawings were chosen, as were 7 photographs of Beaux-Arts buildings from France and America. Even though the original invitation had highlighted the drawings, there was not one mention of them in the entire text. The only mention Drexler made in reference to the architectural drawings was at the IAUS forum when he discussed the reception of the exhibition among students: “. . . [S]tudents liked the drawings and recognized that there was something to be said for an architecture whose substance made one want to draw it.”<sup>84</sup> This was hardly a statement for their centrality.

It was only two years later, when the book was published, that drawings entered into Drexler’s own statements about the Beaux-Arts. In his essay for the book, “Engineer’s Architecture: Truth and Its Consequences,” he expressed that drawings had shifted their status from secondary evidence within a larger design project to a “substitute for the real condition of a proposed architectural form” and that “. . . we are persuaded to seek comparable effects in real buildings.”<sup>85</sup> Drexler’s statement reverses the accepted understanding that drawings represent buildings, by stating that it is buildings that attempt to emulate the drawings.

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<sup>83</sup> Barry Bergdoll conversation with author, April 24, 2014.

<sup>84</sup> Arthur Drexler, “The Beaux Arts Exhibition,” in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings From a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973-1984* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 687.

<sup>85</sup> Arthur Drexler, “Engineer’s Architecture: Truth and Its Consequences,” *Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, Ed. Arthur Drexler (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 24. His concern in the first part of this essay is to understand the role of drawings within the design process. He argues for its importance by saying that “the model is seldom the first step.” See page 18.



The book was illustrated with 283 architectural drawings. Thirty four of the drawings represented built Beaux-Arts projects illustrated in the final section titled, “Beaux-Arts Buildings in France and America.” They were included to aid in understanding the buildings in a way that photographs could not achieve. The other 249 drawings stood on their own. These included 13 bi-fold sheets, many of which contained drawings that spanned both pages, and some that contained drawings that spanned the bi-fold and the previous or following page, resulting in drawings that spanned three total pages. Some were reproduced in color. It was, by all accounts, an incredible publication.

Reviews of the book praised the drawings. “The drawings in this book are especially revealing, beautifully executed, some fanciful, all showing that special training,” one critic wrote.<sup>86</sup> Paul Gapp, writing in the *Chicago Herald Tribune*, asserted that, “You might say that architectural drawing has been rediscovered. It’s not that the designers of buildings ever gave it up, but there is a sudden recognition that many such drawings are works of art.”<sup>87</sup> Jane Holtz Kay, a critic for *The Nation*, affirmed “One of the most ephemeral arts, line on paper, precedes one of the most eternal—architecture. But is that piece of paper a document or a drawing? A work of art? A scrap of minor historical worth? Dismissing the past as a reference point, the last half century also dismissed such visual mementos and moments. Now, as we shake hands again with history, the drawing is more than a footnote to architecture.”<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Mike Steele, “Architecture . . . and the ‘death of modernism’” *Minneapolis Tribune* (December 4, 1977).

<sup>87</sup> Paul Gapp, “Architecture: Drawing on the Past,” *Chicago Herald Tribune* (December 4, 1977).

<sup>88</sup> Jane Holtz Kay, “Books on Architecture: Two Hundred Years of American Architectural Drawings and The Architecture of the École des Beaux Arts,” *The Nation* (December 19, 1978): 665.

Both Gapp and Kay used the book to describe the current environment regarding architecture and the attention given to drawings. Kay continued, “Drawing exhibitions multiply and so do studies that treat the work of architect’s hand as both an end in itself and a means to the end of understanding the design process.”<sup>89</sup> Gapp noted that now, “It can be forcibly argued that the concept of the architect, in many instances, is far better revealed through drawings than in executed buildings.”<sup>90</sup>

Gapp and Kay were writing in 1977 and 1978 respectively. In stating that drawings now asserted primacy, they both recognized that other exhibitions of drawings affected this understanding as well. In the same articles as their reviews of the book *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, each was also reviewing another exhibition and accompanying book that was published in the same year, 1977. This exhibition was *200 Years of American Architectural Drawings*.

## **200 YEARS OF AMERICAN ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING**

In 1977, Ada Louise Huxtable, declared that “The Museum of Modern Art’s 1975 Beaux-Arts show was an immensely influential factor in the revival of interest in architectural drawing . . .”<sup>91</sup> Indeed it was. Within two years of the exhibition, the reception of architectural drawings in both the art and architecture communities had reached new heights.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Paul Gapp, “Architecture: Drawing on the Past,” *Chicago Herald Tribune* (December 4, 1977).

<sup>91</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, “The Fine Points of Drawings,” *The New York Times* (September 25, 1977): 103.

<sup>92</sup> That the other exhibitions being held at this time dealing with architectural drawings were being discussed and planned long before the Beaux-Arts exhibition opened means that if there was direct influence, it must have been behind the scenes. It is not erroneous to think that word

In this same year, an exhibition of architectural drawings was held at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, organized by the Architectural League of New York and the American Federation of Arts. Preparations for the exhibition began when Robert Stern, president of the Architectural League of New York, and Deborah Nevins, the program director discussed holding an exhibition of American architectural drawings.<sup>93</sup> To put the exhibition together, Nevins collaborated with the noted architectural historian David Gebhard, then on faculty at the University of California Santa Barbara.<sup>94</sup> After years of research, *200 Years of American Architectural Drawing* opened on June 7. It was to close on July 17 but was extended until August 14,<sup>95</sup> after which it began a national tour at the Jacksonville Art Museum in Florida.

The exhibition was mounted for the bicentennial and encompassed American architectural drawings from 1776 to 1976. This exhibition did not generate nearly the controversy that the Beaux-Arts exhibition at MoMA did. This was likely for two reasons. The first is that the subject was not seen as going against the grain of the Cooper-Hewitt since the Cooper-Hewitt had a history of showing works from periods prior to the twentieth century. The second is that by incorporating American architectural drawing throughout the history of the country, it was inclusive of all styles rather than speaking to a singular style. Drawings were included from such diverse sources as Asher Benjamin and Robert Venturi. It was a documentation of the heritage of architectural

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was spread about the planned Beaux-Arts exhibition within the museum community prior to its opening.

<sup>93</sup> Nevins also wrote the Architectural League's guide to Beaux-Arts architecture in New York in 1977.

<sup>94</sup> At UC Santa Barbara, Gebhard also founded the Architecture and Design Collection in 1963.

<sup>95</sup> For original dates of the exhibition see <http://www.si.edu/Exhibitions/Details/200-Years-of-American-Architectural-Drawing-5176> (accessed Jun 18, 2014) and "Going Out Guide," *The New York Times* (June 7, 1977): 30. For the extended date see "Going Out Guide," *The New York Times* (August 11, 1977): 57.

drawings in America, and therefore not controversial or easily polemicized.

Two hundred and fifty one drawings were in the exhibition. Although this is a significant number, Nevins and Gebhard actually had difficulty assembling the exhibition. They found that many collections of architectural drawings had been neglected, with no effort made to catalogue or preserve them, and so were not available to view or study. This was even the case with some important works. Further, they could not locate a number of drawings from major figures in American architecture. In some cases, they discovered that the drawings had been destroyed. Their commitment to showing only drawings was firm. Even if an architect was believed to be an integral part of American architectural history, if the drawings could not be found, the architect was disregarded.

The exhibition's explicit aim, then, was to focus on the drawings themselves—not to understand how they related to built works and not to look at the buildings that resulted from them. In dealing with architectural drawings in their many facets, though, they did acknowledge that many were part of a process of design. They recognized that “. . . architectural drawings are generally conceived of as a means to an end (a realized building),” but, argued that “they also exist as their own end.”<sup>96</sup> The exhibition did not contain any models or photographs; it consisted solely of drawings.

Gebhard's heavily illustrated 44-page essay in the catalogue on the history of architectural drawings emphasized this focus. Entitled, “Drawings and Intent,” it discussed each period that the exhibition looked at (1776-1819, 1820-1861, 1862-1889, 1890-1919, 1920-1944, and 1945-1976) for its innovations in architectural representation.

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<sup>96</sup> David Gebhard, “Drawings and Intent,” *200 Years of American Architectural Drawing* (New York: Whitney Library of Design an imprint of Watson-Guption Publications for the Architectural League of New York and the American Federation of the Arts, 1977), 25.

The essay took the object of drawing as its subject. It did not explicitly treat them as projective works (anticipating a building), though it was concerned in part with how different representational choices affected the architecture of the time.

Huxtable reviewed the exhibition. It was this exhibition in particular, she relates, that caused her to question why architectural drawings have been neglected as art. She stated, “Architectural drawing is the stepchild of the arts. After seeing the exhibition of ‘Two Hundred Years of American Architectural Drawing’ . . . I have been wondering why the subject has always had a kind of second class status.”<sup>97</sup> She attributes this to entrenched beliefs about drawings in general, as they affect architectural drawings in particular. “Drawings are not usually rated as dramatic exhibition material . . . Architectural drawings, in particular, are not considered crowd-pullers of media favorites by the big museums . . .”<sup>98</sup> This is, in part, because, “Architectural drawings are commonly considered a specialized subject and taste.”<sup>99</sup>

But, she continues, arguing for them: “. . . [O]ne thing that this exhibition makes abundantly clear is that the architect worthy of the name is an artist first . . . These drawings present the act of architecture in its most pure form, and on this level they can be enjoyed for their own sake. . . . Here is architecture straight from the heart, before the spoilers get to it.”<sup>100</sup> Huxtable’s final statement here, that drawings are “architecture . . . before the spoilers get to it” was particularly revelatory. The equivalence of architecture with the drawings, and even more, that the drawings are more true to the architect’s

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<sup>97</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, “Architectural Drawings as Art,” *The New York Times* (June 12, 1977); 93.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

desires and intentions than the buildings, begins to elevate drawings above buildings in their relationship to “architecture.”

Paul Goldberger, in his review, addressed these points more generally. He stated, “We are accustomed to seeing architectural drawings more as tools for a builder than as objects in themselves.” But, he continued, “they have a powerful reason for being in themselves, and this is the notion underlying a new exhibition “200 Years of American Architectural Drawing” opening this week at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum.”<sup>101</sup> As distinct objects, “. . . [T]he drawings do not simply chronicle the changing modes of architecture. They function on several levels: as art, since they are often beautiful documents in themselves; as documents, since they can help us trace the sequence of ideas that went into the process of making a building; and as creations in their own right, since drawings often represent visionary schemes that either cannot or will not be transformed into actual buildings.”<sup>102</sup>

Underscoring the importance of the drawings, Nevins and Stern published a book two years after the exhibition to address limitations in the exhibition catalogue. Derived from the material in the exhibition, the book was titled *The Architect's Eye: American Architectural Drawings from 1799-1978*. Since in this case, the production of the book underscored the importance of its subject, it is essential to understand why Nevins and Stern chose this particular format—they believed the catalogue for the exhibition to be too restrictive. Specifically, they thought that the size of the catalogue was prohibitive and forced the drawings to conform too much to the limits of the book itself. Also, because of financial and time constraints, the drawings had been published in black and

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<sup>101</sup> Paul Goldberger, “The Art of Building on Paper,” *The New York Times* (June 5, 1977); SM39.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

white. A different format was chosen for this new book. It was large format, 14 inches wide by 11.75 high. The decision was also made to print one drawing per page, each in color. The aim was greater fidelity to the original drawings, with the hope that the newer reproductions would offer a better chance to understand them. The drawings were more explicitly valued as the most important aspect of the publication. They stressed again that, “. . . the emphasis is as much on architectural drawings as works of art as it is on the important ideas drawings represent . . .”<sup>103</sup>

The second inadequacy the book addressed was the self-imposed limitation for the selection of drawings. For *200 Years of American Architectural Drawing*, works were only those produced by the architect. If a draftsman or delineator produced the work, the drawing was disregarded. For this publication, though, works produced by the office/firm were included as well. This change reveals that architectural drawings were becoming more studied and nuances in their production and use were being exposed. Here it was recognized that architects often do not work on the drawings that are produced for their own projects, and that drawings completed by others are just as valuable as those completed by the architect.

#### **AMERICA NOW: DRAWING TOWARDS A MORE MODERN ARCHITECTURE**

Stern was involved with another exhibition of architectural drawings that was mounted just after *200 Years of American Architectural Drawing* began its national tour. He, along with Richard Oliver, curated *America Now: Drawings Towards a More Modern Architecture*. The exhibition was actually two shows under the same name held

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<sup>103</sup>Deborah Nevins and Robert A. M. Stern. *The Architect's Eye: American Architectural Drawings From 1799-1978* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).

simultaneously in New York at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum and The Drawing Center, from September 20 to November 6, 1977.<sup>104</sup> Stern organized the exhibition at The Drawing Center; Richard Oliver, curator of architecture and design at the Cooper-Hewitt, organized the exhibition there with the assistance of Nancy Ferguson.<sup>105</sup>

Stern's exhibit featured drawings from Gerald Allen, Stuart Cohen, Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Allen Greenberg, Mitchell/Giurgola, John Hejduk, Coy Howard, Frank Israel, Robert M. Kliment, Rudolfo Machado, Charles Moore, Laurotta Vinciarelli, Hardy / Holzman / Pfeiffer, William Turnbull, Stern, Stanley Tigerman, Venturi & Rauch, George Ranalli, and Jorge Silvetti. Richard Oliver's exhibit displayed drawings by Bohlin & Powell, Chimacoff & Peterson, James Coote, Roger Ferri, Kliment/Halsband, Charles Moore, Needham/McCafferey, Sheer/Torre, and Robert A. M. Stern. The exhibitions only overlapped with one architect: Charles Moore.

The catalogue for the exhibitions was produced as an issue the UK publication *Architectural Design Profiles*.<sup>106</sup> Taking cues from debates in the wake of the Beaux-Arts exhibition, the introduction set the exhibitions as a polemic against Modernism. The writer of the introduction emphasized, "All the drawings shown here transcend the convention for uniformity and minimalism—which are part of an ingrained and self-defeating modern movement sensibility that supposedly guarded against ambiguity with a

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<sup>104</sup> It also traveled to the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles from January 6 until February 5, 1978. Here the two shows were combined.

<sup>105</sup> At the Cooper-Hewitt, it was mounted in the current events gallery, a gallery reserved for rotating exhibitions on contemporary design.

<sup>106</sup> Robert A. M. Stern, Ed. *Architectural Design Profile 6: Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture* (1977).



fine line drafting style that tried to tell it was it really was, but which, to the utter confusion of all but the initiated, appeared to say next to nothing.”<sup>107</sup>

This was certainly at least partly true of Stern’s exhibition. Stern gave three reasons for the exhibition. The first addressed the works aesthetically: It was to “. . . present a diversified selection of architectural drawings which will themselves be beautiful to look at and which will be illustrative of the variety of ways in which architects choose to express their ideas in two dimensions.”<sup>108</sup> The other reasons are pedagogical: to “illustrate the current situation in American architecture by means of drawing,” and “to extend the generally accepted notion of what constitutes an architectural drawing.”

He used this exhibition to argue against Modern architecture. He did this by engaging with the debates in New York between the New York Five (the Whites, which here he termed the “exclusivists,” the “late Modernists”) and the Five on Five (the Greys, which he termed the “inclusivists,” the “Postmodernists”), of which he was one. The Beaux-Arts exhibition was the pivotal moment, he stated; it revealed the “poverty of modern architecture.”

In appealing for a Post-modern architecture, he called for the battle to be played out in drawings. Stern identified a “distrust” of architectural drawings during Modernism, which shifted toward the use of models. Stern locates the reason for this with the triumph of the “polytechnical” moderns, a term he borrows from the historian Joseph Rykwert. This affected a reevaluation of ornament, from which, Stern says, “came the destruction of the *raison d’etre* for the kind of drawings the École fostered: the lavishly embellished

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid*, 381.

<sup>108</sup> Robert A. M. Stern, “Drawing Toward a More Modern Architecture,” *Architectural Design* 47, 6 (1977): 381.

depictions of compositional elements (the plan, the façade, the section), all of them writ large and brilliantly polychromed.”<sup>109</sup> As Stern called for a reconsideration of the history of architecture prior to Modernism, he believed that drawings should, once again, become expressive, and embody the “poetry” of Post-modernism.<sup>110</sup>

Oliver’s show was more didactic. It was meant to educate the public about architectural drawings, addressing different forms of architectural drawings<sup>111</sup> and the process of drawing. For some projects, process sketches were included to show how drawings were used in design.<sup>112</sup>

As with Stern’s exhibition, Oliver’s was critical of Modernism for its rejection of drawing. He situates his exhibition against the tradition of Modernist architectural drawings with the following, “. . . [D]uring the past 50 years architectural drawings have played the role of an austere puritanical midwife, assisting rather colourlessly in the immaculate conception of each Modern building. The drawings of modern architecture have in general portrayed the Idea or the Diagram of a building . . .”<sup>113</sup> He called for richer, more expressive drawings.

But Oliver was also critical of contemporary, Postmodern drawings. His essay in the catalogue struck an instructive tone, as he situated current drawing with a longer

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<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, 383.

<sup>110</sup> That the year in which these three seminal exhibitions took place was the same year that Modernism supposedly died, immediately ties the emergence of Postmodernism to drawings. See Charles Jencks. *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977). See also Ada Louise Huxtable “The Latest Style is ‘Jeweler’s Mechanical’” *The New York Times* (December 25 1977).

<sup>111</sup> Related in Ada Louise Huxtable, “The Fine Points of Drawings,” *The New York Times* (September 25, 1977); 103

<sup>112</sup> Napkin sketches of some of Charles Moore’s projects were included.

<sup>113</sup> Richard B. Oliver, “Drawing Toward a More Modern Architecture,” *Architectural Design* 47, 6 (1977): 446.

history of architectural drawings.<sup>114</sup> In comparison to drawings of previous periods, especially to the drawings of Bertram Goodhue, drawings produced near the time of the exhibition, were still too tied to Modernist tradition; they were still too inexpressive. Oliver made an appeal for Postmodern drawings to express the *feeling* of what the architecture is and that the drawings should, he believed, affect the emotions of those viewing them. In explaining this view, he specifically references Stern's drawings, using them as exemplars for all of the drawings on display. He stated, "Our drawings at the moment, for all the experimentation and sense of reconnection and rediscovery, seem timid at expressing the full richness and resonance of the architecture we are once again beginning to conceive." He continued, "Our drawing styles are not necessarily impoverished, but they certainly don't begin to be truly expressive. . . . But in ways that are symptomatic of the moment for all of us, [the] drawings don't yet describe the atmosphere, the feel of material, the magical aura of light and color . . . One waits . . . to expand our language of expression even further to become, if you will, Radical Draughtsmen."<sup>115</sup>

Despite the lofty goals of these exhibitions as critiques of Modernism and Postmodernism, when the show was reviewed (it was reviewed by Ada Louise Huxtable), attention was focused solely on what it meant for the drawings. The shift to a new form of architecture meant a shift in its representational techniques. She stated, "Revolution or transition—depending on how you read it—require different techniques, which also includes the revival of old ones. With the ideas has come a greater understanding of the expressive flexibility of drawings. In a sense, the medium is the message. . . . [D]rawing

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<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

is being used for its exploratory subtleties. And the drawings themselves clearly indicate the stylistic and conceptual changes that are taking place.”<sup>116</sup> Further, she was careful to emphasize that, “Beyond the suggestion of the reach and ferment of today’s architecture, these examples are often elegant and ravishing product in themselves.”<sup>117</sup>

James Moekema, writing in *Artforum*, also relayed this theme. He recognized that the drawings contain architectural ideas and that they are used in a process. “But,” he states, “drawing offers seductive pleasures of its own quite apart from its power to communicate architectural values—a conflict for both draftsman and viewer that seems particularly acute in an exhibition of such high quality as that at the Drawing Center.”<sup>118</sup>

## THE DRAWING CENTER

The Drawing Center, where one of the two *Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture* exhibitions was held, was an institution integral to the emergence of drawings during this period. Martha Beck, a former curator of drawings at the Museum of Modern Art,<sup>119</sup> opened The Drawing Center on January 15, 1977 in a fifth floor walk-up at 137 Greene Street<sup>120</sup> as the first non-profit arts institution to focus solely on drawings, both contemporary and historic.<sup>121</sup> That it was chosen to be a “Center” reveals its

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<sup>116</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, “The Fine Points of Drawings,” *The New York Times* (September 25, 1977); 103.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> James Moekema, “Drawing Toward Architectural Drawings.” *Artforum* 10, no. 4 (1977): 44–49.

<sup>119</sup> The author tried for three years to interview Martha Beck. Sadly, she had maintained such a low profile that no one knew where to or how to reach her. Efforts to contact her continued until her death in 2014.

<sup>120</sup> In 1987 The Drawing Center moved to its current location at 35 Wooster Street.

<sup>121</sup> Other disciplinary based institutions opened at the time as well, such as Urban Glass in 1977, and PS1 in 1976 for art that could not be contained in other spaces— “uncollectible art”—Brett Littman says, such as installation art or sound based art. Littman interview with author, March 20, 2010. *The Kitchen* was also active, having been founded in 1971 for video art. When it moved to

intentions—it was a non-collecting institution that would hold exhibitions. It was not a museum; it did not have a collection. It was not a gallery; it did not have a roster.<sup>122</sup> As an institution, it had the freedom to have “a fairly fluid understanding of itself without being burdened by [a collection or roster] and having to define a specific pathway through the medium.”<sup>123</sup> This allowed The Drawing Center to constantly reevaluate itself and question how drawings are understood and what is understood as drawing.<sup>124</sup>

Martha Beck had been curator of drawings at the Museum of Modern Art. She worked in the Department of Drawings, which was founded in 1971 as an autonomous curatorial department of the museum.<sup>125</sup> Despite this, Beck was still disillusioned with the second-class status that drawing still had in the museum.<sup>126</sup> She left MoMA to rectify this perceived slight, and started the Drawing Center. It was a fruitful time for non-profits, as funds were made available through the New York State Council on the Arts (NYSCA),

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Wooster Street in SoHo in 1973, it also included spaces for performance and a gallery. During this time, it became the premier venue for avant-garde art in New York. Brett Littman is the current director of The Drawing Center.

<sup>122</sup> The Drawing Center had a unique operation in the art world. Beck wanted to break down the wall between artists and the gallery. As a result, artists were permitted to come to the gallery with their work to be evaluated. Six times per year, a selection of artists’ works would be chosen and a group show would be assembled.

<sup>123</sup> Brett Littman interview with author, March 20, 2010.

<sup>124</sup> This label also designated other differences to museums and galleries. As stated, the Drawing Center “...was established in 1976 to provide opportunities for emerging and under-recognized artists; to demonstrate the significance and diversity of drawings throughout history; and to stimulate public dialogue on issues of art and culture.” See *Drawing Papers 1* (Fall 1999): 15.

<sup>125</sup> In 1964, a Department of Drawings and Prints was founded. By 1971, it was realized that drawings could not be reduced to the working definition of drawings in this department (works in black and white, pastels, and watercolors on paper) and that contemporary drawings were more seriously considered by artists as unique works. It was only after the founding of the Department of Drawings that additional forms of drawings were included. For a short history of drawings at MoMA see, John Elderfield “Drawings,” *The Museum of Modern Art, New York : The History and the Collection*. (New York: H.N. Abrams in association with the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1984), 261-264.

<sup>126</sup> As Littman relates, Beck noted that there was a surge in drawing among conceptual and landscape artists, who had neither funding nor a support system for their projects. Thus, within studio practice, drawing was becoming increasingly important. Beck was seeing that first-hand.

the Department of Cultural Affairs, and the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) to help non-profits move into areas with few cultural venues. It was with these public funds along with some private funding that The Drawing Center began.

Because of the circumstances under which it was founded, in its early years The Drawing Center staked a defensive position in the art world, as it argued for the validity of drawing as its own art form equal to other arts such as painting and sculpture. As Brett Littman, the current director, describes these early years, the point was that “drawings are important, they are legitimate, and there needs to be a place for them.”<sup>127</sup>

The Drawing Center sought to show their diversity. Consequently, shows featured assorted forms of drawing, and different shows featured drawings from different disciplines.<sup>128</sup> This highlighted the cross-disciplinarity of the act of drawing, showing drawings as objects that cross the boundaries between established artistic categories. Even so, The Drawing Center never completely broke the boundaries between all disciplines. This was most evident between architecture and the other arts, as there was never a show displaying drawings from architecture and other visual arts together.<sup>129</sup> There were a number of shows of architectural drawings though.

Seven exhibitions were held from 1977 through 1989. One was held immediately prior to *Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture*. This was *The Drawings of Antonio Gaudi*, displayed from Mar 26 to May 24, 1977. *Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture* was held a few months later from Sept 20 to Nov 6. From June 16

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<sup>127</sup> Littman interview with author.

<sup>128</sup> Approximately six shows were mounted per year.

<sup>129</sup> Originally, the Drawing center defined drawing as works on paper. This was the same position as the Museum of Modern Art. It has shifted over the years to where today, as Littman states, “[W]e think of drawing as an approach to object making or a way to think about objects and more as analog for thinking in general. Drawing as process and as finished object are on equal footing today at the drawing center.” Littman interview with author.

to August 13, 1978 *The Travel Sketches of Louis I. Kahn* was presented. One year later, in 1979, *Visionary Drawings of Architecture and Planning* was mounted from January 20 to March 24. *Great Drawings from the Collection of the RIBA* came to the Drawing Center from April 21 to July 30 1983. *Otto Wagner: Drawings* was held from November 13, 1987 to January 16, 1988. And in 1989, *Inigo Jones: Architectural Drawings* was presented from April 8 to July 22.

The exhibition on the drawings of Antonio Gaudi was the first The Drawing Center mounted that contained historical drawings. It was guest curated by George Collins, who was already an expert on the work of Gaudi, having published the first English language book on the architect and his works in 1960.<sup>130</sup> The book focused primarily on Gaudi's life and his buildings. But in 1977, the Drawing Center offered the opportunity to explore another form of Gaudi's production, his drawings.

The exhibition contained approximately 138 drawings.<sup>131</sup> It was the first exhibition of Gaudi's drawings outside of Spain, and was the largest ever at the time.<sup>132</sup> The works were arranged, as all of the exhibitions at The Drawing Center, around the walls of the one-room gallery. Each drawing had an information panel adjacent to it detailing the project, the medium, and the date. They were hung in order according to Gaudi's biography, from Gaudi's school works through the Santa Coloma de Cervello, a

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<sup>130</sup> George R. Collins, *Antonio Gaudi*, (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960). Collins was to publish 25 additional books and articles on Gaudi throughout his lifetime. He also founded a collection of Gaudi's works at the Art Institute of Chicago, now known as the George R. Collins Archive of Catalan Art and Architecture.

<sup>131</sup> The catalogue lists 138 drawings, though a note accompanies the list stating that for various reasons, some of the drawings listed were not hung in the exhibition.

<sup>132</sup> A series of seven lectures, colloquia, and films on Gaudi's work accompanied the exhibition. See the statement made by the chairman of the Board of Directors of The Drawing Center, Edward H. Tuck's statement at the beginning of the catalogue for *Visionary Drawings of Architecture and Planning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979).

church for the Colonia Güell. They were shown in this order to understand the development of Gaudi's oeuvre through his drawings.

Collins' concern was to show what the drawings revealed about the architectural process. What is most telling is how he shaped his position. As he stated, "The drawings of an architect, in addition to their innate qualities as objects of art, tell us much about his methods of working."<sup>133</sup> Though this seems at odds with The Drawing Center's mission, being mounted at The Drawing Center, in 1977, the works were accepted as art. This was a given, and what Collins thought to argue for was their useful role. This is a telling reversal, influenced by the time in which and the location at which the drawings are shown.

After *Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture*, Collins had the opportunity to curate another exhibition on architectural drawings at The Drawing Center. This was *Visionary Drawings of Architecture and Planning*.<sup>134</sup> This exhibition contained 131 drawings, borrowed from a number of sources. In addition to libraries and museums, drawings came from two galleries and one collection: The André Emmerich Gallery and Ronald Feldman Fine Arts, as well as the collection at the Gilman Paper Company,<sup>135</sup> which was the second largest lender to the exhibition after the Avery Library at Columbia.

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<sup>133</sup> George R. Collins, *The Drawings of Antonio Gaudi* (New York: The Drawing Center, 1977), 12.

<sup>134</sup> Collins was also expert in this field, having written the introduction to *Unbuilt America: Forgotten Architecture in the United States from Thomas Jefferson to the Space Age*. At the time of this exhibition, he was working on a book of visionary planning.

<sup>135</sup> The André Emmerich Gallery lent works by Frederick Kielser. Ronald Feldman Fine Arts lent work of Buckminster Fuller. The Gilman Collection lent works by Peter Cook, Yona Friedman, Ron Herron, and Superstudio.



There was difficulty, though, in locating all the drawings. As Collins tells it, “Many [of the drawings] were apparently retained or discarded by publishers who printed them and did not return them to the designer; often the artists themselves had no idea where the drawings might be. I found one lining a tube in which others had been packed and shipped. In general it can be said that they have not been treasured . . .”<sup>136</sup> This difficulty highlights the general lack of value placed on the drawings themselves. Collins himself struggled to understand this attitude. He emphasized that “. . . many may be as important as built buildings . . .”<sup>137</sup>

It is revealing that Collins describes the architects as artists in this statement. Again, perhaps a function of the venue, it was easier to conceive of architects as artists. It also helped to push the gallery’s agenda of understanding the drawings as art.

While Collins and The Drawing Center, then, believed that the drawings were art and that architects were also perhaps artists, they understood that others did not. This affected the display of the drawings. No conservation work was done to fix any degrading of the drawings that resulted from them being improperly stored. Collins wrote, “[W]e have chosen to present the works here exhibited as far as possible *as is*, that is to say, found—with the mold, paper degeneration, coffee stains, and creases of the hard or abandoned life they have led.”<sup>138</sup> The hope was that “if the public finds them attractive as records and as works of art, it may assist us in our present efforts to find and restore these documents.”<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> George R. Collins, “Forward,” *Visionary Drawings of Architecture and Planning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979).

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

In order to push the public into thinking of the works as art and as worthy of preservation, the center elected to display the drawings in mats and frames, though mat colors and frame colors were not consistent. Also included were some drawings on trace paper, simply hung on the walls with no mounts or frames. Among these were two large drawings by Soleri. Loosely rendered in pencil, they appear to be working drawings. This illustrates the broad understanding of what constitutes drawing and art that this exhibition wanted to project.

While featuring drawings throughout the twentieth century, from Modernism through Postmodernism, and showing virtually every type of drawing that architects produced, the exhibition focused primarily on drawings after about 1960. Even so, one thing that it does make clear is that Modern architecture did not, in fact, abandon drawings as so many tended to claim. The difference is that the Modern drawings in the exhibition tended to be more reserved, more diagrammatic, and primarily monochrome, whereas the later drawings are more exploratory and colorful.

After the exhibition closed at The Drawing Center, it traveled for two years to 15 cities, thanks to the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES), although it was only able to travel in an abridged form. When it was shown at the Baxter Gallery at the California Institute of Technology, only 90 works were included. Omitted were drawings from influential architects such as Richard Neutra, Konrad Wachsmann, Walter Gropius, Hugh Ferriss, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Eric Mendelsohn and Paolo Soleri.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> This information is gathered from John Dreyfuss, "The Architecture of the Visionaries," *Los Angeles Times* (November 13, 1979): 4.

The following exhibition was *The Travel Sketches of Louis I. Kahn*.<sup>141</sup> This exhibition was curated by the historian, Vincent Scully. Ninety one drawings were shown.<sup>142</sup> They were produced from 1913 to 1959. Kahn made the 1913 drawing when he was only 12 years old and is his earliest known drawing. Two drawings were from 1924. The rest began in 1928 and followed Kahn throughout his travels, from his first trip to Europe in 1928, through a trip in 1951 when he went to Italy, Greece and Egypt, to his last trip to France in 1959. The styles and material shift throughout Kahn's life from landscapes and architecture in watercolors and carpenter's pencil to abstract compositions in pen and ink returning to architecture, though rendered in pastels. Despite these differences, Scully clarified how they were supposed to be understood, "This exhibition of the graphic art of Louis I. Kahn . . . is made up of objects which are intense works of art themselves because they were on the whole made by Kahn for themselves."<sup>143</sup>

Kahn's show was, of course, different than the others. Travel sketches do not relate to the process of architectural design as easily as a drawing done specifically for a project. Despite this, this view must be tempered with the knowledge that Kahn was not always mimetically representing the objects he saw. He learned through his drawings, and those drawings influenced his architecture directly or indirectly. Even so, it is easier to see them as works of art in themselves, as they are not, as Scully recognizes, produced

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<sup>141</sup> The Drawing Center was the third stop for the exhibition. It was originally shown at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts from February 10 to March 26, 1978. The first stop of its tour was the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth Texas from April 9 to June 4, 1978. After its time at the Drawing Center, it went to the AIA Foundation in Washington DC and was there from September 22 to December 31, 1978. The Museum of Art at the University of Oregon in Eugene was the next stop from February 18 to March 25, 1979. From April 4 to May 6, 1979 the exhibition was at the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts in Columbus Ohio.

<sup>142</sup> No installation photographs of this exhibition survive.

<sup>143</sup> Vincent Scully, and William Holman. *The Travel Sketches of Louis I. Kahn*. (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1978).

with the intent that they will become something else. This, together with the fact that this show was part of The Drawing Center's exhibitions of architecture, highlights a difficulty in determining precisely what constitutes an architectural drawing and what the status of that drawing is.

The next architectural exhibition was mounted three years later to celebrate The Drawing Center's sixth anniversary. John Harris, then curator at the RIBA Drawings Collection, curated the exhibition with the aid of assistants Jill Lever and Margaret Richardson.<sup>144</sup> Entitled *Great Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, it featured 82 works judged to be the most important drawings held in the RIBA archives. The exhibition was displayed roughly chronologically, beginning with drawings from the late medieval period and ending with the twentieth century. This included drawings from Andrea Palladio, Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, Sir John Soane, Robert Adam, Sir William Chambers, Joseph Paxton, Edwin Lutyens and C. F. A. Voysey. It also included contemporary works by James Stirling, Richard Rodgers, and Norman Foster that had been recently acquired. Drawings from outside of Britain were included as well, such as Etienne-Louis Boullée's design for a metropolitan cathedral, Mies van der Rohe's drawing for Illinois Institute of Technology, and Frank Lloyd Wright's drawing of the Yahara Boat Club in Madison, WI.

Because of the inclusion of non-British architects in the show, Goldberger's review of the exhibition concluded that, "The major point of this exhibition, then, is

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<sup>144</sup> It was Harris who established the Drawings Collection and found it its own space. He was also integral to the creation of the Heinz Gallery at the RIBA, which at the time was the only institutional gallery dedicated solely to the display of architectural drawings. It was designed expressly for that purpose.

certainly not to provide us with a history of British Architecture . . .”<sup>145</sup> It was an exhibition expressly shown to stress the drawings as works of art in and of themselves.

The next architectural exhibition was mounted to mark the tenth anniversary of The Drawing Center. *Otto Wagner: Drawings* traveled to The Drawing Center from Vienna, where the exhibition was curated by Otto Antonia Graf, a Wagner expert. One hundred drawings from the Otto Wagner-Archiv at the Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna were chosen. Though there is no explicit statement about the status of drawings, it is clear from the catalogue that the drawings were most important. One page focused on the notable buildings that Wagner designed, giving only a chronological list. In contrast, 90 pages were reproductions of nearly all of the drawings, most of which were in color. The exhibition traveled to the University of Oregon’s Museum of Art, the University Art Museum of the University of Minnesota, and the Wight Art Galley at the University of California, Los Angeles.

For the final architectural exhibition of Beck’s tenure,<sup>146</sup> John Harris returned as the curator. *Inigo Jones Architectural Drawings* was mounted with 113 drawings by Jones, in dark wood frames, again with cream mats. The drawings were organized in groups around the walls of the space. The catalogue of the exhibition was a full-length book entitled *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*.<sup>147</sup> Authored by John Harris and Gordon Higgott, the book attempted to use the exhibition and his drawings in order to trace Jones’ history. The drawings were not reduced to that history, but instead gave rise

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<sup>145</sup> Paul Goldberger, “These British Drawings are a Royal Feast for the Eye,” *The New York Times* (May 1, 1983): H29.

<sup>146</sup> After Beck left, there was a noticeable disinterest in architectural drawings. The next show was not mounted until the 2000s.

<sup>147</sup> John Harris and Gordon Higgott. *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*. (London and New York: P. Wilson for A. Zwemmer Ltd. In association with The Drawing Center, 1989).

to an understanding of it, for his drawings were the only material presented with respect to his practice. What could be learned about Jones and his development, then, was gleaned solely from the drawings that were illustrated.

The fact that institutions such as the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna mounted exhibitions at The Drawing Center rather than in a museum speaks to the stature that drawings and the Center had during this period. Shown at The Drawing Center, there would be no question about the status of drawings as art. Museums or other institutions might not have the same view of drawings, choosing instead to emphasize process or some other quality. But even if there were some emphasis placed on different qualities at The Drawing Center, unlike at other institutions, it was understood that here the drawings were first and foremost artworks.

In all of these exhibitions, the drawings were shown similarly. They were all framed and mounted and hung on walls. In *The Drawings of Antonio Gaudi*, pieces were all mounted in cream-colored mats inside low-profile, white frames. For *Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture*, the same frames were used, but mats were different colors and different sizes depending on the work. Cream mounts and dark wood frames were chosen for *Great Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects*. The same cream mats and white frames were used again for *Otto Wagner: Drawings*, while cream mats and dark wood was again chosen for *Inigo Jones Architectural Drawings*.

Even though the organizations and the goals of the exhibitions varied, a consistent theme was that the drawings were art. Matted, framed and hung, they were presented as unique works of art on paper. One exception was already noted. In *Visionary Drawings of*

*Architecture and Planning* some drawings on trace paper were simply hung on the walls with no frames or mats. Collins says nothing about this distinct approach in his catalogue, and no reviewers or critics discuss them—it is as if it made no difference. Perhaps this was because of The Drawing Center’s assertion as to the status of all drawings; or perhaps it was because the tensions in this form of display had not yet been settled. But it is far easier to understand those works, with its tears and battered edges, as drawings used in some process, and hence, under the dichotomy set by these exhibitions, as not yet art.

These exhibitions were making the claim that the drawings have value that is not dependent on buildings. They were also grappling with the questions of where architectural drawings lie in relation to other types of drawings and what role they are supposed to play.

## CONCLUSION

Each of these exhibitions and publications promoted architectural drawings, though they did so in different ways. *Education of an Architect* drew attention to architectural drawings within the process of design, and showed that drawings could be the end goal of an intellectual process of design. With *Five Architects*, the styles of drawings produced at the Cooper Union and by the New York Five were brought into discourses on Modernism. The Beaux-Arts exhibition gave new impetus to Postmodern architects, and architectural drawings were used in critiques of Modern architecture as the site of exploration for Postmodernism.

This importance of architectural drawings was reinforced again in the exhibition *200 Years of American Architectural Drawings* and the founding of The Drawing Center.

The exhibition *America Now: Drawing Toward a More Modern Architecture* reinforced this understanding, as Stern's exhibit was explicitly mounted to reveal the debates raging regarding drawings. Oliver's exhibit was different. Since his exhibition was at The Drawings Center, an institution opened explicitly for the promotion of drawings as artworks, his exhibition showed drawings as works in themselves, without reference to debates in architecture. His exhibition, while pedagogical, was a call for contemporary architects to push drawings even further.

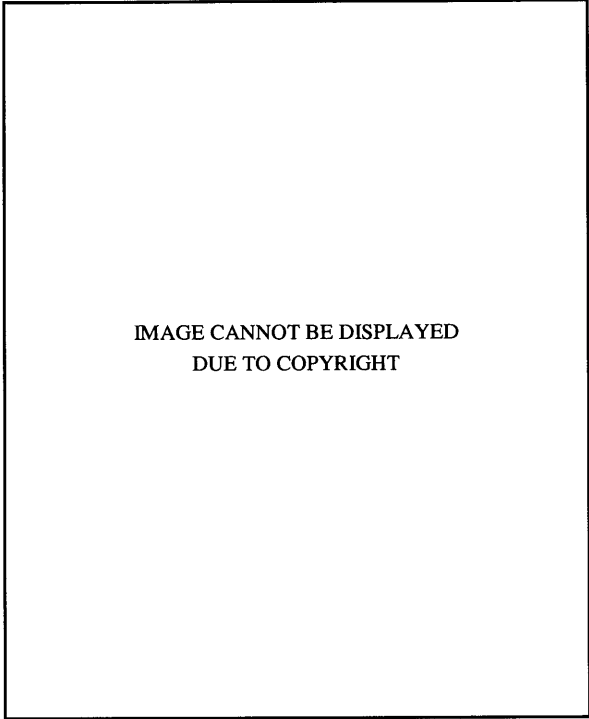
In each of these cases, drawings were shown as individual works, without explicit reference to buildings. The community outside of architectural practice began to consider what these events meant for the status of the drawings. They were starting to become understood as art.

These exhibitions and publications shifted thinking about architectural drawings; they began to be seen not only as useful tools, but also as works with their own merits. This laid the foundation for an understanding of architectural drawings as autonomous objects. However, it was only once collectors began to turn their attention to architectural drawings that this understanding would fully develop.

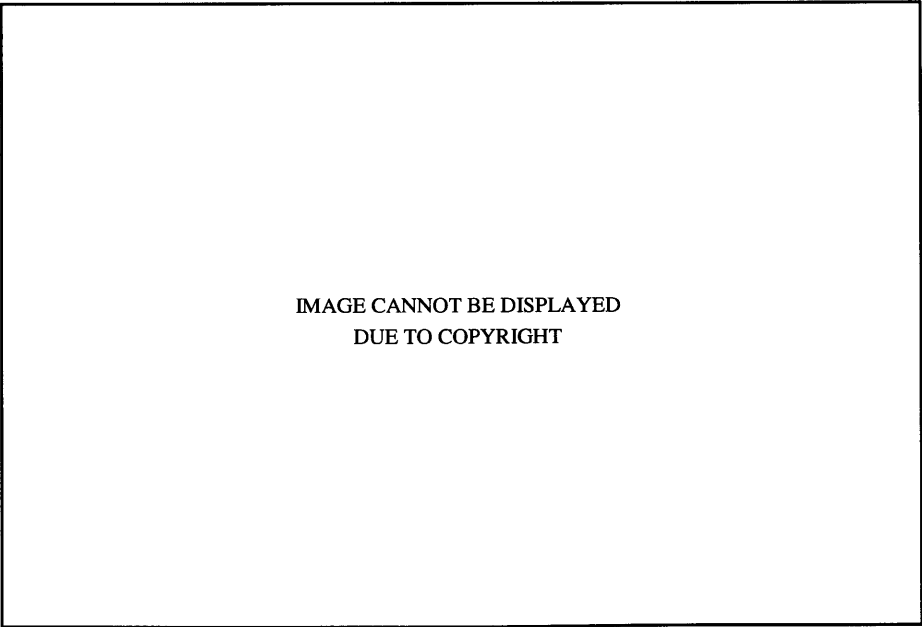


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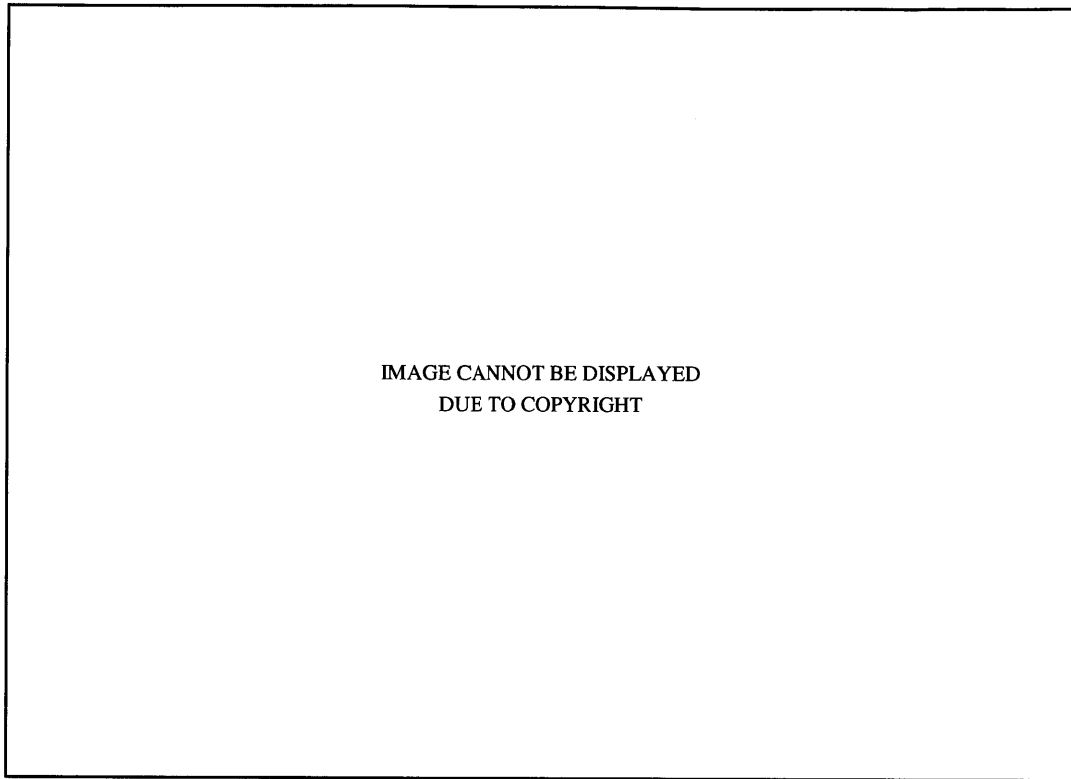
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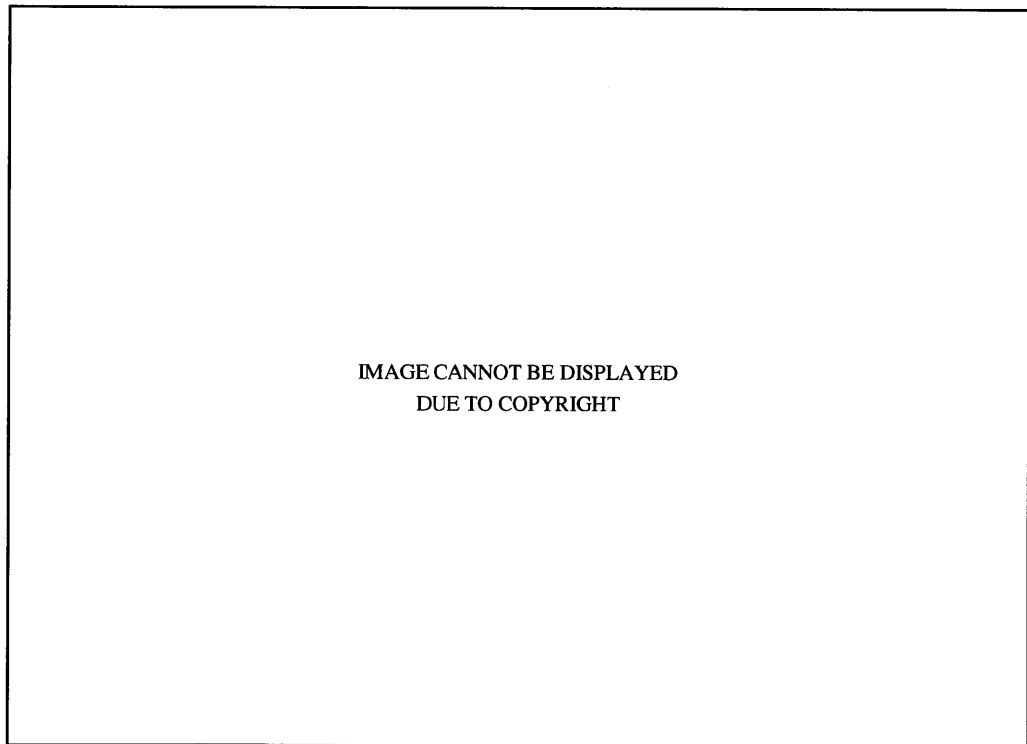
***The Architecture of the École des Beaux Arts, 1975, MoMA. Installation.***  
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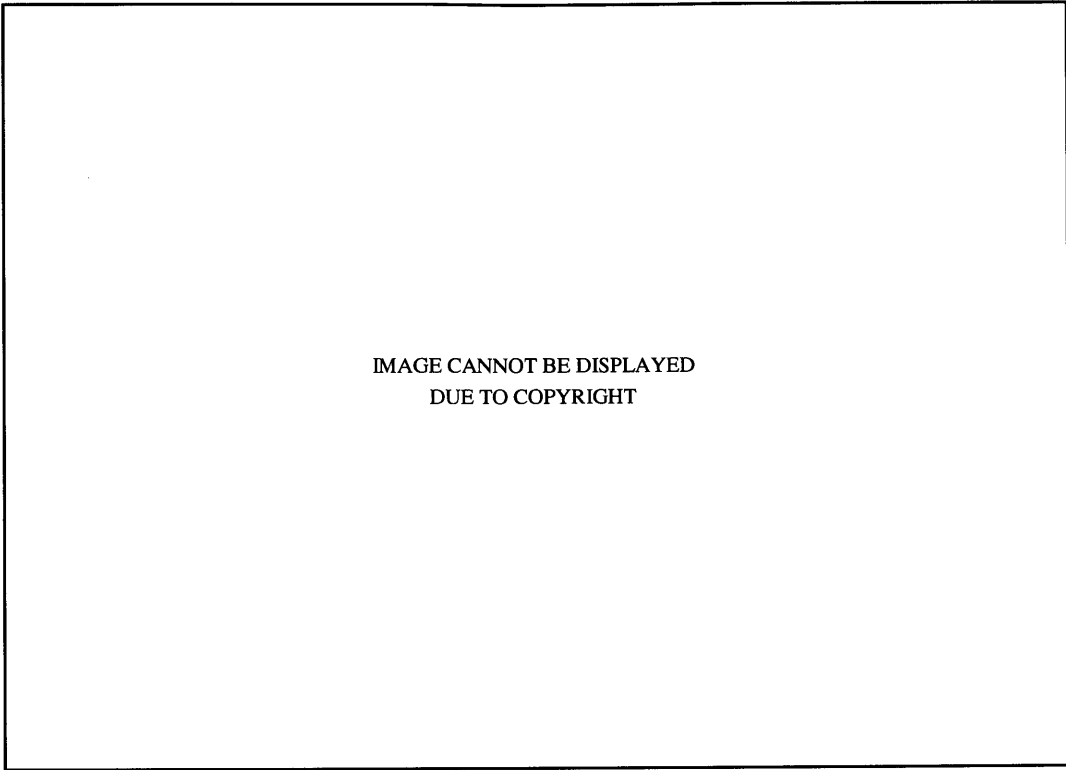
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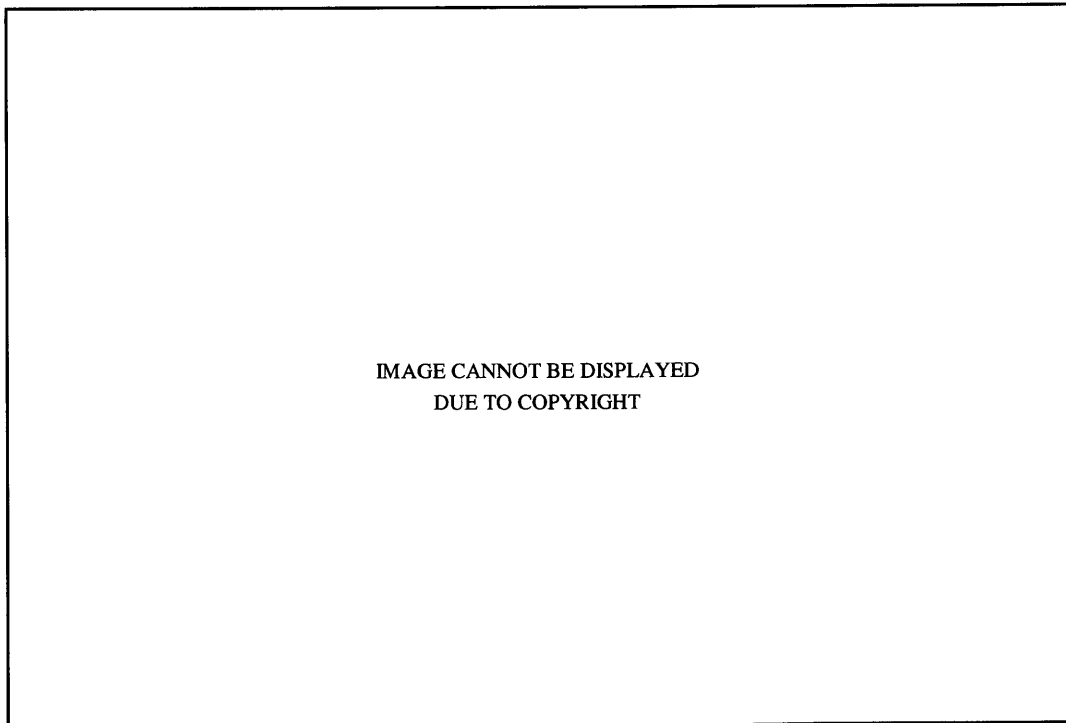
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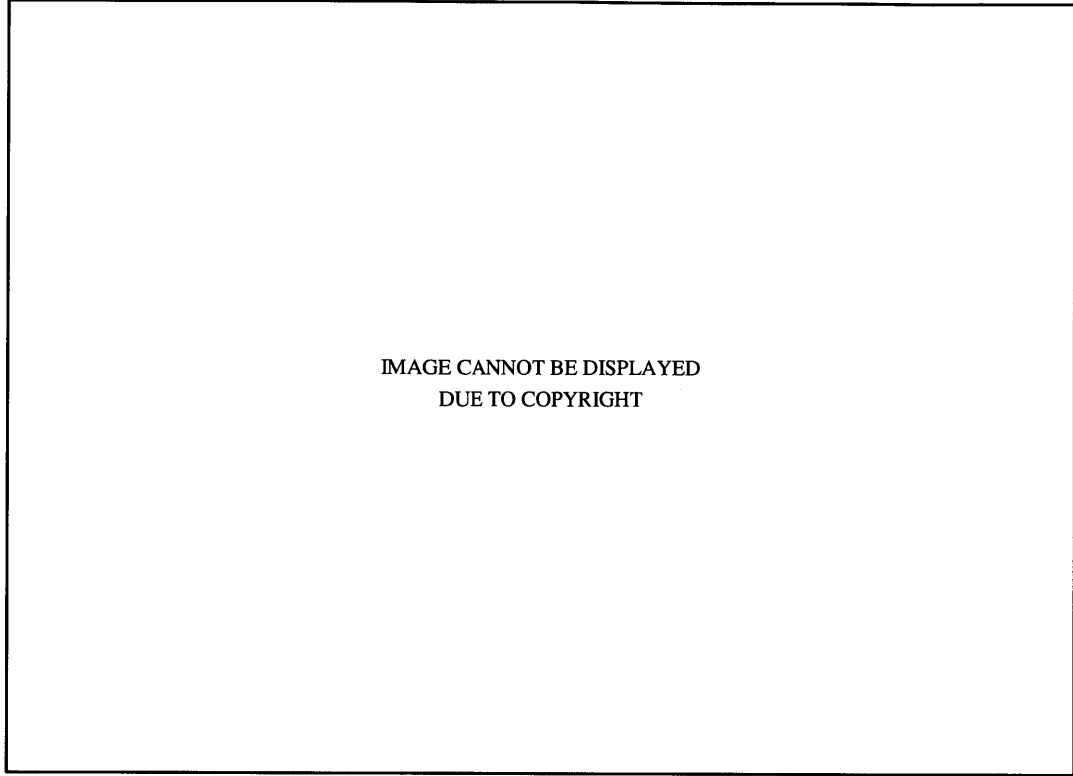
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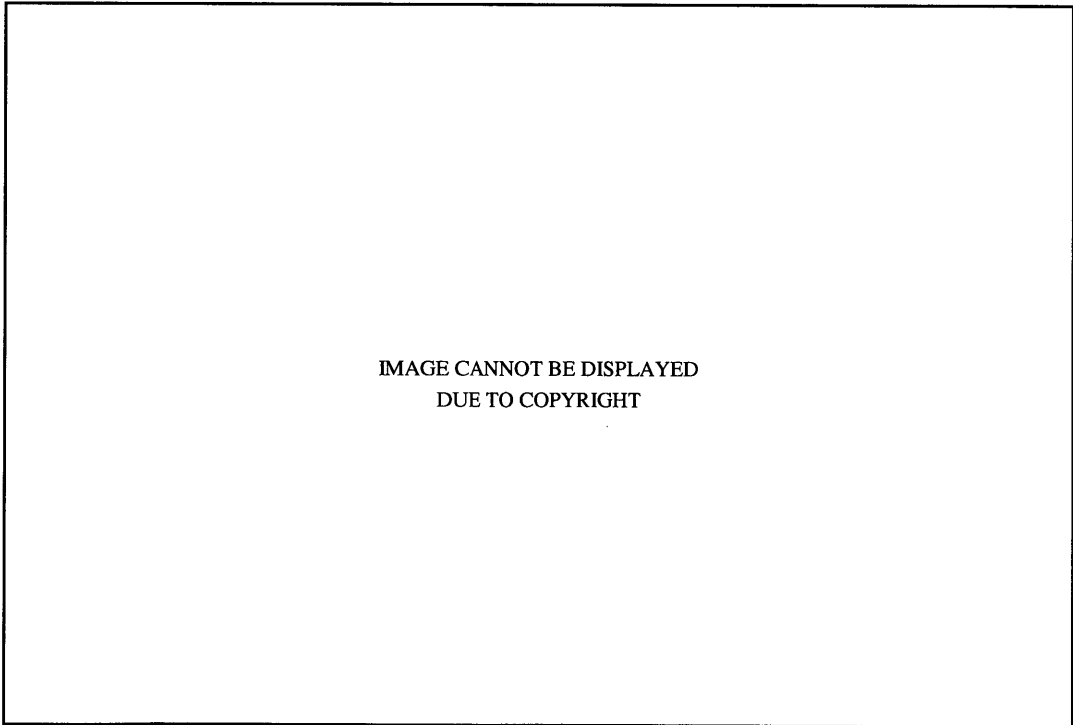
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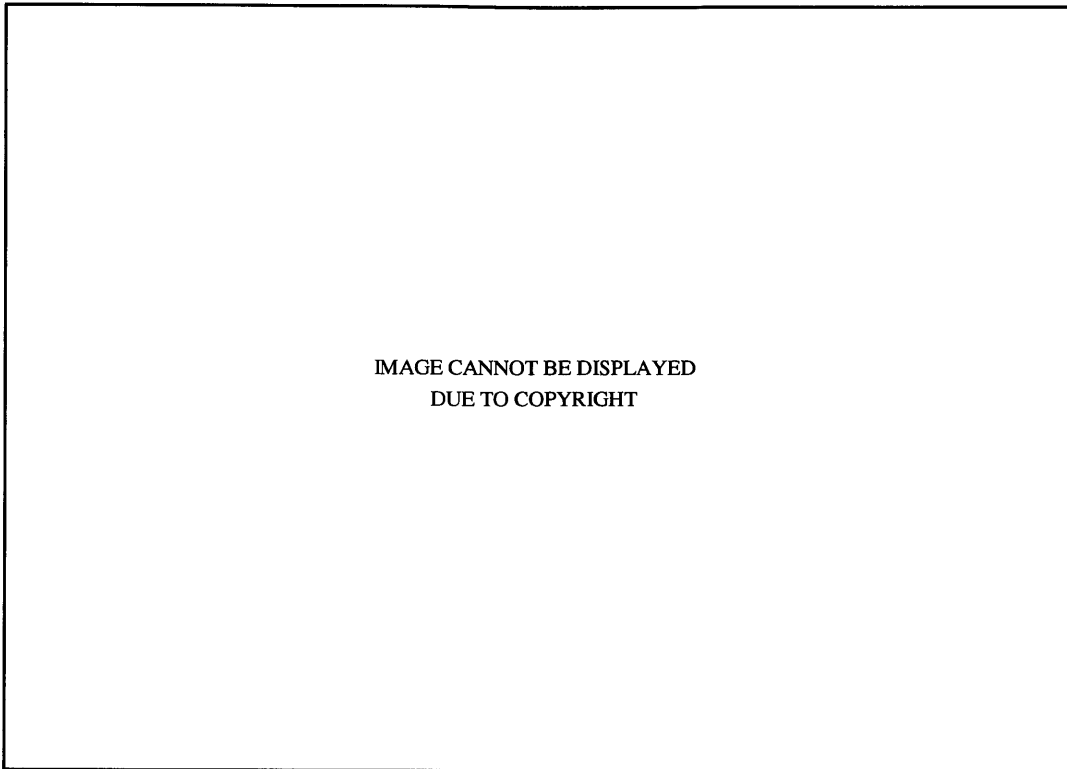
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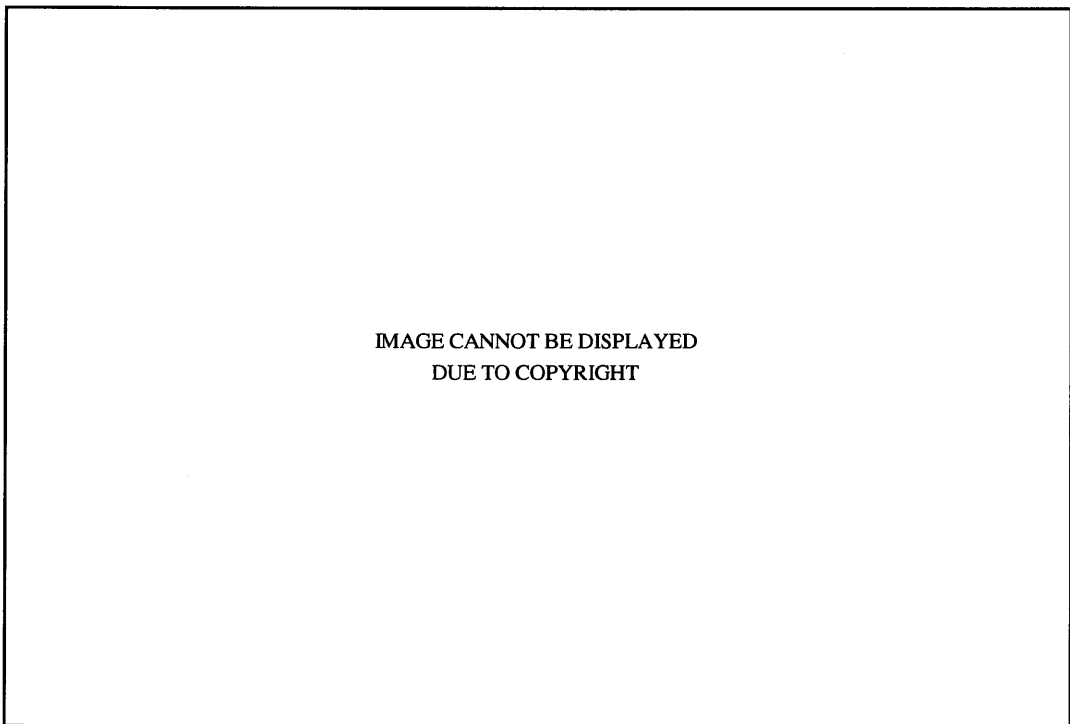
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***200 Years of American Architectural Drawing, 1977, The Cooper-Hewitt Museum. Installation.***  
Image courtesy of The Cooper-Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum.



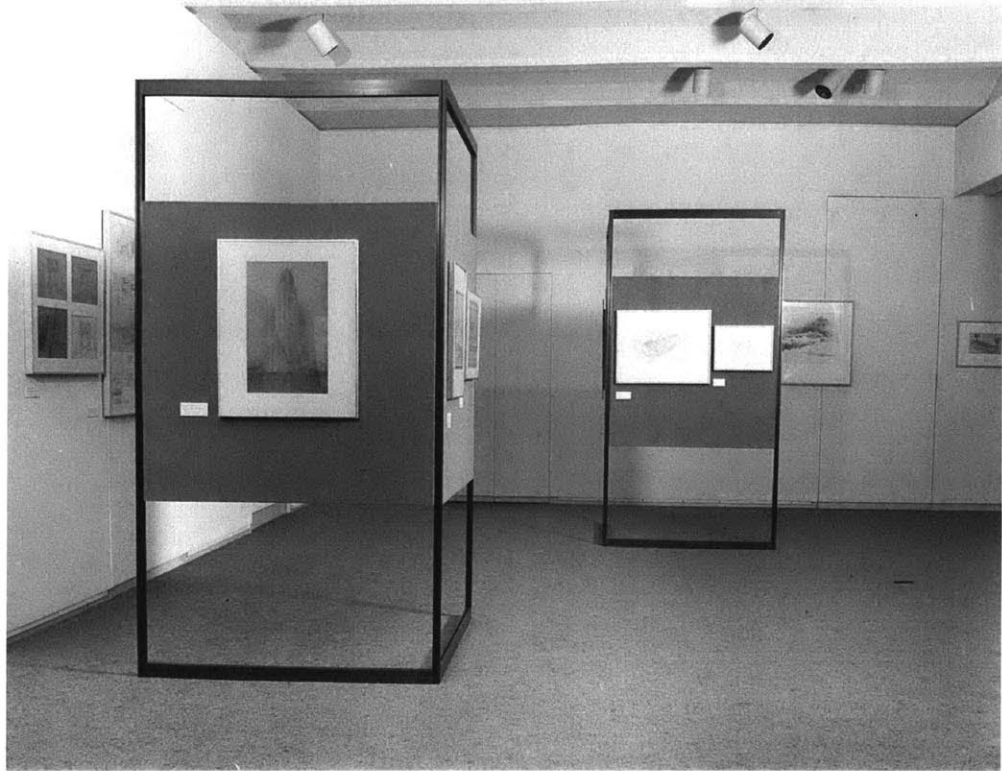
***200 Years of American Architectural Drawing, 1977, The Cooper-Hewitt Museum. Installation.***  
Image courtesy of The Cooper-Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum.



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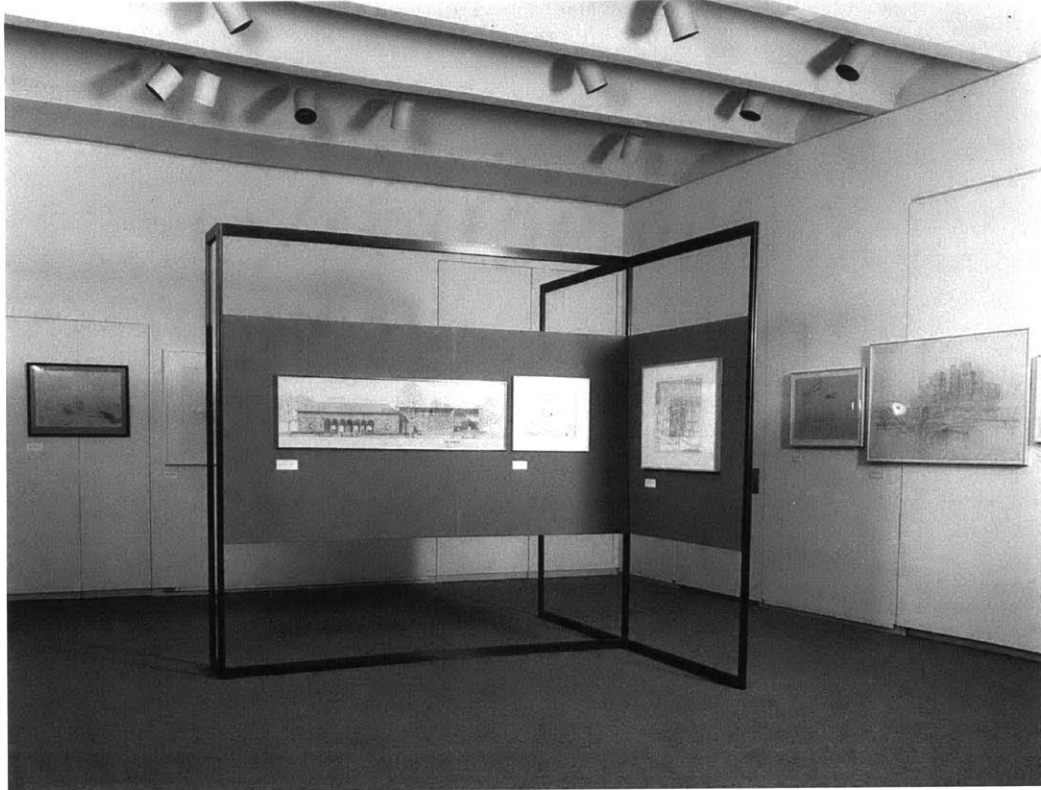


***200 Years of American Architectural Drawing, 1977, The Cooper-Hewitt Museum. Installation.***  
Image courtesy of The Cooper-Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum.



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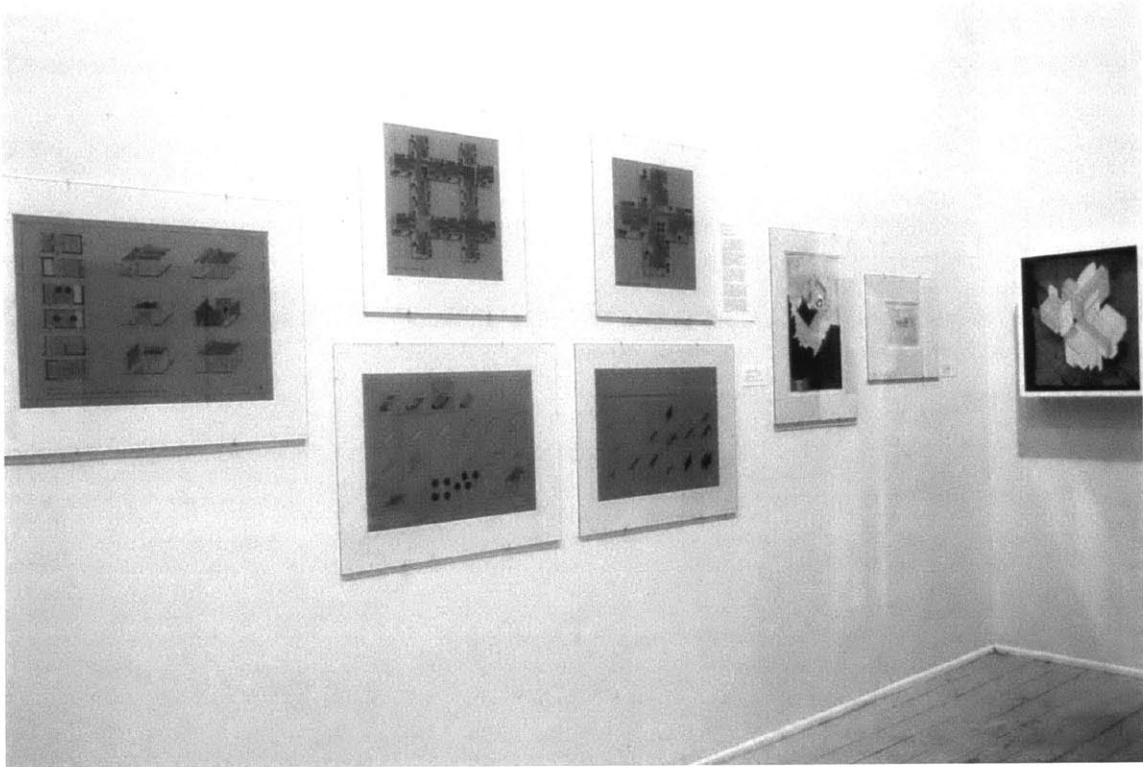
*200 Years of American Architectural Drawing, 1977, The Cooper-Hewitt Museum. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Cooper-Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum.



*Drawings for a More Modern Architecture, 1977, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*Drawings for a More Modern Architecture, 1977, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



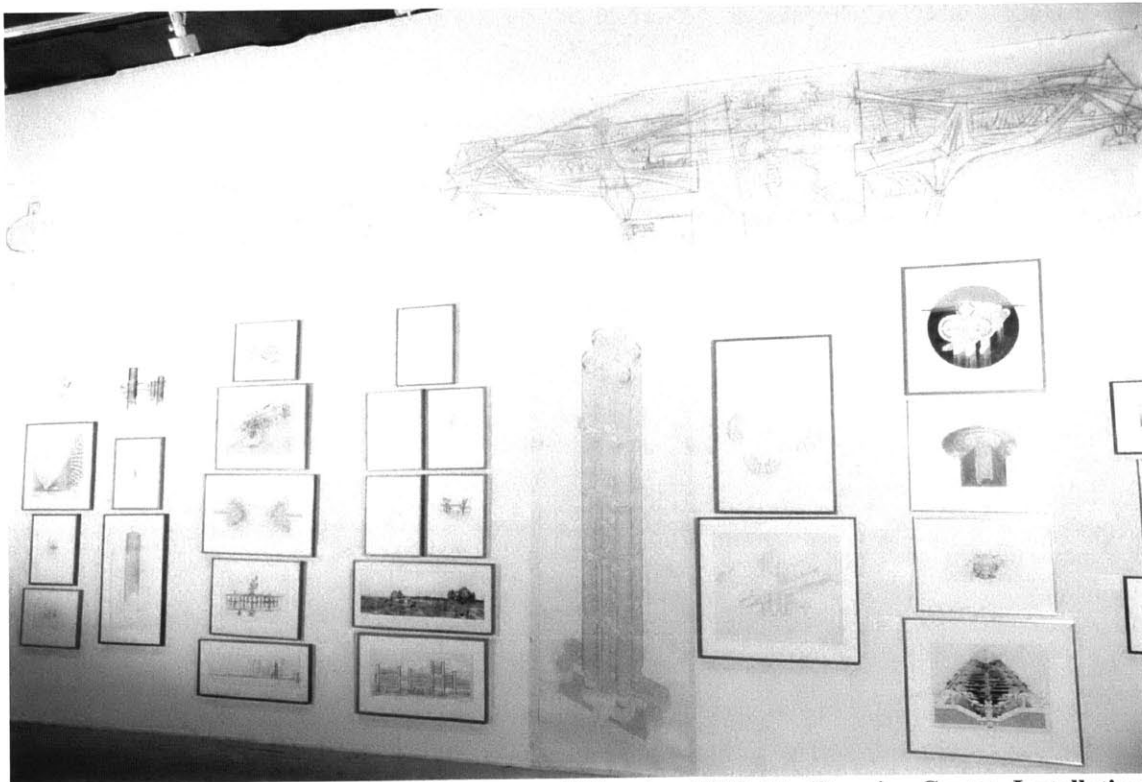
*Drawings for a More Modern Architecture, 1977, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



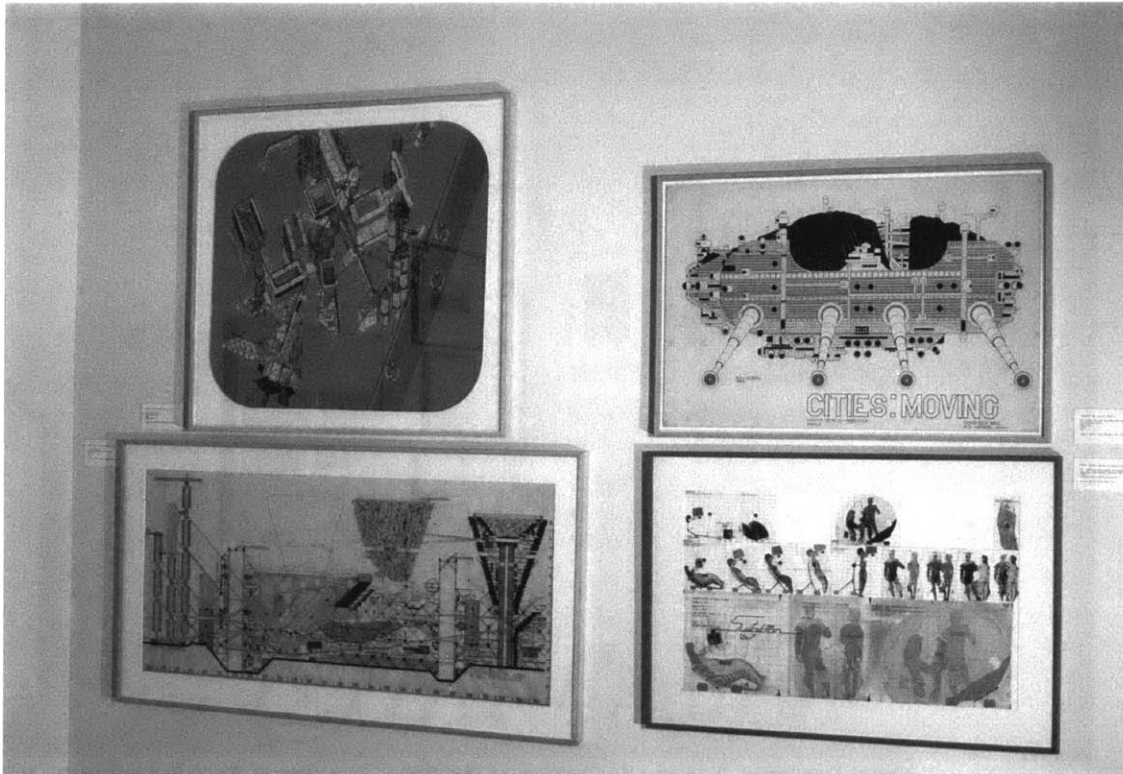
*The Drawings of Antonio Gaudi, 1977, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*The Drawings of Antonio Gaudi, 1977, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*Visionary Drawings of Architecture and Planning, 1979, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*Visionary Drawings of Architecture and Planning, 1979, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*Great Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1983, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*Great Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1983, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*Otto Wagner: Drawings, 1988, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*Inigo Jones: Architectural Drawings, 1989, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.



*Inigo Jones: Architectural Drawings, 1989, The Drawing Center. Installation.*  
Image courtesy of The Drawing Center.

## CHAPTER 2

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### FOUNDATIONS FOR ART: THE AUTONOMY OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

“What has happened is that suddenly . . . architectural drawings have become an ardently sought after commodity.”<sup>148</sup>

—Victoria Donahoe, *Philadelphia Inquirer*

“. . . The next hot property may well be drawings by the major designers . . .”<sup>149</sup>

—Thomas B. Hess, *New York Magazine*

When architectural drawings began to be valued for qualities intrinsic to them, some saw them as collectible items. As collectible items, they were pulled further into the tension between process and art. They were valued for their reflection of ideas in a final product (such as a building), they were prized for their artistic merits, and they were appreciated for various combinations of the two. Appreciating them for these inherent qualities resulted in their being perceived as autonomous objects of art.

Initial steps were taken in this regard when some art collectors began to see merit in architectural drawings. Likewise, initial steps were taken to test whether selling architectural drawings was a viable activity. The result was that architectural drawings

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<sup>148</sup> Victoria Donahoe, “Architectural Drawings Suddenly Sought-After Items,” *Philadelphia Inquirer* (December 25, 1977).

<sup>149</sup> Thomas B. Hess, “Drawn and Quartered,” *New York Magazine* (October 10, 1977): 72.



began to be perceived as art. Through this, many debates about architecture and architectural drawings arose.

This chapter reveals these formative stages. They were rife with conflicting motives, thoughts, and opinions about architectural drawings. There is no clear narrative to follow. For this reason, this chapter explores four beginnings, each of which promoted architectural drawings as something other than objects within the design process in a different way. The first involves a collector, Barbara Pine, who early on saw value in collecting contemporary architectural drawings. The second is an architect and collector-turned-dealer, Judith York Newman. She opened the first gallery dealing solely in architectural prints and drawings. The third is an institution, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), where the first sale show of contemporary architectural drawings was held. And the fourth is the Gilman corporate collection that became the backbone of one of the most important archives of architectural drawings of this period.

Before examining the New York market it is valuable to discuss some stirrings of a market for architectural drawings in Chicago. In early 1967, a sale exhibition was held at the Richard Feigen Gallery.<sup>150</sup> To date, nothing has been written about this exhibition from a historical perspective. There is no reference to it in Feigen's memoir, *Tales from the Art Crypt*,<sup>151</sup> and there was no mention of it even in contemporary press. Indeed, there is little evidence of its existence, save for scattered surviving catalogues held in library

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<sup>150</sup> Richard Feigen has also related that there was a show that the gallery did in their New York location on visionary architecture. Sadly, this catalog is no longer available anywhere, nor are archival materials for either of these exhibitions. They are, Feigen says, "buried somewhere inaccessible now some 46 years later, as are those for a visionary architecture show we did in New York, perhaps in 1965." (Richard Feigen correspondence with author, September 24, 2013).

<sup>151</sup> Richard Feigen, *Tales from the Art Crypt: The painters, the museums, the curators, the collectors, the auctions, the art* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000).

collections. Entitled *Architectural Drawings*, it took place from February 13 to March 11 at 226 East Ontario Street.

Because the Feigen Gallery was a gallery focused on fine art, there was concern about whether architectural drawings would be accepted as a new kind of collectible item. This is plainly evident in the introduction to the catalogue. Lotte Drew-Bear, director of the gallery, begins with an admission: “An exhibition of architectural drawings may strike you as strange—strange, that is, as a major offering in the Richard Feigen Gallery.”<sup>152</sup> Since there were no galleries that specialized in architectural drawings, her statement can also be interpreted as implying that it would likely be viewed as strange because of its content, not simply because it is at the Feigen Gallery.

This statement also serves to construct a rhetorical position against which to argue. The presence of architectural drawings may seem unusual, but since they were being shown, their inclusion needed to be justified. Drew-Bear appeals to history to argue for the validity of this material. Adding historical weight, she points to the Old Masters:

“ . . . [P]ainters, sculptors, and draughtsmen have made this kind of drawing throughout all of art history. One need only recall the building of St. Peter’s in Rome to note the labors of painters and sculptors in the realm of architecture. Definitely, the drawings of Bramante, Raphael, and Michelangelo for various aspects of the huge edifice have great value and interest in the development and refinement of their work. It may seem like stressing the point, but one can think of many other great draughtsmen who were much concerned with architectural form: Leonardo da Vinci, Albrecht Dürer, Giambattista Piranesi. It is with this somewhat neglected side of drawings in mind that we present this exhibition of architectural drawings ranging from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries.”

Drew-Bear appeals to art history in order to bring architectural drawings into its purview. She identifies architectural drawings as a subset of subject matter that artists deal with, and as such should also be considered works of art. This type of correlation

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<sup>152</sup> Lotte Drew-Bear in Richard Feigen Gallery, *Architectural Drawings*. Published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same name, shown at the Richard Feigen Gallery from February 13 to March 11, 1967.

recurs throughout the history of shows focusing on historical material. References were often made to artists whose hand, quality, and value were not in doubt—in this case, the Old Masters.

Here, “Old Master” subsumed the “architectural.” The drawings are less appreciated for their architectural qualities and more because of their alliance with the Old Masters. They become Old Master drawings, which happen to be of architecture.

As was the case for most galleries that dealt with architectural drawings, the pieces were viewed more as a subset of established categories of art than as an autonomous art form. Since the value of architectural drawings was neither assured nor apparent, there was a need to appeal to the already established categories of art history to even consider the possibility that these drawings could have cultural value similar to other types of drawings.

The works in the exhibition were widely varied. There were 39, ranging in date from 1590 to 1966 and ranging in medium from pen-and-ink and wash to magic marker and black line print collage. They ranged in type from sketches to studies to finished presentation drawings, and ranged in subject matter from buildings and architectural elements such as fireplaces and ceilings to decorative design and furniture. Some major architects and artists represented in this exhibition were Piranesi, Delafosse, and Brenna, as well as projects from architects Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Frederick Kiesler, and Skidmore, Owings & Merrill.

In a sale at a fine art gallery, including decorative designs in the show is easily understood. They often have qualities or deal with subjects that are normatively artistic, such as floral designs, narrative scenes, and decoration. In addition, the inclusion of these

works likely had economic motives. There was already a growing market in London, and many institutions in the U.S., most notably the Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>153</sup> were expanding their decorative design collections.

Furniture drawings, though, were commonly included in exhibitions of architectural drawings because of their link to an architect. But in this exhibition, Drew-Bear's introduction is an appeal to view the drawings as another form of artistic practice.

Assessing the success of this exhibition is extremely difficult since any records of number of sales and prices have been lost. Nonetheless, the show was important to the general emergence of architectural drawings as collectible objects in the United States.

This is the only available evidence of a sale exhibition of architectural drawings in the U.S. before 1975. It was not until six years later that a Chicago transplant in New York succeeded in broaching the subject of architectural drawings as collectible objects again.

## **BARBARA PINE**

One of the early collectors of contemporary architectural drawings was Barbara Pine. A native of Chicago, Pine studied architectural history at Northwestern University. It would be tempting to place her at the Feigen Gallery during the exhibition's opening, but there is no evidence to support such a claim and when interviewed, she did not recall being there. She left Chicago in 1963 and moved to New York,<sup>154</sup> where she quickly became

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<sup>153</sup> At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, both A. Hyatt Mayor and John McKendry were integral to building the collections there of decorative design as well as some theater designs and a few architectural works.

<sup>154</sup> Her move to New York coincided with the 1964/5 New York World's Fair, where her husband's company ran the food services. Barbara Pine interview with author, November 27, 2012.

involved in the art world, collecting contemporary and modern art. It was during her involvement with art in New York that her idea to collect architectural drawings matured.

Pine's collection is fairly well known today. It has been exhibited five times.<sup>155</sup>

The idea to collect architectural drawings developed while on a tour sponsored by the Architecture League of New York in the early 1970s to view some murals that had recently been completed in Princeton, New Jersey. The guide was an architect, Michael Graves, and the murals were his works. Pine was struck by the quality of the murals Graves had painted and, knowing that he was an architect, it occurred to her that his drawings for architecture projects would likely be of similar quality. She thought this would be a perfect start to an architectural drawing collection. At the end of the tour, Pine approached Graves to ask if he would sell some architectural drawings. She said he declined, indicating he was not comfortable selling them. This is ironic because Graves is now known for having sold his drawings. In fact, he is often remembered as the first to have done so. The reasons for this will become evident in chapter four. But, at this time, there was no consciousness within contemporary architectural practice of the value of drawings outside of practice. For many architects, as with Graves, drawings were seen as records of ideas that matured into a work that would be built. The drawings were not

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<sup>155</sup> The collection was shown first in the winter of 1985-1986 at the Neuberger Museum, State University of New York, Purchase. Next it was displayed at the Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University from January 16 through March 1, 1987 in the exhibition *Architect's Drawings from the Collection of Barbara Pine*. The exhibition then traveled to the UCLA Wight Gallery. There was a third exhibition at the University of California, Los Angeles art gallery before it was absorbed into the Hammer Museum. From June 22 through August 5, 1989 an exhibition was held at the Federal Reserve Board Building in Washington D.C. entitled *From Beaux-Arts to Postmodern: Architect's Drawings from the Collection of Barbara Pine*. And lastly, in 2005, an exhibition was mounted at the Soane Museum in London, *Wright to Gehry: Drawings from the Collection of Barbara Pine*.

believed to be the desired public object; the building was. As a result, Pine did not have a very auspicious beginning to collecting.

It is important to understand the events that led Pine to collect architectural drawings. Her impetus to collect was primarily derived from her love of drawings and the relationship they embody between ideas and production. They are, she says, “the first translation of an idea into something tangible.”<sup>156</sup> She was already an art collector. She had been collecting paintings and sculpture, and had an interest in work on paper. Among the works she already had purchased were some prints and drawings. In an interview with Deborah Nevins, Pine recalls that she had bought some prints of Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, and had also purchased drawings by Sam Francis from the 1950s and Jim Dine from the 1960s. Thus, while she was no stranger to the collection of drawing, her collection did not have an architectural component at this time.

Pine was also a member of what was then the Junior Council at the Museum of Modern Art. The Junior Council was a form of members club. This council is addressed in greater depth later in this chapter, when the discussion turns to a key exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art. But, it is important to note here that this group had access to the members’ cafeteria and a gallery space in the penthouse of the museum. The Penthouse was effectively the members’ clubhouse. In the Penthouse gallery, Pine recalls, was an exhibition mounted by Martha Beck. Pine recalls the name of this exhibition as *Notations*, and Margaret Richardson, in her introduction to the 2005 exhibition of Pine’s collection, *Wright to Gehry*, held at the Sir John Soane Museum,

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<sup>156</sup> Interview Barbara Pine by Deborah Nevins, October 1986.

takes Pine at her word.<sup>157</sup> However, there is no surviving archive, nor is there mention of an exhibition by this title in the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition list. This exhibition was most likely *Works on Paper*, held in the Penthouse from February 25 to May 24, 1974 and listed in the archives as curated by Martha Beck.<sup>158</sup> This exhibit included musical notations, watercolors inspired by music, opera costume designs, a project for a performance, and architectural drawings by Hans Hollein and Walter Pichler.<sup>159</sup>

Before founding the Drawings Center (see previous chapter), Beck worked in the Department of Painting and Sculpture at MoMA. In 1971, MoMA established the Department of Drawings as an autonomous curatorial department. It was here that Beck first developed an interest in referential works on paper, and this influenced the exhibition that Pine recalls. Pine specifically remembers the impression the architectural drawings left, mostly because they were framed and hung on the wall. For her, this signaled them as art.

There was tension in this exhibition of which Pine was surely aware. On one hand, the architectural drawings were seen as notation—a functional symbol that refers to something else. On the other hand, because of their framing, they were also seen as having autonomous objecthood. The frame delimits a boundary between the drawing and

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<sup>157</sup> Richardson writes, “. . . and in New York in the same year a penthouse show called ‘Notations’ at MoMA [was] organized by Martha Beck. . .” Margaret Richardson, “Introduction,” *Wright to Gehry: Drawings from the Collection of Barbara Pine* (Britain: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2005), 7. The claim that the exhibition was the 1974 exhibition *Works on Paper*, rather than the early exhibition that Pine remembers, is justified since it is the only evidence of a show with Hollein's work that was held at the Museum of Modern Art. That Martha Beck also curated the show but is not credited in the Penthouse shows before this one, reinforces that this is most likely the exhibition that Pine saw.

<sup>158</sup> See Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.87.

<sup>159</sup> See the press release for this exhibition.

[http://www.moma.org/pdfs/docs/press\\_archives/5089/releases/MOMA\\_1974\\_0020\\_18.pdf?2010](http://www.moma.org/pdfs/docs/press_archives/5089/releases/MOMA_1974_0020_18.pdf?2010) (accessed March 5, 2014).

what lies beyond. It creates a barrier that cuts the work off from its referents while at the same time creating logic internal to it. The tension here between the drawings as something in itself and the drawing as referential to something yet to come is played out in Pine's Collection.

Pine's turn toward architectural drawings was influenced by another factor as well. She noted the abundance of conceptual art drawings in the New York galleries. She found these noteworthy, but did not like that discussion and contemplation were needed before they could be appreciated. To Pine, the reaction to architectural drawings was more immediate than conceptual art and therefore more appealing to her. This thinking is precisely what inspired the formation of one of the foremost collections of architectural drawings in the world—the Gilman collection, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Though Graves said no to Pine's initial request, she was determined to acquire some of his works. In the meantime, though, she entered into dialogue with other architects. Another member of the junior council, Henry Smith-Miller,<sup>160</sup> was an architect working for Richard Meier. Through Smith-Miller, Pine was introduced to Meier. In 1973, she made her first purchase—a Meier drawing. It was created for the 1967 David and Anita V. Hoffman House at 185 Georgica Road in East Hampton, New York. Upon first glance, it is a fairly unremarkable, sparse axonometric drawing on yellow trace paper. Its only quality that draws attention is its size in relation to its content. It is large, while the content seems lacking. It is roughly two feet wide by two feet high and the page is lightly rendered. The general composition is off-center. The uppermost corner of the

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<sup>160</sup> Smith-Miller is presently partner in the firm Smith-Miller + Hawkinson Architects in New York City.



house just fits the page, which results in the drawing looking like it was poorly planned. It consists of more blank trace than lines. There are no textures applied. The landscape is indicated through the lightest lines on the page, and only in broad geometric shapes. What looks to be the plot lines are artificially placed, as the actual extents of the plot are far larger than what is shown. It is signed and stamped with the architect's stamp: "Richard Meier, Architect, 56 East 83<sup>rd</sup> Street, New York," in the lower right corner.

A more detailed look reveals that the drawing is actually very considered. The composition is centered on the entrance to the house, around which the rest of the composition radiates. The axonometric technique shows the starkness of the exterior walls. Though mass and weight are difficult to perceive, the drawing creates the impression of the large size and imposing character of the walls. To the left, very delicately, rises the chimney above the corner of the roof, kept in contact with the main mass of the house only by the smallest wall. Most of the windows are hidden, as is the rear of the house. In the building, the rear of the house is where the massive forms described in the drawing begin to break down into smaller and subtler shapes. The parts that can be seen in the drawing that effectively break up the massing of the building and walls have been rendered at a 60-degree angle. They occupy the least amount of visual weight in the composition. That they still appear, however small, indicates that while massive geometric shapes are employed, there is also a play with the manipulation and deconstruction of them.

It is a working drawing. It does not represent the final form of the building. In fact, the entire massing of the finished building is more complex than what is represented in the drawing. This is most obvious through a quick analysis of the roofline. In the

drawing, the roof is one continuous, flat plane. In the built work, the roofline over the main living space has been raised to differentiate volumetrically the living space from the rest of the house. The result is a break of the roofline, which produces a more complex composition. A window has been installed in the resulting wall at the raised area. In the drawing there is a cutout in the wall that intersects with the walkway, which does not exist in the actual building.

Where the drawing does correspond to the building is in the effect created by the tension between the flat planes of the walls, how some of these planes become volumes, and how some of the volumes and planes are broken, out of either programmatic necessity or aesthetic whim. This is what Pine observed in this drawing. She was intrigued not only by the final project, but also by the generational idea, the moment of inspiration, and the process drawing that embodied the essence of the project.

This signifies a peculiarity in the way that Pine collected drawings. It was different than most. Pine was not interested only in the final or presentation drawing of a work. She was most fascinated by drawings that illustrated the first moment, the first glimmer of the final idea. Quite often in collecting, she was initially inspired by the building itself. Then by looking through the whole set of process drawings of the work, she would discover the one that best embodied the first evidence of the ideas in the building. She sought drawings that occupied the liminal ground between the early conception of the work and its final form. It is both the process and the result that appealed to her.

From this one drawing, Pine went on to collect approximately 200 more. Her collection now contains drawings from some of the most well known architects within

architectural practice and architectural history. Some of the architects whose works she collected when they were contemporary are Ron Arad, Mario Botta, Peter Eisenman, Frank O. Gehry, John Hejduk, Daniel Libeskind, Richard Meier, Cesar Pelli, Aldo Rossi, Alvaro Siza, Billie Tsien, O.M. Ungers, and Robert Venturi.

Graves recalls the moment when Pine finally convinced him to sell her some drawings:

“Years ago, on the hottest July day (or so she thought), Barbara Pine came to my office in Princeton and patiently went through sketchbooks and drawings for a series of projects, hoping to find, as she eventually did, something that had meaning to her. This was the first time anyone had come to my office expressly to look at drawings with the intention of buying them for a collection. It was very difficult for me to part with these drawings, as with any of my drawings, because they represented interests and intentions that are not easily duplicated. The drawings are not made to sell; rather they are assumed to be part of one’s own collected ideas.”<sup>161</sup>

In other words, for architects, a drawing’s value was only for the designers to retrace their path to a more complete object. The drawings Graves sold were for his residence *The Warehouse* in Princeton, New Jersey.

Pine eventually would collect works of a more historical nature as well. By the late 1970s these types of drawings were easier for Pine to find. As she recalls, this was partly because she had become well known as a collector of architectural drawings and frequently would be approached directly with regard to a potential purchase. Also, by this time, the market for architectural drawings was maturing and there were more available for sale, many of which she aggressively acquired. Today, her collection also contains works by Eric Gunnar Asplund, Hugh Ferriss, Louis-Charles Garnier, Eric Mendelsohn, Louis Kahn, Le Corbusier, R. Buckminster Fuller, Eileen Gray, Josef Hoffman, Helmut Jahn, Frederick Kiesler, William Lescaze, Edwin Lutyens, Richard Neutra, Hans Poelzig,

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<sup>161</sup> *Architect’s Drawings from the Collection of Barbara Pine* (Evanston: Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, 1987), 6.

Gio Ponti, J.J.P. Oud, Mies van der Rohe, Paul Rudolph, Antonio Sant’Elia, Sir John Soane, Paolo Soleri, Louis Sullivan, Cornelius van Eesteren and Theo van Doesburg, Frank Lloyd Wright, and many others. She even collected student works by Margaret Crawford that had been part of Crawford’s masters thesis at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. They were drawn in the Beaux-Arts tradition and are fully rendered in pen, charcoal, pastel, and watercolor. The largest is 55 inches by 37.5 inches. The drawings were not meant to represent the essence of a project to be built; they alone were the project.

Additionally, Pine purchased drawings of furniture, but only those designed by architects. She avoided furniture drawings by designers outside of architecture, as was the case in the Feigen sale, for example. Whenever possible, Pine not only acquired the drawing of the furniture, but also acquired the furniture itself. She owns a Richard Meier drawing for an armchair and a Mario Botta working drawing for the *Quinta* chair. Both of the chairs are in her study. This reemphasizes the dual nature of the drawings she collected—both works in themselves, and referential to an object.

Many collectors will not divulge prices paid for works; their means of acquisition often remain shrouded in mystery. Pine, too, was not forthcoming regarding prices she paid for the drawings. She would only say that “early on they were nothing,” while they began to rise steadily. All of her drawings now sit framed, lining her study, in rows three or four drawings deep.

## THE SPACED GALLERY

In 1975, just a few years after Barbara Pine bought her first drawing, a small gallery opened in New York City to deal in architectural representations. The gallery was largely stocked by the collection of its founder, Judith York Newman. It was named the Spaced Gallery, a portmanteau of “space” and “paced.” Newman explains her choice as “Space, the architect’s medium. And paced, an architectural measurement.”<sup>162</sup> This is the first known gallery devoted solely to architectural representations.<sup>163</sup> Newman showed prints and drawings, as well as models.

Her interest in architecture originated because she is, in fact, an architect. She was trained in architecture at Cornell University, and was a classmate of Richard Meier; she graduated with the class of 1957. She also served in other positions on the fringes of architectural practice, such as Architecture Editor of *House and Garden Magazine*.

The gallery was located on the second floor of 165 West 72nd Street, above a Jewish delicatessen. Paul Goldberger, in an early review of the gallery, was delighted by the odd juxtaposition of the locale: “where else but in New York could one ascend a stair past the smell of pastrami to a room devoted exclusively to the display and sale of architectural drawings.”<sup>164</sup>

Newman designed the gallery.<sup>165</sup> It was a modest renovation. The gallery consisted of a long, narrow corridor with a series of rectangular alcoves off the right side. These alcoves were each separated by a flat, white wall. Along the corridor were hung framed works, typically in two rows, but this could vary depending on the exhibition.

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<sup>162</sup> See *The Westsider* (March 31, 1977):15.

<sup>163</sup> A writer, Tita Beal-Kruger emphasized this in her *Womens Week* article “Business: Spaced Gallery an Architectural First.” See *Women’s Week*, March 28, 1977.

<sup>164</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Architecture:,” *The New York Times*, (June 4, 1976).

<sup>165</sup> Her architectural offices were located in the same building.

Within the alcoves, drawings were mounted on three metal tracks. Within the alcoves were browsing bins were filled with additional prints and drawings.

The gallery's location on the west side of New York was notable. Most galleries at that time were situated on the east side. The upper west side never experienced the vibrant gallery scene that developed in the east, in SoHo, and in Chelsea. For this reason it was very much physically on the periphery. Economically, such a modest gallery could never compete with the more established and larger galleries that promoted fine art. This location was somewhat fortunate. Symbolically this location also reveals an interesting parallel between to the perceived status of the subject matter within: architectural drawings were very much on the periphery of fine art. Even so, Newman recalls that in those early days, attendance was very brisk—and an early attendee was the already powerful *New York Times* architecture critic, Ada Louise Huxtable.<sup>166</sup> In addition, there was abundant coverage of her gallery in the press. It was featured in *New York Magazine* as one of the “Best Bets” in New York multiple times.<sup>167</sup> It was also featured multiple times in *the Westsider*, now *New York Westsider*, a weekly newspaper covering local news about Manhattan's west side. Furthermore, a feature article was written in *Progressive Architecture* and some of the gallery shows were featured in *Architectural Record*.

The gallery first operated from 1975 until 1983, when Newman closed the gallery to focus more on her architectural work. It reopened in 1999 and still operates today. During the first eight years, Newman mounted 47 exhibits of architectural representations, although she did not limit herself to architectural drawings. This was

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<sup>166</sup> In her gallery files, Newman has a postcard from Ada Louise Huxtable congratulating her on her endeavor.

<sup>167</sup> See “Best Bets,” *New York Magazine* (December 02, 1976) and (December 20, 1976).

driven by two factors. First, Newman wanted to emphasize all artistic endeavors of architects, whether or not they were completed as part of architectural projects. Second, the exhibitions were largely based on Newman's own collection, which consisted primarily of prints collected at various book fairs. In fact, throughout the first tenure of the gallery, drawings were very much secondary to prints.

Though the shows featured architectural subjects, they were not meant to appeal solely to the architecture community. The reason for this was "because architects themselves don't buy; we want to build an audience of architectural buffs."<sup>168</sup> Also, although she believed there was good reason to be on the upper west side given the proximity to Columbia University, which has a school of architecture, she expressed that she felt the location also afforded an opportunity to do something different with architectural representations. She said, "I wanted this to be a gallery which was open to the public, but also where people could buy everything that they saw."<sup>169</sup> She was noticing that architectural exhibitions functioned mainly as museum displays—set up for people to look at. Her insight was to seek to move architectural representations from an educational display to an economic commodity.

Revealingly, the majority of press she received emphasized the display of architectural drawings. For example, Paul M. Bray, in a serial column entitled "Architecturally Speaking" in the weekly arts publication *Kite*, wrote a review of one exhibition held at the Spaced Gallery. This was the third of Newman's exhibitions, but the first exhibition of drawings. It was held in 1976 and contained works by the architect

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<sup>168</sup> Stated by Newman in "News Report: Spaced Gallery for Architects" *Progressive Architecture* 6, No. 77 (June 1977), 36.

<sup>169</sup> Brett Raphael, "West side arts: Judith Newman-Architect with a Gallery," *Wisdom's Child* (October 18, 1977).

James Rossant. The title of the review was “Initial Drawings are Art.”<sup>170</sup> Bray’s review was limited to listing a number of museum exhibitions at which architectural drawings were displayed. These include *The Architecture of the École des Beaux Arts* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art discussed in the previous chapter, as well as an exhibition of Henry Hobson Richardson drawings at the Albany Institute, both in 1975.<sup>171</sup> He simply places Rossant’s drawings within this trend. However, the title of Bray’s article represents the first time in this period that a critic introduces the notion that architectural drawings are art.

In all the reviews of the Spaced Gallery, there was only one article mentioning that the gallery offered more materials than drawings. That article was the feature in *Architectural Record* in October 1976. The gallery, it noted, was “dedicated exclusively to the exhibition and sale of architectural drawings, prints, photographs, and models,” and “[t]hough the gallery offers samples of conventional architectural drawing, major exhibits are more likely to revolve around the nonprofessional art of architects...” However the lead for the article only stated that the Spaced Gallery was a “New York Gallery devoted to architectural drawing.”

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<sup>170</sup> This article is located in Judith York-Newman’s personal papers. These were shared with author during her interview on March 12, 2013.

<sup>171</sup> Though Bray notes the Albany exhibition, with which he was familiar, this exhibition was first mounted in 1974 at the Fogg Art Museum from October 23 to December 8. It was assembled to celebrate the centennial of Richardson’s move to Boston. It included 295 drawings from 1874 to 1886. After the show at the Fogg Art Museum, it was mounted at the Albany Institute of History and Art from January 7 to February 23, 1975 before its final showing in Washington DC at the Renwick Gallery, The National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution. See James F. O’Gorman, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Office: Selected Drawings* (Cambridge: Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, 1974). The drawings were a selection from the more than 5,000 drawings of Richardson and his office donated to Houghton Library at Harvard in 1942.



This focus on the drawings in the press suggests a bias at the expense of other forms of representation. This focus shows that architectural drawings were beginning to have greater importance than prints, models, and photographs. Importantly, this attention to drawings began to shift the understanding of them.

### **ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES AND PROJECTS**

A third contributor to the initial phase of the market for contemporary architectural drawings was the Museum of Modern Art. At MoMA, those involved in the Junior Council, as Barbara Pine was, were responsible for the first sale exhibition of contemporary architectural drawings in 1975.

Two people were integral to this exhibition. One was Barbara Jakobson, head of the Junior Council at that time, while the other was Emilio Ambasz, then Curator of Design. Ambasz was a trained architect, while Jakobson's interest in architecture was formed at Smith College, as a student of the architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock. Hitchcock was head of the art department at that time. In interviews, Jakobson recalled Hitchcock's courses fondly and credits them as being formative in her appreciation of architecture.<sup>172</sup> She was also a collector of art.

Jakobson had been involved in activities at MoMA since 1962.<sup>173</sup> By 1970 she was head of the Junior Council. As previously noted, the Junior Council<sup>174</sup> was a

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<sup>172</sup> Barbara Jakobson interview with author, November, 11, 2011.

<sup>173</sup> Jakobson first became involved at the museum when her friend and lawyer, Arthur Emil, suggested she should be on the Junior Council. By that time the Junior Council was more than just a member's club. Though one had to be introduced by a member, an interview with the chairman was also required. If approved, then you would be asked to join, but it was not guaranteed.

<sup>174</sup> The Junior Council was established in 1949. In October 1981, the Junior Council adopted the new name of Associate Council. Since December 1986, it has been known as the Contemporary

members club that had certain responsibilities at MoMA. Mackenzie Bennett describes it well:

“It is/was a MoMA affiliates group comprised of young donors who organized events and activities to fundraise for the museum. . . . The Junior Council was formed in 1949 . . . with, like the MoMA itself, the Rockefellers at its helm. Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, or Blanchette, led the initial group of the Junior Council and many of its members went on to become trustees of the museum.”<sup>175</sup>

One of its responsibilities was the Art Lending Service (ALS). First suggested in the winter of 1950, and officially proposed in 1951, the ALS allowed members of the museum to rent works of art, donated by various galleries in New York City, to display in their homes. The ALS was based on the activities of other lending services, such as the New York Circulating Library of Paintings, the circulating Print Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the circulating collection of the New York Public Library, and an art lending library at Buffalo,<sup>176</sup> although it differed in some key aspects. The first difference was there were more types of art available through the ALS, including paintings, small statues, watercolors, prints, and drawings. The second contrast was that selections of all works of art in the library, instead of being determined by a librarian, was specifically “subject to approval from Alfred H. Barr, Jr., director of the museum’s collections, Dorothy Miller and Margaret Miller, both curators, and Rene d’Harnoncourt,

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Arts Council. <http://www.moma.org/learn/resources/archives/EAD/JuniorCouncilf>, (Accessed September 12, 2013).

<sup>175</sup> See podcast Mackenzie Bennett, “MoMA Talks: Conversations: The Art Lending Service: Building an Audience for Modern Art”, podcast video (December 1, 2008): 1:38-1:45. This is a very insightful talk about the ALS by Mackenzie Bennett, assistant archivist at MoMA Archives.

<sup>176</sup> Individuals consulted from these institutions were: Mrs. Terril from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Miss Javitz from the New York Public Library, and Mr. Ritchie from Buffalo. This information is provided in the proposal for the ALS. “Proposal for an Art Lending Service at the Museum of Modern Art,” April 1951. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: Junior Council, Series Folder, 3.

the director of the museum.”<sup>177</sup> The reason for this procedure was to ensure the aims of the ALS were being met. These goals were:

“ . . . to enlarge taste and understanding, to stimulate sales, thus aiding both artists and galleries, and to show that contemporary art can be enjoyed in the home as well as the museum. We believe that the library, in so far as it can put these aims into effect, will be a valuable addition to the contemporary art world and to the goals of the museum.

“ . . . to help contemporary art be enjoyed while it still contemporary. . . . [W]e hope to demonstrate that contemporary art belongs in everyday life as well as on the museum wall and can enrich as well as adorn it.”<sup>178</sup>

The ALS was not initiated simply to provide a public service. It was an endeavor to get the art cognoscenti, and in turn the general public, to view modern art as a part of everyday life.<sup>179</sup> Once understood in this light, a market for it would be assured for the foreseeable future, and the place of a museum that showed it would be secure. More than this, it was a way to create an entirely new segment of the art world that would help support the museum. Collectors and artists of modern art would bolster the market for it. As these collectors and artists developed and aged, the hope was they would choose to donate to the museum. Through this, the future of the museum and of modern art would be assured through an increasing roster of donors and benefactors. It was a concerted effort to create an entire support network to help the museum and its mission develop and stay afloat.

A low maximum value was set for the works of art that would be part of the ALS program, to encourage collectors with average means to begin collecting. At a time when

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<sup>177</sup> As read by Bennett, “MoMA Talks: Conversations: The Art Lending Service: Building and Audience for Modern Art” (December 1, 2008): 6:17-6:29.

<sup>178</sup> “Proposal for an Art Lending Service at the Museum of Modern Art,” April 1951. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: Junior Council, Series Folder, 3.

<sup>179</sup> In the podcast “MoMA Talks: Conversations: The Art Lending Service: Building and Audience for Modern Art,” Bennett relates that in conversations about Modern art, the ALS compared Modern art to radios and books to emphasize its integral role in modern life.

modern art was just beginning to gain a foothold in the economic art world, catering to new collectors represented a strategic decision meant to pay future dividends once these collectors were more established and once modern art became highly collectible and valuable. Setting this pricing level knowingly would eliminate the sale of oil paintings, the value of which was already well established by the market. Attention would be need to be given to other media. The ALS proposal discusses precisely this:

“ . . . [T]he value limit of \$750 set on any work in our collection reflects an integral part of our aim. For this stress on the ‘small’ work to the inexpensive painting may, besides directing our aid chiefly to younger artists, help tap a new and wider purchasing public for art; and it may help to draw sympathy to inexpensive media like the print and the drawing that are too often neglected in favor of oil painting.”<sup>180</sup>

Even though the high end of cost is \$750, the insurance limit of their contract, \$50,000, ensured that the majority of works had to be priced below \$225. The most expensive works were estimated to comprise only 1.7% of the total number of artworks, representing only 6.6% of the total value. The initial plan was to have 143 works in the \$50-\$125 range, 100 in the \$126-\$225 range, 39 in the \$226-\$350 range, 13 in the \$351-\$550 range, and 5 in the \$551-\$750 range.

The specifics of the rental was stipulated in the same proposal: “The Library will offer, when it opens, 300 works of art, ranging in value from \$50 – \$750. Borrowed from galleries for nine months, but with the option to recall at any time, these works will be rented to Museum members in the New York area for one to three months.”<sup>181</sup> Prices varied based upon the value of the work and the length of the rental period. The following represents the pricing scheme in the proposal for the ALS:

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<sup>180</sup> “Proposal for an Art Lending Service at the Museum of Modern Art,” April 1951. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: Junior Council, Series Folder.

<sup>181</sup> “Proposal for an Art Lending Service at the Museum of Modern Art,” April 1951. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: Junior Council, Series Folder.

PRICE RANGE	RENT FOR			FINE PER DAY AFTER 3 MONTHS
	1 month	2 months	3 months	
\$50-125	\$3	\$4	\$5	\$1
126-225	6	9	12	1
226-350	10	16	22	1
351-550	15	25	35	1
551-750	20	35	50	1

Although the breakdown of the pricing scheme was largely kept in tact, the actual rates published in the promotional brochure were slightly higher.<sup>182</sup>

PRICE RANGE	2 MONTHS RENTAL FEE	3 MONTHS RENTAL FEE
Up to \$125	\$5.00	\$7.00
126-200	10.00	15.00
201-300	15.00	22.00
301-400	20.00	30.00
401-500	25.00	37.00
501-625	30.00	45.00
626-750	35.00	52.00

Eventually, the organizers realized that there were many works well below \$125, so they revised the pricing scheme. By 1954 works from \$25 – \$50 were available for a two-month rental fee of three dollars.<sup>183</sup>

To fund this endeavor, it was estimated that a revolving fund of \$7,000 be allocated from the Museum. Eight hundred square feet of space was requested on the sixth floor of the annex to the museum for the storage of works (the library), for administrative tasks, and for display, so members could view drawings that had been donated in a gallery-like setting. The passage to the Penthouse, through which only

<sup>182</sup> “Art Lending Service of the Museum of Modern Art.” Publicity Brochure. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: Junior Council, Series Folder, 3.

<sup>183</sup> “The Art Lending Service of the Museum of Modern Art, Under the Auspices of the Junior Council.” Publicity Brochure. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: Junior Council, Series Folder, 3. The date of this brochure is not settled. It is given as “1954[?]”.

members of the museum could pass, was singled out as being particularly useful, since the Art Lending Library was to be a members-only privilege.

Works were donated to the library by galleries for nine months. The library was in essence the physical storage space for the works that could be displayed. The library had its own operating hours during which members were free to browse. In addition to the rental option, members could also buy the works. If a work sold, the library would receive a 10% handling fee to cover its operating costs. If the works were not rented or sold after a period of nine months, they would be returned to the donors.

The Art Lending Service opened in October 1951 at 21 West 53<sup>rd</sup> Street on the sixth floor. Its operating hours were 12:30-5:30PM Monday through Saturday and 1:00-5:00PM on Sundays. Initial donations encompassed 84 different artists from 24 different galleries in New York. Selections were mounted in the ALS offices, so that members could view them, while the overflow was stored in the library. Throughout its existence, approximately five exhibitions were mounted per year. The early exhibitions were simply determined by what works the library had in stock.

Just a few short years later in 1955, the Junior Council deemed that a different means of display would be more beneficial to the goals of the ALS. Instead of hanging the works in the ALS offices, the council determined that an exhibition series would be started. This was possible primarily because more galleries were donating works to the ALS. Thus the "Penthouse Exhibitions" series began and would run until the ALS closed in 1981.<sup>184</sup> The earliest Penthouse exhibitions were not wholly different than what had

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<sup>184</sup> One extension of the Art Lending Service was the Art Advisory Service (AAS). The AAS began in 1964 and operated until 1996. It advised corporations on the collecting of contemporary art.

previously been put on display in the ALS offices. Although they were somewhat curated, the contents were still largely determined by what had been recently donated.<sup>185</sup>

This continued until the early 1960s when the shows began to be arranged more thematically. They also began to have titles, where earlier the exhibitions did not. At first they were themed by subject matter. The first themed exhibition, titled *Photography for Collectors*, ran for only a short time from October 1 to October 16, 1960. In 1962 there were two exhibitions entitled *Sculpture* and *Watercolor* that ran from February 26 to April 16 and April 16 to May 28, respectively. In 1963 they began to be themed by style and by artist. For instance, *Hard Edge and Geometric Painting and Sculpture* ran from January 10 to February 28, and *Interactions of Color (Josef Albers)* mounted for only one day on March 4. There were still shows themed by subject such as *Print Show* and *Photographs and Sculpture*. Interspersed with these, however, were shows titled *Selections from the ALS*, which were more general in nature.

Beginning in 1962, curators from the museum started to curate the exhibitions. Peter Selz is the first curator mentioned in the ALS files for a show called *Selections from the ALS* that ran from July 21 to August 13. The next show, which was mounted from October 8 to November 11, had the same title but was curated by Campbell Wyly. Wyly also curated *Print Show*, mentioned above, as well as a number of other themed

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<sup>185</sup> The first Penthouse exhibition opened on January 7, 1955 and featured the works of Balcomb Greene, Eugene Ludins, Alexander Dobkin, John Hultberg, Willem de Kooning, Boardman, Norman Lewis, Morris Graves, Roberto Matta, and Reginald Pollock. The second exhibition displayed works by Robert Motherwell, Harry Jackson, Seymour Lipton, Bernard Buffet, James Brooks, Jonah Kinigstein, Fairfield Porter, Morris Graves, Grace Hartigan, William Congdon, Joseph Glasco, Tom George, Alberto Giacometti. The exhibitions continued in this vein until 1960.

Penthouse Exhibitions, and held the position until 1970, when Pierre Apraxine took over the curatorship.

During the first 10 years, the ALS was very successful in achieving its goals. The early success of the Penthouse Exhibitions was celebrated in a retrospective exhibition, *Art Lending Service Retrospective, 1950-1960*, held from January 26 to March 20, 1960, sponsored by the Junior Council. The exhibition's brochure first and foremost emphasizes achieved numbers:

“There have been 4,231 rentals to 1,762 different borrowers. . . 96 galleries have been represented. 926 objects have been sold for \$165,085.50. \$146,639.45 has been distributed to the galleries and, through them, to the artists.

“. . . The number of rentals in the eighth year was more than double that of the first year, when sales were about four times as numerous and reached eight times the monetary value. In the most recent years, there has been a sale, on the average, for every three and on half rentals, while in the beginning, there was only one in eight. Meanwhile, the average size of the collection has grown from three hundred to five hundred objects and the variety has increased.”<sup>186</sup>

This retrospective exhibition showed 52 works; no descriptions or exhibition photos were available at the time of consultation in the archives.

Although the Art Lending Service proved to be a successful enterprise in its first 10 years, by the end of the 1960s, its relevance was debated. It was thought to have outlived its purpose by some in the museum. By this time, the museum had generated enough artists and donors to support its operations, and it appeared the ALS was no longer necessary. Those who criticized the ALS thought that the Junior Council should focus on other activities within the museum.<sup>187</sup>

However, the ALS did not close and the Penthouse Exhibitions continued. In the early 1970s, Jakobson assumed the leadership of the Junior Council. She took it as her

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<sup>186</sup> “Art Lending Service Retrospective, 1950-1960,” April 1951. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: Junior Council, Series Folder.

<sup>187</sup> See podcast “MoMA Talks: Conversations: The Art Lending Service: Building and Audience for Modern Art”,



mission to revitalize the exhibition series. Aiding her in this renewal was Pierre Apraxine, who had risen from a Fulbright student at the museum to being head of the Art Lending Service from 1970 to 1973.<sup>188</sup> Apraxine is credited with curating 17 exhibitions during this period.

After many successful exhibitions in the MoMA Penthouse between 1971 and 1974,<sup>189</sup> Jakobson organized the first sale exhibition of architectural drawings with Emilio Ambasz. It was titled *Architectural Studies and Projects* and ran from March 13 to May 11, 1975. At that time, Jakobson and Ambasz recognized that the architects who “did the most interesting work”<sup>190</sup> were often those who did not have the opportunity to build. This was not only because of the economic recession in the wake of the 1973 OPEC oil crisis, but also because many of their projects were not easily buildable. While they differ on whose idea the exhibition was, it is certain that Jakobson and Ambasz collaborated. Jakobson recalls that she initially had the idea. However, because she was not well connected in the architecture world, she wrote to Ambasz and asked him to provide her with a list of architects.

Conversely, Ambasz remembers having originated the idea, and having approached Jakobson with the concept and a list of architects he compiled as the Curator of Design in the Architecture and Design Department. Ambasz also remembers that he approached Arthur Drexler, then Director of the Architecture and Design Department, with the suggestion to present a drawings show in the architecture gallery. According to

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<sup>188</sup> Pierre Apraxine interview with author, February 24, 2013.

<sup>189</sup> Other exhibitions for which Jakobson was responsible are *Prints from Halifax*, October 5-November 12, 1971; *Works from Change Inc.*, September 25-October 20, 1974; and *76 Jefferson*, September 11-December 1, 1975.

<sup>190</sup> Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012. Emilio Ambasz interview with author on March 25, 2013.

Ambasz, Drexler was reluctant, since it was not realized work and it did not, “cast enough shadow” to be important. This is particularly ironic because Drexler’s *Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* show, discussed in the previous chapter, is remembered precisely for the un-built work, the drawings, rather than the photographs of American Beaux-Arts buildings at the end of the exhibition. In any case, since the exhibition was to be mounted in the Penthouse and not a main gallery space at MoMA, Drexler was not concerned with any conflict with the architecture and design department.<sup>191</sup>

Jakobson and Ambasz sent letters to the architects on Ambasz’s list asking if they would be willing to participate. Most of the architects responded favorably, though not all did so. Charles Gwathmey would not loan any drawings to the exhibitions. He was flippant in his response, stating simply that he “has no drawings.”<sup>192</sup> Cesari M. Casati on December 18, 1974 writing from Milan, was more polemic:

“I do not believe that my drawings, which I consider as pure and simple working instruments, may have any kind of artistic or venal value.

This is also because I believe that the architectural work only reaches its sense when it is achieved. After that, I do not take drawings into account any longer.”<sup>193</sup>

Casati articulates a view that was long held as the majority opinion in architecture: that buildings drive value in architecture; drawings are simply a support medium and have no value in themselves.

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<sup>191</sup> Related by Emilio Ambasz in interview with author, March 25, 2013.

<sup>192</sup> See note of phone conversation held with Gwathmey. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.94

<sup>193</sup> Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.94.

Despite these refusals, enough architects found the idea favorable and an exhibition was assembled. When the details were finalized, Ambasz wrote to Jakobson, Judy Price, Arthur Drexler, and Elizabeth Shaw outlining the details of the exhibition:

“The title of the show will be ‘Architectural Studies and Projects’. It will be in the Penthouse on the 6<sup>th</sup> floor and will run from March 12<sup>th</sup> to May 15<sup>th</sup>. All drawing will be framed in plexiglass [sic] box-type frames, similar to those manufactured under the name of Dax frame of Kulicke frames.”<sup>194</sup>

Although different than the subject matter of earlier exhibitions in the Penthouse, this exhibition was firmly within its operational purview. It was the first sale show of contemporary architectural drawings, and it had the same goals as the earlier exhibitions: to develop a market for architectural works.

The exhibition was held in the lounge and the cafeteria of the Penthouse. The cafeteria was coopted for additional display space as the exhibition increased in size. The rooms were predominantly white wall boxes with white drop ceilings. The entrance to the exhibit, in the lounge area, was a long rectangular room, with a white painted receptionist desk at the front. To the left of the desk was a wall on which the title of the exhibition was printed in black Helvetica font. A horizontally oriented introduction to the exhibition on card stock, a list of drawings in the exhibition, and a pamphlet detailing the activities of the Art Lending Service were presented on a white table in the center of the entry room. Visible through a door just to the left of the title wall was the library’s storage room, with shelves that contained works not pertinent to the exhibition.

The hanging of the exhibition appears to have been carefully considered. One of the walls of the lounge was painted a dark color. On this wall a horizontal band of drawings, mounted in white mats and framed in Plexiglas box frames, was hung. A shelf

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<sup>194</sup> Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.95.

ran the length of each of the other white walls. Above each shelf were hung more works in a roughly horizontal band. Since there was consistency in their display—all were mounted and framed similarly—the works were visually cohesive. Even so, the works of each individual architect were placed so that they could be perceived distinctly, creating a hierarchy in the display of the works. Thus, each architect's contribution could be understood as its own sub-unit of the exhibition.

The entry space lead to the cafeteria, which served as the main space for the exhibition. The cafeteria was largely an eating area with white Formica tables and rolled aluminum chairs with black plastic backs and seats. To combat the starkness of the space, plants were placed in the corners of the room. The works shown here were mounted in the same fashion as the lounge, hung in an approximately horizontal band and grouped by architect, although hung more sparsely. In all, the exhibition contained 66 drawings, 53 of which were for sale.

The show was self-curated. The architects themselves were completely responsible for the works that would be shown. When they were asked to participate, they were requested to send two to five drawings for display. All of the works for sale were priced between \$200 and \$2,000, with a median price of around \$600. It was stipulated in the contracts that if the works did not sell, they would be shipped back to the architects. See the end of this chapter for a list of the architects involved, the works on display, the prices requested and if the works were sold.<sup>195</sup>

As a commercial venture, it is difficult to say that this show was a success. Jakobson summarizes it best, “Did we sell anything? Hardly. Did I go out and buy tons of

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<sup>195</sup> Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.95.

architectural drawings? No. I did not. Nobody did.”<sup>196</sup> Although the number of purchases was limited, eight people did buy works from this exhibition.<sup>197</sup> Out of the 53 available for sale, 18 sold.<sup>198</sup> Buyers included Raymond Leary of New York City; Sugkuk Kim of Mamaroneck, New York; Christian K. Habernoll of Huschlap, West Germany; and Donald R. Wall of Hyattsville, Maryland. Paul Goldberger from Nutley, New Jersey, then an architecture critic for the *New York Times* who reviewed the exhibition, also bought work from the show. Barbara Jakobson remembers purchasing her first architectural drawing from this show, though during an interview she was unable to pinpoint the specific drawing in her collection it is. A representative for the Gertrude Stein Gallery of New York bought Susana Torre’s *Function as a Variable of Space*.<sup>199</sup> Also, Mr. Donald C. Cook of the American Electric Power Co., Inc. in New York bought Peter Cook’s *Mound 3, Side 1* as well as both of Gaetano Pesce’s drawings for *Project for the Remodeling of a Villa*.<sup>200</sup> Coop Himmelblau, Rem Koolhaas, Rodolfo Machado, Alessandro Mendini, Ettore Sottsass, Michael Webb, and Elia and Zoe Zenghelis each also sold works.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Barbara Jakobson interview with author, November 11, 2011.

<sup>197</sup> This list is from Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.94.

<sup>198</sup> This number was stated in a letter to Peter Cook from Maureen Reilly, coordinator of the Art Lending Service, June 16, 1975. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.94.

<sup>199</sup> Letter to the Gertrude Stein Gallery. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.94.

<sup>200</sup> This information was not recorded in any official MoMA document, but was in a letter to Mrs. Pesce in the MoMA archives dated June 26 1975. Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.94.

<sup>201</sup> Documents in the archives indicate these were sold, but there are no documents in the archives that specify who the buyers were

## RECEPTION OF “ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS AND STUDIES”

The press paid particular attention to *Architectural Studies and Projects*. Two critics, both of whom would go on to win Pulitzer Prizes for architectural criticism, reviewed it. One was Paul Goldberger for the *New York Times*; the other was Robert Campbell for the *Boston Globe*.

Robert Campbell’s review was scathing. It was titled “MoMA Display Weak, Timid.”<sup>202</sup> He saw no benefit to the drawings in the exhibition, which were, he reported, only marginally related to architecture. The drawings “have no relation to real, usable ideas.”<sup>203</sup> In opposition to the works in this show, Campbell praised those who use representations to affect real world concerns in architecture. His examples of this are Futurist cities, Mies van der Rohe’s interiors, Corbusier’s *Radiant City*, Archigram, Robert Venturi, and the Metabolists. Compared to these “this is show is so timid and weak that it makes you wonder whether all our vitality has gone or was this just a bad selection?”<sup>204</sup>

He further criticizes the exhibition by relating that the drawings do not even live up to the stated content of the exhibition—visionary drawings of architecture. He suggests that the works in this exhibition belong in other categories of art, but even then seem only “tired variations.” He notes that Michael Graves’ work is simply synthetic cubism; Hejduk follows Purism; and Ettore Sottsass’s *Gigantic Work* is just a form of conceptual art. To Campbell, the most intolerable works are simply graphic with

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<sup>202</sup> Robert Campbell, “ARCHITECTURE: MoMA Display Weak, Timid,” *The Boston Globe*, (March 23, 1975): F14.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

pretentious captions, such as “the non-homogenous grids operate at the metonymic level.”<sup>205</sup> Some he sees as merely surrealist works that do not relate to architecture, such as Rodolfo Machado’s *Fountain House Façade*, which in his review was partly captioned “[I]deal dust jacket for a contemporary Gothic horror novel.” He credits Peter Eisenman, at least, with showing some visionary work, but also qualifies it by expressing that being a visionary these days seems only to be a throwback to other times, and that Eisenman’s work just references Dutch de Stijl.

Campbell saves his most negative, albeit witty, remark for the end of his review. Evoking Ernest Hemingway’s quip about literature, he writes that, “the most important equipment for a writer is a built-in, tamper proof, copper-bottom crap detector (or something like that), and a show like this makes you wish the same for architects, who as a group probably need it more.”<sup>206</sup> For Campbell, then, this show was a tired, uninspiring group of drawings masquerading as visionary works with no real applicability to the profession of architecture. In sum, he believed there was no value to be garnered from such a show.

On the other hand, Paul Goldberger in the *New York Times*, gave the exhibition a reasonably positive review.<sup>207</sup> His review is a fairly short, only three columns with 33 lines each, and is illustrated by an image of *The Egg of Columbus Circle*, by Elia and Zoe Zenghelis. It reads as more description than actual critique. He relates that the show has the European bent that typifies the gaze that the Museum of Modern Art projects over architectural subjects. But, there is virtue in this, he says, as he is so taken by the works

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<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Architecture Drawings at the Modern,” *The New York Times* (March 14, 1975): 24.

on display. Unlike Campbell, he is most moved by the drawings that do not correspond to actual buildings. He highlights the division between the practice of architecture and the drawings displayed in this exhibition. The exhibition, he states:

“[H]as little real insight into the state of architectural practice today. Its significance, rather, lies in its ability to remind us that architects do, in fact, have imaginations, and when these are permitted to run free of the constraints imposed by actual building programs, the results can be exciting and often extraordinary.”

For Goldberger, architects’ representations that do not relate to actual bricks and mortar are the most fascinating. They are imagination unbound; they can push certain questions, investigated through the drawings, further than possible when constrained by real world concerns.

In contrast to Campbell, although Goldberger recognizes that the exhibition “gives little real insight into architectural practice today”, he does give the drawings some architectural weight when he writes that the exhibition “...deals with the most peripheral, yet perhaps the most luxurious, aspect of architecture: the making of purely visionary drawings, schemes that have no connection with reality.”

Goldberger, therefore, occupies a curious grey area at this stage in understanding architectural drawings. He believes that architectural drawings do not address the reality of architecture, which is implied to be buildings; yet somehow the drawings are still architectural.

Goldberger concludes by simply assessing the successes of the show based on the stated goals of the exhibition:

“One of the objectives of the show has been to encourage public interest in architectural drawings as art, and on this level it is likely to be successful. . .”

He qualifies this with one caveat:



“...even though the most interesting drawings are, in most cases, the ones least related to real building schemes, which has the effect of suggesting that plans and elevations of built works are somehow less interesting as objects on their own”

*Architectural Project and Studies* did not lead to any concrete understandings about the relationship between drawings and architecture, and it was not a great success in creating a market for contemporary architectural drawings. Nonetheless, this exhibition has historical significance. A claim has been made in a recent book on the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), *IAUS: An Insiders Memoire*, that an exhibition of contemporary architectural drawing was held at the IAUS in 1974, pre-dating the *Architectural Project and Studies* exhibition. There were three references to the IAUS event titled *Drawing as Architecture*, in this 2010 publication.<sup>208</sup> The first mention is by Susanne Frank, the author of the book and former IAUS member, where she notes that *Drawing as Architecture* was one of two exhibitions held at the IAUS throughout its tenure in which “[t]he architect Fellows at the Institute who predominated in influence” exhibited.<sup>209</sup>

*Drawing as Architecture* is also listed in the “Tentative Chronology of IAUS Exhibitions” toward the end of the book.<sup>210</sup> The last reference comes from Frederieke Taylor, a former member of the IAUS, who today owns a gallery for the sale of architectural representations. In her contribution to this volume, Taylor expands upon a paper that she presented at Columbia University, where she recalls Andrew MacNair as the individual brought into the IAUS to solidify their exhibition series. In detailing

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<sup>208</sup> The importance of this exhibition lies in the conflation of drawing and architecture. In stating that drawing is architecture, the title of this exhibition makes ontological claims for architectural drawings. Drawings are not support for buildings, which are architecture, but drawings are architecture itself. Therefore, architecture does not have to be buildings; it can be drawings.

<sup>209</sup> Suzanne S. Frank, *IAUS: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies : An Insider's Memoir* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2011), 167.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid*, 321.

MacNair's contribution, she states, "As his first effort, MacNair organized 'Drawing as Architecture,' which included drawings by Agrest and Gandelsonas, Eisenman, Stern, Hejduk, and Abraham."<sup>211</sup>

The issue with these claims regarding *Drawing as Architecture* is that this exhibition does not appear to have ever taken place. There is no mention of it in the IAUS archives at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, which holds the entire IAUS archive. When interviewed about this exhibition, Andrew MacNair, who in the book was said to have begun his tenure as head of exhibitions at the IAUS with this exhibition, stated, "It does not sound right. Everybody claims all kinds of things about those days..."<sup>212</sup> He then proceeded on to describe in detail what he remembers as his first exhibition on Gerrit Oorthuys.

Only one mention of can be found of an event titled "Drawing as Architecture" at the IAUS and it was in the *New York Times* "Going Out Guide" from October 5, 1976.<sup>213</sup> However, it is not an exhibition. The entry states that the IAUS was beginning a series, the aim of which was developing its program of research and education, trying "to mate the techniques of design and construction with humanist principles." One of the sessions held that night was titled "Drawing as Architecture" which was "a workshop for studying drawing as a way of thinking, with Giuliano Fiorenzoli." Fiorenzoli was an architect and educator in New York City and had a particular interest in drawing. He gave much thought to the role that drawing had in design. No further detail of the session exists.

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<sup>211</sup> Frederieke Taylor, Paper Delivered to Mary McLeod's Seminar at Columbia University, 1990. Reprinted in Suzanne Frank, *IAUS: An Insider's Memoir* (Self published), 315-322. Here see page 317. Frederieke Taylor was also a member of the Junior Council at MoMA.

<sup>212</sup> Andrew MacNair correspondence with author, March 5, 2013.

<sup>213</sup> "Going Out Guide," *New York Times* (October 5, 1976), 54.

The question remains as to why the Fiorenzoli event is predated by two years and identified as a full exhibition by some associated with the IAUS. It could perhaps be explained merely as an error in memory when trying to recall occurrences and chronology. However there is another plausible reason: that former members of the IAUS might want to ensure that the IAUS was credited with originating the ideas of displaying architectural drawings and of thinking about them as architecture. In 2010, when the aforementioned memoir was released, the IAUS's place in architectural history was already secured and today it is still recognized as being a center of intellectual thought during this period. There would seem to be no need for the IAUS to make this claim.

An explanation for the erroneous claim might lie in the tension that existed between the IAUS and MoMA. This originated in the early days of the IAUS, when a proposal that the two groups work together never came to fruition. Barbara Jakobson recalls in her oral history:

“ . . . [T]he Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies was originally meant to be a joint venture with The Museum of Modern Art. It was supposed to be part of the Museum's programs. This thing was cooked up by Peter Eisenman and Emilio Ambasz and Arthur [Drexler], at the moment of truth, pulled back and decided, no, we are not going to sponsor the Institute. That doesn't mean, however, that he wasn't incredibly interested in the Institute. But he was smart, he was smart, because if he had really gotten into bed with Peter Eisenman, it would have been a disaster. It was the best thing the Museum never did.”<sup>214</sup>

The fact that MoMA chose not to be involved with IAUS in this capacity began a rivalry with MoMA that appears to be ongoing, at least from IAUS's perspective. As late as 2010, the IAUS was still claiming to be the first to think about architectural drawings as architecture, even though there is no hard evidence to support it. *Architectural Studies*

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<sup>214</sup> Barbara Jakobson, Interview by Sharon Zane. October 29, 1997, transcript, The Museum of Modern Art Oral History Program [http://www.moma.org/docs/learn/archives/transcript\\_jakobson.pdf](http://www.moma.org/docs/learn/archives/transcript_jakobson.pdf) (accessed September 27, 2012).

*and Projects*, then, holds a formative place in the history of architectural drawings in this period.

### **THE GILMAN COLLECTION OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS**

Pierre Apraxine, mentioned above in relation to the ALS, curated what became one of the most important collections of architectural drawings of this period. The collection consisted of 182 works focused on the 1960s and 1970s, though there were also some earlier drawings. The bulk of the collection was created in only five years—from 1976 to 1980. The entire collection was donated to the Museum of Modern Art in November 2000.<sup>215</sup> It now forms the core of their collection of architectural drawings from this era, and was the subject of an extensive exhibition to celebrate its donation, for which a detailed catalogue was published.<sup>216</sup>

Apraxine curated this collection entirely by chance. He met Howard Gilman of the Gilman Paper Company, through a connection at the Museum of Modern Art. Sandra Gilman, Howard Gilman's sister-in-law, was involved in the ALS. At the time, Apraxine was a curator working on exhibitions for the Penthouse.<sup>217</sup> Sandra Gilman, who was familiar with Apraxine's work in the Penthouse, believed he would be an excellent choice to assist the Gilmans with the collection they wanted to start. So she suggested Apraxine to her brother-in-law Howard Gilman. Gilman took her advice and called Apraxine. They met at a dinner party and the connection ultimately lead to a long-term association. Their

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<sup>215</sup> Some of the architects who's work is in this collection are Peter Cook, Hans Hollein, Superstudio, Sottsass, Ron Heron, Raimund Abraham, Aldo Rossi, John Hejduk, Michael Graves, Rem Koolhaas, Walter Pichler, Gaetano Pesce, Peter Eisenman, James Stirling, as well as others.

<sup>216</sup> See Terence Riley, Ed., *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Works from the Howard Gilman Collection* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, D.A.P/Distributed Art Publishers, 2002).

<sup>217</sup> Barbara Jakobson was head of the Junior Council when Apraxine met her.

professional partnership began in 1975 when Gilman and his brother, Charles, Jr., asked Apraxine to assemble a collection of contemporary art for their company's new office space in the Time-Life Building in New York City. Apraxine accepted and became the first and remained the only curator of the Gilman Collection.

Corporate collections of art became popular during the 1960s. They were formed for a variety of reasons but the enhancement of a company brand was among the primary motives.<sup>218</sup> One company for which this was true was the International Paper Company (IPC). At the time, IPC was the Gilman Paper Company's biggest competitor. IPC was (and remains) the largest producer of forest products—materials derived from forests—in the world. At one time IPC was the largest private landowner in the U.S., and in 1980 had gross sales of 5 billion dollars, and a staff of 40,048. So, when IPC decided to promote its corporate image through the design of its new office space on Sixth Avenue between 45th and 46th streets in Manhattan, other companies took notice, especially direct competitors like the Gilman Paper Company. Recognition of this practice was illustrated in an article contained in Apraxine's personal papers. Entitled "Validating the Corporate Image," the title block of the article contained a list those responsible for designing the IPC space, along with their specific roles. Apraxine took particular note of one person, Randie S. Davis, next to whose name he placed a check mark. Davis was charged with overseeing the art collection—the same role that Apraxine would play for Gilman. Apraxine's dilemma was how to differentiate the Gilman Collection from others, particularly that of IPC.

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<sup>218</sup> The decision to amass a corporate collection usually follows some combination of factors that include an executive of the company that simply loves art, some buy to furnish their offices, some use the art to connect their company to the public, some see it as a way to enhance a corporate image, and for all of them, there were tax incentives.

One key factor influencing the type of collection was that the Time-Life Building had extremely high ceilings. In addition to this space, there were two other properties that were to be furnished by the collection. The first was a large company-owned factory in Florida, near the Georgia border. The second was White Oak Plantation, a 7,400-acre site with multiple residences, a dance center, a conference center, and a wildlife conservation center.<sup>219</sup> A key element in deciding on the type of collection was the abundance of large spaces. Apraxine saw an opportunity for a collection that could make use of these expansive areas and proposed a collection of Conceptual and Minimal art. The Gilmans were very receptive to the idea. A collection containing these genres of art was uncommon for a corporate client. Apraxine chose this type to differentiate it from the collections that had been previously formed. Its goal was to reflect to the progressiveness of the company itself. To achieve this, Apraxine acquired paintings by Frank Stella, Ad Reinhardt, Ellsworth Kelley, and Dorothea Rockburne, as well as sculptures by Dan Flavin, Richard Serra, and Walter de Maria, and wall drawings by Sol LeWitt, among others.

Both Apraxine and Gilman thought it would be beneficial to have art more accessible to the employees of the company than the conceptual and minimal collection. They agreed that photographs would be a perfect solution. So Apraxine assembled an extensive photograph collection for the Gilmans, a 20-year undertaking that began in 1977. Apraxine drew on experiences he gained when he moved to the Marlborough

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<sup>219</sup> The wildlife conservation center was Howard Gilman's priority. Apraxine has stated that if it came between a work of art and a rare animal, that the animal would win every time. In order to acquire an okapi, which Gilman was obsessed with getting, he hired an entire tribe of Pygmies to help. Supposedly he also gave them t-shirts with the Gilman logo on them. See Martin Filler, "Reflections of a Golden Eye," *Departures* (September 2005). <http://www.departures.com/articles/reflections-of-a-golden-eye> (accessed March 11, 2014).

Gallery in New York after leaving the MoMA. Shortly after he arrived, it became the first major gallery to represent photographers. The Gilman collection began with photographs from the twentieth century and expanded to include photography from the nineteenth century after Apraxine saw Eduouard Baldus's 1857 *Group at the Château de Faloise* during a trip to Paris. Recognizing this as a masterpiece, he convinced Gilman to acquire it. He and Gilman quickly decided that the collection should also include early photographs as well. This collection ultimately grew to more than 8,500 photographs from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century and formed one of the foremost collections of photographs at the time. In 2005, one dealer estimated the value at over 100 million dollars.<sup>220</sup> A collector called it "the finest private collection of photography ever to be assembled or that ever will be assembled."<sup>221</sup> And a display of it at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the Met) led one critic to announce that the collection singlehandedly answered the question about whether photographs are art, a question that the Met itself forced in 1928 when it acquired the gift of Alfred Stiglitz's photographs.<sup>222</sup> The conclusion: they are. In 2005, the collection was bequeathed to the Met, affirming the collection's art-historical value.<sup>223</sup>

After beginning to assemble the collection of conceptual and minimal art, but before starting the photograph collection, Apraxine saw the opportunity to expand into a

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<sup>220</sup> Randy Kennedy, "Met Museum Acquires Gilman Trove of Photos," *The New York Times* (March 17, 2005). <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/17/arts/design/17gilm.html> (Accessed March 3, 2014).

<sup>221</sup> This was said by collector John Waddell. As stated in Martin Filler, "Reflections of a Golden Eye," *Departure* (September 2005). <http://www.departures.com/articles/re-reflections-of-a-golden-eye> (accessed March 11, 2014)

<sup>222</sup> Martin Filler, "Reflections of a Golden Eye," *Departure* (September 2005). <http://www.departures.com/articles/reflections-of-a-golden-eye> (accessed March 11, 2014)

<sup>223</sup> Pierre Apraxine had, while curating the collection for the Gilman Paper Company, advised the Met on purchases of photographs for their collection. Howard Gilman also provided the funds for the Met's first gallery permanently dedicated to photographs.

realm he thought would be relevant for the Gilman collection—architectural drawings. The idea came to Apraxine when he attended the *Architectural Studies and Projects* show at MoMA. It was there he became aware that architectural drawings could be purchased. He suggested to Howard Gilman that they also amass a collection of them. Gilman readily agreed, motivated by his penchant for collecting items that had not formerly been collected. At the time of the exhibition, Apraxine had already left the Museum of Modern Art to work at the Marlborough Gallery.<sup>224</sup> Therefore, to avoid any conflict of interest, he purchased works for the gallery and sold them to Gilman to ensure there was no conflict of interest. After a short time, Apraxine left the Marlborough Gallery to work full time on the Gilman collection.

Again, their motivation was to assemble a collection that was more accessible to the workers than minimal and conceptual art. But Apraxine also saw this collection as a foil to the Minimal and Conceptual collection. As he articulates:

“The idea is that conceptual art, you have a kind of let’s say Lawrence Weiner, little phrase, Sol LeWitt indication that the work is really so many lines, so many corners, and what is the work exactly? That is the idea of conceptual art—where is the work? And it is somewhere between—it’s a multi-angle proposition. The person who thinks about it. The person who realizes it. And the adjustment to the thinking when it becomes a fact, an object, a drawing on the wall. There are all kinds of aspect like a prism. And I thought that for architectural drawings, it’s also an idea. Somewhere the beauty of the thing is not only in the drawing and it’s not only in the building to be, it floats in between. That’s the way they see what could happen and that area there is very close to what’s happening in the appreciation of conceptual art. It is not the sensuousness of the material per se.”<sup>225</sup>

Prior to this, Apraxine had no real interest in or experience with architectural drawings. He had neither a background in architectural practice nor much knowledge of architectural history or theory.<sup>226</sup> When he began, he did not know how he would go

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<sup>224</sup> Apraxine was encouraged to leave MoMA because of his role in a workers strike at MoMA. Related by anonymous source.

<sup>225</sup> Apraxine interview with author.

<sup>226</sup> It was, he says, when he came to MoMA in 1970, and worked as assistant curator of painting and sculpture, that he developed a vague sense of architecture.



about selecting the drawings. He gambled and trusted that he would be able to recognize a great project and a great drawing.<sup>227</sup> In choosing the drawings he says he simply believed that he had a good enough eye to identify compelling drawings, having honed his judgment in other arts.

Apraxine needed help in identifying which architects to approach. He reached out to his contacts at MoMA, whom he knew from his tenure at the ALS. Barbara Jakobson and Emilio Ambasz, the curators of *Architectural Studies and Projects*, generously provided Apraxine with a list of architects and their connections, along with a letter of introduction.

With this list and letter in hand, he embarked upon a tour of the U.S. and Europe to meet with the architects and purchase their drawings. He bought directly from the architects, because at the time there were no architectural drawing galleries or dealers. Since there was no competition for the works he sought to acquire, he was able to procure the seminal drawings for the projects. As with the other collections, Apraxine was given free reign to collect as he pleased, with Gilman providing financial backing. The first drawing Apraxine acquired was *House without Rooms* by Raimund Abraham in April 1976.<sup>228</sup> Then, his European tour took him to England, France, Austria, and Italy. In London he met with Peter Cook, Cedric Price, Leon Krier, and James Stirling. In Paris he saw Yona Friedman. In Austria he visited with Hans Hollein, Max Peintner, and Walter Pichler. In Italy he discussed buying works from Alessandro Magris (Superstudio), Aldo

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<sup>227</sup> Pierre Apraxine, interview with author (February 24, 2013).

<sup>228</sup> In Apraxine's interview in the exhibition catalogue *The Changing of the Avant Garde*, he mistakenly remembers that the first drawing was purchased in May 1976. One drawing was purchased from Abraham in May. This was for *The House with Curtains*, purchased on May 25, 1976. The data cards that were used to keep track of the collection, which this author was given access to by Apraxine verifies this error.

Rossi, Ettore Sottsass, and Gaetano Pesce. He toured Gallatereze with Rossi and spent time with Pichler in Burgenland. This tour resulted in the purchase of drawings from Peter Cook, Cedric Price, Léon Krier, Yona Friedman, Hans Hollein, Max Peintner, Walter Pichler, Alessandro Magris, Aldo Rossi, and Ettore Sottsass. Back in New York he acquired additional drawings from Gaetano Pesce.<sup>229</sup>

Since there was no market for architectural drawings at this time, Apraxine had to establish values for the works. He recalls that Pichler was the only one with a value attached to his drawings, mainly because he had already been selling some artwork in order to fund his buildings. For the others, Apraxine says, he offered “what an artist of a ‘certain reputation’ in contemporary art would be offered for their drawings – not an artist that commanded the most money, but perhaps a level or two below.”<sup>230</sup> This amounted to between 200 and 4,000 dollars depending on the architect, size of the work, and medium. 200 dollars was the value established for some halftone perspectives on acetate by Alessandro Mendini, while 4,000 dollars was paid for Ron Herron’s iconic *Moving Cities* drawing. In hindsight, the shrewdest purchases included five studies for the *Cemetery of Modena* by Aldo Rossi purchased for 500 dollars each, and one of the iconic perspective drawings of the cemetery for 1,750 dollars. In addition, all 14 of Ettore Sottsass’s drawings for *Planet as Festival* were purchased as a group for only 4,000 dollars. The collection was appraised in 1988.<sup>231</sup> The five studies for *Modena* were

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<sup>229</sup> In acquiring further works for the collection, Apraxine continued to use his connection to the architects. He also leveraged his connections with others when he needed to. There is a letter in Apraxine’s personal papers directed to Arthur Drexler at MoMA. In this letter, Apraxine thanks Drexler for his help in selecting two drawings for the *Dymaxion Dwelling Machine* of 1945. Apraxine assures Drexler, that if the negotiations for the drawings are successful, then the drawings would be given to the museum’s collection.

<sup>230</sup> Apraxine interview with author.

<sup>231</sup> Max Protetch, discussed in detail in the following chapter, was hired to conduct this valuation.

valued between 3,000 and 4,000 dollars each; the perspective was valued at 10,000 dollars; and each of Sottsass's drawings was valued at 2,000 dollars. Today, each of these drawings holds such a significant place in the history of this era that it would nearly impossible to establish a value for them—they are priceless.

While most of the drawings were acquired between 1976 and 1980, there were later acquisitions. In 1992 a drawing by Paul Rudolph for the *Lower Manhattan Expressway* dating from 1967-72 was added, and in 1997 Apraxine obtained more than 80 pieces from Cedric Price.<sup>232</sup>

The entire collection was assembled for 204,201 dollars. One drawing was a gift to the collection—Aldo Rossi gifted an elevation for his *Workers Dwelling Project* to Apraxine, who in turn donated the drawing to the collection. In total, the collection consisted of approximately 182 drawings and one model. The exact number is difficult to establish, since purchases were not always specifically detailed. For instance, the description of the 1997 acquisition of Price's *Generator* for 50,000 dollars, consisted of 80 drawings, postcards, and miscellanea, together with one model. Aside from this, in 1980 two groups of drawings were also purchased from Price; one was 10 drawings for the *Potteries Thinkbelt* for 23,000 dollars; and the second consisted of five drawings for the *Fun Palace* for 12,000 dollars. These, along with the gift from Aldo Rossi to the Collection, indicate that the remaining 90 drawings were purchased for only 119,201

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<sup>232</sup> Rudolph's drawing was the only drawing acquired after the architect had passed away. By the time of the Rudolph purchase, the themes of the collection were coming more into focus. The collection had taken the shape of a collection of visionary and utopian works. Apraxine saw Rudolph's scheme for New York with buildings along a highway and bridges with all kinds of balconies as a "wonderful utopia," and thought it would fit perfectly within the scope of the collection. Apraxine interview with author.

dollars. The average price paid for each of these drawing was only 1,324 dollars and 46 cents.

Today, such prices would be considered absurdly low. However, even then, architects were still unsure about the value of their own drawings. This is evident in the reasons Apraxine was sometimes unsuccessful in acquiring works he sought. When Apraxine met with the architects he inquired about certain drawings that he had seen in publications. But many times the architects were unable to locate them. The drawings had been made for publication, and after the projects were published, the architects lost track of them, or in extreme cases, discarded them. He particularly remembers this occurring with both Peter Cook and Aldo Rossi. Cook could not find some seminal images for Plug-in City and Aldo Rossi could not locate drawings for the Cemetery in Modena. Both are today considered pivotal projects in architecture's history and that they would simply be untracked by their producers seems unfathomable. In cases such as these, where drawings were lost for good, Apraxine would need either choose different drawings for the project or acquire drawing from another project altogether.

Also, not all the architects Apraxine approached were willing to sell their drawings. Kisho Kurakawa and Hans Hollein unequivocally declined. Additionally, James Stirling and Apraxine met in London and subsequently had extended correspondence but in the end Stirling decided to decline, saying he preferred to keep his archive together. Robert Venturi declined for the same reason. They both recognized the benefit of keeping the drawings as part of an entire set. Interestingly, his first extended discussions with Cedric Price did not result in the acquisition of any works either, as Price was unsure about selling any works at that time.

There are a number of works Apraxine now wishes he had the foresight to include, but did not. He regrets not buying some of Soleri's drawings, who at the time was selling drawings to fund Arcosanti. But Apraxine did not, he says, have the same confidence in Soleri's work as he did with others. He also wishes he had known more about Louis Kahn, as he would have pursued purchasing some of this drawings.

Regardless of disappointments and oversights, the collection became well known for the works it did contain. "The architectural drawings were also the kind of ambassadors for Gilman. They were here and there, they were lent very often. That is to say that these drawings were involved in contemporary issues and not only the past," Apraxine stated.<sup>233</sup> They were lent to George Collins's Drawing Center exhibition of Visionary drawings. Apraxine was approached by the Drawing Center's founder, Martha Beck, whom he knew from MoMA. Beck was curator of drawings at MoMA when Apraxine was assistant curator in paintings.<sup>234</sup> Another groundbreaking exhibition that the collection lent works to was *Architettura Moderna: L'avventura delle idee, 1750-1980* curated by Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani in 1985.

The minimal and conceptual art collection was sold and dispersed at auction at Christie's, New York in 1987. Over 20 world record prices were established. The photography collection was given to the Met in 2005, and the architectural drawings collection was given to MoMA in 2000. First known as the Howard Gilman Collection of Visionary Architectural Drawings, it is now known as the Howard Gilman Archive of Visionary Drawings. This shift in terminology from collection to archive speaks to a

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<sup>233</sup> Apraxine interview with author.

<sup>234</sup> Also, when Martha Beck founded the Drawing Center, Apraxine was one of those who supported the venture.

change in the status of the collection as well as the drawings within. No longer simply a collection, it is an archive, now staking the highest claims to historical value.

## CONCLUSION

Among the four beginnings—Barbara Pine’s collection, Judith York Newman’s gallery, *Architectural Studies and Projects* at MoMA, and the Gilman Collection—there were differences in the way architectural drawings were viewed and dealt with. Pine’s understanding combined her interest in their relation to their role in the design process with her appreciation of them as art. She also exhibited them, as art, five times. Newman, an architect who turned to selling architectural representations, likewise appreciated architectural drawings for their role in the process, but at the same time was content to sell them as objects with their own identity. At the time Newman opened her gallery, Jakobson and Ambasz assembled *Architectural Studies and Projects* in which drawings were framed, displayed, rented, and sold, similar to the other material that the ALS showed. Apraxine assembled a collection based solely on the artistic merits of the drawings.

In combination, these initial endeavors gave rise to the understanding of architectural drawings as autonomous objects. Moreover, architectural drawings were beginning to be understood as art. The perception of them as such laid the foundation for the development of a market. Contemporary architectural drawings first entered into the broader art market through the famous Leo Castelli Gallery, where, as a result of the changing status of drawing, architecture was interrogated more intensely than ever before.

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**SPACED GALLERY, PHASE 1**

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EXHIBITION LIST

1. **Inaugural Exhibit – Dattner, Jonas, Rudolph, Attie, Brolin, Perron**  
October – November 1975

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2. **The Place of the Place- Plazas, Squares, Piazzas**  
April – May 1976

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3. **James Rossant – Drawings**  
May 15 – July 02, 1976

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4. **Architectural America – Photographic Essays**  
July 14 – September 16, 1976

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5. **Victor Lazzaro – Drawings and Watercolors**  
September 18 – October 21, 1976

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6. **Rolf Myller – Architectural Fun and Games**  
October 23 – December 02, 1976

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7. **David Macaulay – Drawings: “Great Moments in Architecture”**  
December 04 – January 06, 1977

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8. **Wren’s Friends – 18th Century English Drawings**  
January 15 – February 08, 1977

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9. **Lebbeus Woods – Drawings and Constructions**  
February 12 – March 17, 1977

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10. **Three Viewpoints – Desmond, Aronson, Serra-Badue**  
March 26 – April 27, 1977

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11. **Beaux-Arts Architects – 19th Century Prints**  
April 30 – May 18, 1977

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12. **Gerald Exline – Drawings and Lithographs**  
May 21 – June 30, 1977

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13. **Summertour**  
July 14 – September 13, 1977

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14. **New York – Past, Present, and Proposed**  
September 16 – October 15, 1977

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15. **Hans L. Luttgen – Architecture, Painting, Visions**  
October 22, – November 26, 1977

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16. **Charles Garnier – Le Nouvel Opera de Paris**  
December 08 – January 14, 1978

CONT'D

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17. **Frank Lloyd Wright – Lithographs of Early Works (I)**  
February 03 – March 04, 1978
- 
18. **Country Houses, City Churches – 18th Century Engravings**  
March 31 – April 28, 1978
- 
19. **Haines Lundberg Waehler – Drawings of the Twenties and Thirties**  
May 05 – June 03, 1978
- 
20. **Tom Dubicanac – Archigrok – Collages and Drawings**  
June 09 – July 22, 1978
- 
21. **Architects See the City: A Group Show**  
August 04 – September 09, 1978
- 
22. **Giovanni Battista Piranesi – Etchings**  
September 15 – October 21, 1978
- 
23. **Landscape Baubles and Land Bridges – Sir John Soane to Paolo Soleri**  
December 08, 1978 – January 06, 1979
- 
24. **Tony Garnier – Lithographs: Une Cité Industrielle**  
January 19 – February 17, 1979
- 
25. **David Macaulay – Drawings: “Treasures from the Motel of Mysteries”**  
April 06 – May 12, 1979
- 
26. **Views of Versailles – Early 18th Century Engraving**  
May 24 – June 09, 1979
- 
27. **Paul Rudolph – Drawings from 1947-1978**  
June 15 – July 28, 1979
- 
28. **Francesco Piranesi – Etchings**  
October 05 – November 24, 1979
- 
29. **Henry Hobson Richardson – Photographs and Prints**  
November 30 1979, – January 05 1980
- 
30. **Medieval England – Engravings from 1797 to 1807, Gloucester, St. Stephens, Bath, Exeter, Durham**  
February 22 – March 29, 1980
- 
31. **Frank Lloyd Wright – Lithographs of Early Works (II)**  
April 11 – May 17, 1980
- 
32. **Sandiquity – Architectural Marvels at the Beach**  
June 04 – July 07, 1980
- 
33. **Edward Crystie – Watercolors and Pencil Sketches**  
June 13 – July 26, 1980

CONT'D



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- 34. David Macaulay – Drawings “Unbuilding”**  
September 10 – November 01, 1980
- 
- 35. Lawrence Halprin – Landscape Sketches**  
November 07 –December 13, 1980
- 
- 36. Rome Sweet Rome – Architectural Portrayal in 17th to 20th Century Prints**  
December 18 1980 –April 25, 1981
- 
- 37. No Place Like Home – Concepts of the Individual House**  
March 11 – April 25, 1981
- 
- 38. Romantic Desert Ruins – 18th through 20th Century Prints**  
December 18 1980 – February 28, 1981
- 
- 39. Archi-Tours: Plan A – USA, Plan B – Italy, France, England**  
July 23 – September 19, 1981
- 
- 40. Archi-Facts: Late 19th Century**  
September 23 – November 28, 1981
- 
- 41. Kyoto: Wood Block Prints and Wooden Structures**  
December 17 1981 – January 30, 1982
- 
- 42. Planning Around: 18th through 20th Century Drawings and Prints**  
February 10 – March 27, 1982
- 
- 43. Posters of Architecture: A Collection from Contemporary Exhibits held throughout the United States and Abroad at Universities, Galleries, Institutions and Museums**  
May 05 – June 26, 1982
- 
- 44. British and European Architectural Drawings – 18th through 20th Centuries: an Anthology**  
August 25 – October 02, 1982
- 
- 45. East Side, West Side – New York City in 100 Years**  
October 20 – December 04, 1982
- 
- 46. Macaulay Revisited: Cathedral, City, Castle**  
December 15 1982 – February 26, 1983
- 
- 47. Inside Insights: Interiors of Architecture**  
March 11 1983 – April 30, 1983

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**ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES AND PROJECTS**


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**WORKS**

Architect (sold? √=yes) Year	Title Dimensions Medium	Price USD (framed)
<b>Raimund ABRAHAM</b>		
1972	House with Three Walls (for Hans Neuffer) 36" X 59" Colored pencil	1500 (1600)
1973	House with Flower Walls (for Dieter Rot) 36" X 59" Colored pencil	1500 (1600)
1970	Earth Cloud (for Gerti Frohlich) 36"X 55.75" Colored pencil	1500 (1600)
<b>Peter COOK (√)</b>		
1973/4 rev. 75	Mound 3, Side 1 17.5" X 12.75" Ink, watercolor, crayon First of a series of 3 (see <i>Architectural Design</i> , Sept 1974)	250 (280)
1975	Some Orifices from "Sponge" 17.5 X 17.5" Ink, watercolor, crayon First available in series in production. Project is design of architectural vocabulary: openings, sides, tops, platforms, etc. Will be described fully at a lecture at the I.A.U.S. in April 1975	250 (280)
1972 rev. 75	The Urban Mark as City 17.5" X 17.5" Ink, watercolor, rayon No. 3 in a series of 9 drawings describing the possible disintegration and transformation of architecture	250 (280)
<b>Peter EISENMAN</b>		
1975	House Six: Transformation #12 20" X 24" Ink and color film on Mylar	500 (530)
1975	House Six: Transformation #14 20" X 24" Ink and color film on Mylar	500 (530)
1975	House Six: Transformation #13 20" X 24" Ink and color film on Mylar	500 (530)

CONT'D

**EVENTSTRUCTURE, INC.; J. SHAW**

1970	Stone Cloud 16.5" X 53.75" Watercolored photo-collage	600 (640)
1970	Sea Ruins 30" X 38" Watercolored photo-collage	600 (650)

**Michael GRAVES**

1974	Ft. Wayne Mural Study No. 8 11.5 X 13.125" Colored pencil	500 (520)
1974	Mural Study 410 Park 14.75" X 17" Colored pencil	800 (830)
1972	Ft. Wayne Mural Study No. 2 18.125" X 18.125" Colored pencil	600 (630)

**John HEJDUK**

	Villa of No Consequence (3.5" X 4") 32.5 X 44.5" Colored pencil	Not for Sale Insur. 10,000
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**COOP HIMMELBLAU (v)**

1974	Wolkenkulisse (Sky Wing) 24.5" X 34.5" Pencil	300 (340)
1975	Skyway 34.5" X 24.5" Collage and pencil	405 (445)
1974	Fleigende Dacher (Flying Rooves) 34.5" X 24.5" Collage and pencil	405

**Hans HOLLEIN**

1961	Building 8.25" X 11.75" Pencil	750 (770)
1963	City 19" X 29"; mat 22" X 32" Pencil	1000 (1040)
1970	Death Garment Colored pencil	700
1972	Sacred Room Colored pencil	700
1973	Landscape Colored pencil	600
1974	Building in Landscape (project for a church in Austria Alps) Ink	400

CONT'D

**Rem KOOLHAAS (✓)**

1973	The Square of the Captive Globe 11.75" X 16.5" Gouache	750 (770)
1974	House in Florida – 7 Small Drawings 11" X 13.5" Collage and pencil	600 (670)

**Rodolfo MACHADO (✓)**

1972	F/M House (triptych) 3 X (24.25" X 44") Ink on Mylar	600 (820)
1974	Fountain House: Façade 28.25" X 28.25" Ink on Mylar	300 (350)
1974	Fountain House: Planograph 31.5" X 41" Ink on Mylar	400

**Richard MEIER**

1975	Green House 30.35" X 22.25" Ink on collage	(1700)
1975	Grey House 30.25" X 22.25" Ink on collage	(1700)
1975	Mt. Kisco 30.25" X 22.25" Ink on collage	Not for Sale Valued 1700
1971	Bronx Developmental Center 18" X 38" Pastel and collage	Not for Sale Valued 2000

**Alessandro MENDINI (✓)**

1974	Project of a Piece of Furniture (one figure) 20" X 14.25" Colored pencil	200 (225)
1974	Project of a Piece of Furniture (two figures) 20" X 14.25" Colored Pencil	200 (225)
1974	Project of a Piece of Furniture (three figures) 20" X 14.25" Colored pencil	200 (225)

**Max PEINTER**

1974	Garden 1 24.5" X 17.5" Pencil drawing Lent by the Museum Ferdinandeum	Not for Sale Insur. 2000
1974	Garden 2 17.5" X 24.5" Pencil drawing From Galerie Bucholz	2000 (2030)

CONT'D

**Gaetano PESCE (√)**

1971	Living Unit for Two People (Axonometric Section) 39.25" X 26.75" Watercolor and Ink	600 (650)
1973	Project for the Remodeling of a Villa of the Late Romantic Period (view from above) 27.75" X 43" Watercolor and ink	600 (660)
1973	Project for the Remodeling of a Villa of the Late Romantic Period (longitudinal Section) 40" X 43" Watercolor and ink	600 (660)

**Cedric PRICE**

1967	Oil Containment 14.625" X 28" Ink drawing	Not for sale Ins. 300 (340)
1964	Thinkbelt 5.75" X 14.25" Ink drawing	Not for Sale Ins. 300 (330)
1974	Kentish Town West Amalgam – A Ten Year Community Centre Ink Drawing	Not for sale Ins. 300
1973	Air Portable – Short Life Airport 1973 Ink drawing	Not for sale Ins. 300
1973	Trucksafe – Mobile Truckdrivers Accommodation & Security Ink drawing	Not for sale Ins. 300

**Ettore SOTTASS (√)**

1972	Temple for Erotic Dances to Perform and to Watch 27.125" X 20.25" Hand colored lithograph/ 17 in edition	300 (340)
1972	Rafts for Listening to Chamber Music 27.125" X 20.25" Hand colored lithograph/ 17 in edition	300 (340)
1972	A Gigantic Work 27.125" X 20.25" Hand colored lithograph/ 17 in edition	300 (340)

**Friedrich ST. FLORIAN (√)**

1974	Himmelbett, Penthouse Version (with Holographic Heaven) 40" X 30" Colored pencil	650 (700)
1975	Walking in the Sky – A Proposal for an Interior 30" X 40" Colored pencil	650 (700)
1970	Proposal for an Imaginary Museum of Architecture over the Desert of Arizona 12" X 8.25" (Matt: 19.75" X 15") Photo-montage	350 (375)

CONT'D

**SUPERSTUDIO; Adolfo NATALINI**

1971	Life/Supersurface from Life Fruits and Wine 16.5" X 24" Collage	2000 (2050)
1971	You Can be Where you Like 13.5" X 20.25" (Matt: 26" X 30") Collage	2000 (2050)
1971	Is that the Place to Go? 18.5" X 18" (Matt: 26" X 30") Collage	2000

**Susana TORRE (✓)**

1973	Walls of the House of Meanings 17" X 22" Collage and ink	300 (330)
1974	Function as a Variable of Space (Cherio's Fifth Door) 37.5" X 28" Collage and ink	300 (350)

**Lauretta VINCIARELLI**

1975	Three Metaphors 21" X 36" Collage, metallic paper, and zippetone	300 (340)
1975	Three Metaphors 21" X 36" Collage, metallic paper, and zippetone	300 (340)
1975	Three Metaphors 21" X 36" Collage, metallic paper, and zippetone	300 (340)

**Michael WEBB (✓)**

1975	Transfigured Motel 40" X 30" Mixed media	100 (140)
1974	Inside-Out – Inside Room 12" X 15" Pencil	75 (100)

**James WINES; SITE, Inc.**

1974	Houston Best Building Project 27" X 76.75" Ink drawing Drawn by Emilio Sousa	(1200)
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**Elia & Zoe ZENGHELIS (✓)**

1974	The Egg of the Columbus Center 18" X 22.5" Gouache	750 (780)
1975	Sphinx Hotel, Times Square (An Advertisement) 18" X 22.5" Gouache	400 (430)

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**THE GILMAN COLLECTION OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS**


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**DRAWINGS LIST**


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Architect Year	Title <i>Type(s) of Drawing(s)</i> Dimensions (inches) Medium Other Info Time Life Bldg Location	Purchase Price USD (with tax)	Protetch Valuation USD (12/14/88)
<b>Raimund ABRAHAM</b>			
1972	The House with Curtains <i>Perspective</i> 36 X 56 1/2 ; 36 1/8 X 56 3/4 Pencil, Crayon on Paper Signed and dated lower right front Purchased from Mrs. Hannelore H. Abraham (05/25/76) Reception: 5/22/80 – 04/18/83 ; Large Conference Room 05/21/96	3,000 (3,240)	6,000
1974-5	House without Rooms <i>Elevation and Plan</i> 35 X 38 1/4 Pencil, Crayon, Collage Purchased from Raimund Abraham (04/01/76) King: 05/15/80 ; Bergman: 04/27/81 ; Chos. Milhaupt's Office: 05/21/96	2,000 (2,160)	9,000
<b>Emilio AMBASZ</b>			
1975 (06/13)	Grand Rapids Art Museum <i>Perspective</i> 30 X 40 Diazo-sepia Lines and Watercolor Signed, dated, and titled lower front McCormick: 05/15/80 ; King 04/27/81 – 04/18/83 ; John Faiella: 03/21/96	2,475 (99% ownership)	3,000
<b>Andrea BRANZI</b>			
1969	No-Stop City – Residential Park <i>Plan</i> 29 X 24 3/8 Ink and Pencil on Paper Signed and dated lower right ; marked "Archizoom Assoc." Gym: 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Outside Atwell: 03/23/82 ; Davidson 04/18/83	1,000	3,000

CONT'D

**Peter COOK**

1964	Plug in City <i>Axonometric</i> 27 1/2 X 30 Mixed Media on Cardboard Signed on reverse Purchased from Peter Cook (12/05/77) Haggerty 05/15/80 ; Atwell 04/27/81 – 04/18/83	1,500	5,000
1965	Plug in University <i>Elevation</i> 25 X 33 1/2 Hand-colored photo-mechanical print Purchased from Peter Cook (05/13/76) Gym 05/12/80 – 04/14/83	1,500	2,500
1965	Plug in City, Maximum Pressure area (2 drawings) <i>Sections</i> 20.5 X 44 1/2 Ink on architectural drawing paper (b&w) Purchased from Peter Cook (05/13/76) Gym 05/12/80 ; Haggerty 05/15/80 ; Gym 04/22/81 ; Atwell 04/27/81, 03/22/82, 04/15/83	2000	a. 8,500 b. 1,500

**Peter EISENMAN**

1975	House IV <i>Axonometric</i> 14 X 48 Pen and Ink on Mylar Purchased from Peter Eisenman (01/01/79) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Davidson 03/23/82 ; Begman 04/18/83	2500	4,000
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**Yona FRIEDMAN**

	Untitled <i>Perspective</i> 18 1/2 X 25 1/2 Ink on Paper (with grey wash) Stamped lower right front Purchased from Yona Friedman (07/76) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81, 03/22/82, 04/18/83	Group of 4 drawings for 4,500	2,000
1959 (10/20)	Untitled (Project for Paris) <i>Perspective</i> 19 X 26 Ink on Paper Signed and dated lower left Purchased from Yona Friedman (07/76) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81, 03/22/82, 04/18/83 ; Outside Meighaw 04/18/83	Group of 4 drawings for 4,500	3,000

CONT'D



1959	Untitled/ "African Proposals" <i>Perspective</i> 14 X 20 Ink and grey wash on paper (color) Purchased from Yona Friedman (07/76) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81, 03/22/82, 04/18/83	Group of 4 drawings for 4,500	2,000
1958-9	Vue d'une Ville Spatiale <i>Perspective</i> 8 1/2 X 10 1/2 Ink on Paper Purchased from Yona Friedman (07/76) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81, 03/22/82, 04/18/83	Group of 4 drawings for 4,500	2,000
<b>Buckminster FULLER</b>			
1927-9	Dymaxion House Plan 10 X 10 Pencil and watercolor on paper Purchased from Ronald Feldman Fine Arts (12/22/77) Library	Group of 6 drawings for 19,000 (20,520)	7,000
1927-9	A Minimum Dymaxion Home <i>Elevation, Axonometric, and Plan</i> 38 3/4 X 18 3/4 Original drawing for a blueprint according for Fuller's specifications and design Purchased from Ronald Feldman Fine Arts (12/22/77) Library	Group of 6 drawings for 19,000 (20,520)	8,000
1929	Proposed Dymaxion Hanging Restaurant for Romany Marie <i>Sketch</i> 16 X 14 Pencil and Ink on Paper Purchased from Ronald Feldman Fine Arts (12/22/77) Library	Group of 6 drawings for 19,000 (20,520)	6,000
1927-9	The First Dymaxion House Deck – Tensioning Pattern <i>Plan</i> 10 X 13 1/2 Pencil and Ink on Paper Purchased from Ronald Feldman Fine Arts (12/22/77) Library	Group of 6 drawings for 19,000 (20,520)	6,000
1930	A Dymaxion House <i>Perspective</i> 16 X 11 3/4 Crayon on Paper Initialed and dedicated to Allegra on lower right Purchased from Ronald Feldman Fine Arts (12/22/77) Library	Group of 6 drawings for 19,000 (20,520)	10,000
c.1930	A Dymaxion Home <i>Elevation and Plan</i> 22 X 12 Hand Colored, Pencil and Watercolor Purchased from Ronald Feldman Fine Arts (12/22/77) Library	Group of 6 drawings for 19,000 (20,520)	12,000

CONT'D

**John HEJDUK**

1973	A. E. Bye House, Ridgefield, CT <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 28 X 40 1/2 Colored Pencil on <i>Sepia Print</i> Purchased from John Hejduk (05/11/79) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Executive Office Area 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Group of 3 drawings for 5,000	4,000
1973	A. E. Bye House, Ridgefield, CT Elevation / <i>Elevation Sketch</i> 8 X 8 Colored Pencil Purchased from John Hejduk (05/11/79) N/A	Group of 3 drawings for 5,000	N/A
1973	A. E. Bye House, Ridgefield, CT <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 28 X 40 1/2 Colored Pencil on <i>Sepia Print</i> Purchased from John Hejduk (05/11/79) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Executive Office Area 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Group of 3 drawings for 5,000	4,000

**Ron HERRON**

1966	Cities – Moving <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 11 1/2 X 17 Collage Signed and dated lower right front Purchased from Ron Herron (09/11/77) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81; Executive Office Area 03/23/82, 04/18/83	4,000	4,000
1964	Cities – Moving, Master Vehicle Habitation <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 22 X 33 Ink on Paper Signed and dated lower left front Purchased from Ron Herron (09/11/77) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81; Outside Atwell 03/23/82, 04/18/83	500	4,000

**Arata ISOZAKI**

1968	Hiroshima Reconstructed <i>Perspective</i> 14 X 37 Collage of Photographs / <i>Photomontage</i> Signed “Arata Isozaki ‘68” Purchased from Arata Isozaki (03/20/79) Gym	2,500	4,000
1960	Spatial Construction <i>Elevation</i> 33 X 20 7/8 Ink on Paper Purchased from Arata Isozaki (03/20/79) Gym	2,500	4,000

CONT'D

**Rem KOOLHAAS**

1975	Roosevelt Island Housing / <i>Roosevelt Island Redevelopment</i> Axonometric 30 X 40 Acrylic and Ink on Paper Purchased from Rem Koolhaas Men's Room Corridor	1,000	3,000
1967-77 / 1976	Welfare Palace Hotel Axonometric 51 X 40 1/2 Watercolor and Ink on Paper Purchased from Rem Koolhaas (11/17/77) Pantry Corridor 05/22/80 ; Lounge Corridor 03/23/82, 04/18/83	2,250	4,500
1975-6	New Welfare Island <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 58 X 40 Acrylic on Paper Purchased from Rem Koolhaas Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Lounge Corridor 03/23/82, 04/18/83	2,000	4,500
1972	The City of the Captive Globe <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 13 X 18 Watercolor and Pencil on Paper Purchased from Rem Koolhaas (02/18/78) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Lounge Corridor 03/23/82, 04/18/83	1,500	5,000

**Leon KRIER**

1972 (11/20), 1975 (06/09), 1971 (09/10)	4 Drawings (House without Rooms, House for Colin Rowe, Labyrinth City, Island Project) 3 framed together, Island Project framed separately Ink on Paper Purchased from Leon Krier (summer 1976) Szegethy 05/15/80 ; Pallen 04/27/81, 03/23/92, 04/18/83	Group of 4 drawings for 3,000	4,500
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**MACHADO & SILVETTI**

1975	Untitled (Generative Geometry) <i>Plan</i> Acrylic and Ink on Paper Purchased from Marlborough Gallery 1976	600	
1975	Section AA, Project 1975 <i>Watercolor and Ink on Paper</i> Purchased from Marlborough Gallery 1976	600	

**Alessandro MENDINI**

1971	Progetto di Abitazione <i>Perspective</i> 15 3/4 X 15 3/4 Printed acetate over half tones (?) Purchased from Alessandro Mendini (07/76) Ingerman	200	1,000
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CONT'D

1971	Progetto di Abitazione <i>Perspective</i> 15 3/4 X 15 3/4 Printed acetate over half tones (?) Purchased from Alessandro Mendini (07/76) Ingerman	200	1,000
<b>Max PEINTNER</b>			
1974	Take Off 1974 <i>Perspective</i> 24 5/8 X 34 5/8 Pencil and Paper Purchased from Max Peintner (08/27/76) Bergman 05/15/80, 04/27/81 ; Sorrentino 03/23/82, 04/18/83	1,226	2,000
<b>Gaetano PESCE</b>			
1974-77	Pianta della "Chiesa" per l'Isolamento <i>Plan</i> 58.5 X 42.5 Watercolor and Pencil on Paper Purchased from Gaetano Pesce (11/08/76) Signed, dated, and titled lower image Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Outside Apraxine 03/23/82 ; Outside Davis 04/18/83	1,500	7,500
1971	Unita Habitativa per due Persone (2 drawings) <i>Axonometric Sections</i> 39 X 26 each Watercolor and pencil on Paper Purchased from Gaetano Pesce (11/08/76) Signed, dated, and titled lower front Gym Corridor	1,250 each	8,000
1974-77	Pianta della "Chiesa" per l'Isolamento <i>Transverse Section</i> 58 1/2 X 58 1/2 Watercolor and Pencil on Paper Purchased from Gaetano Pesce (11/77) Signed, dated, and titled lower image Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Forster 03/23/82, 04/18/83	3,000	7,500
1974-77	Pianta della "Chiesa" per l'Isolamento <i>Longitudinal Section</i> 58 1/2 X 42 1/2 Watercolor and Pencil on Paper Purchased from Gaetano Pesce (11/08/76) Signed, dated, and titled lower image Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Outside Apraxine 03/23/82 ; Outside Davis 04/18/83	1,500	7,500
<b>Walter PICHLER</b>			
1977	Large Figure with an Organ 29 X 34 Ink, Pencil on Paper Purchased from Leo Castelli, Inc. Nov., 1977 Buckley 05/15/80, 04/27/81, 03/23/22 ; Bergman 04/18/83	2,700	5,000

CONT'D

1975	Pillars under the Shed <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 13 7/16 X 19 1/4 Ink, Pencil, and Wash Purchased from Emilio Ambasz (on behalf of Pichler) (12/22/75) Outside Chasin Office 05/15/80, 04/27/81, 03/23/22 ; Corridor Ergrian(?) 04/18/83	3,240	7,500
1974	Observatory <i>Perspective</i> Purchased from Walter Pichler (07/11/76)	1,750	
1975	Two Rooms <i>Perspective and Plan</i> 18.75 X 25.75 Ink and Pencil on Paper Purchased from Leo Castelli, Inc. Nov., 1977 Buckley 05/15/80, 04/27/81, 03/23/22 ; Bergman 04/18/83	2,700	7,500
<b>Cedric PRICE</b>			
1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Early Transfer Ares, Pitts Hill <i>Pen and Pencil on Paper</i> Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80)	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	3,500
1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Madely Transfer Area <i>Perspective</i> 7.5 X 14.5 Photograph and Ink Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Cake Room 03/23/82 ; Vending Room 04/18/83	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	3,500
1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Key Drawing (earliest) <i>Plan</i> 19.75 X 29.75 Colored Pencil, Ink Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Gym	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	3,500
1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Mobile Teaching Machines <i>Perspective</i> Ink, red acetate(?) 12.5 X 11.5 Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Gym 03/22/82 ; Outside Pallen 04/18/83	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	3,500
1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Housing Areas <i>Perspective</i> Photograph, black and white Ink 6.75 X 29.5 Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Gym 03/22/82 ; Benden 04/18/83	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	3,500
1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Desire Lines – Physical and Mental Exchange <i>Plan</i> <i>Ink on Vellum</i>	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	
1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Pitts Hill <i>Sketch</i> <i>Ink on Mylar</i> Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80)	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	

CONT'D

1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Final Pitts Hill Transfer Area <i>Axometric</i> <i>Pen and Pencil on Paper</i> Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80)	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	
1965-6	Potteries Think-Belt: Housing Area <i>Perspective</i> <i>Photograph and Ink</i> Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80)	Group of 10 drawings for 23,000	
1959-61	Fun Palace: Storyboard for Film <i>Sketches</i> 14 1/2 X 27 Pencil, Ink / <i>Black and red ink, pencil and crayon on paper</i> Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Gym 03/22/82 ; Outside Conference Room 04/18/83	Group of 5 drawings for 12,000	3,000
1959-61	Fun Palace: Key Drawing <i>Perspective</i> 17 1/2 X 33 Pencil and red Ink Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Gym 03/22/82 ; Outside Meighan 04/18/83	Group of 5 drawings for 12,000	5,000
1959-61	Fun Palace: Earliest Drawing <i>Perspectives</i> 6 1/2 X 15 1/2 Pencil, Colored Pencil, Ink Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Gym 03/22/82 ; Outside Conference Room 04/18/83	Group of 5 drawings for 12,000	4,000
1959-61	Fun Palace: Drawing for Final Site <i>Perspective</i> 13 1/2 X 26 1/2 Photograph, Pencil, Ink Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Gym 03/22/82 ; Outside Meighan 04/18/83	Group of 5 drawings for 12,000	4,000
1959-61	Fun Palace: View from Helicopter Cockpit <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 9 X 10 1/2 Photograph, Ink, Paper overlay Purchased from Cedric Price (11/10/80) Cake Room 03/23/82 ; Vending Room 04/18/83	Group of 5 drawings for 12,000	3,000
1978-80	Generator Project Drawings 80 drawings, postcards, etc., 1 model baseboard Purchased from Cedric Price (01/11/97) Time Life Building, NY, Archives	50,000	
1978-80	Generator Project Models & Drawings Purchased from Cedric Price (10/06/97) City of the Future <i>Perspectives</i> 189 3/4 X 36 <i>Black and White crayon, Ink, and Pencil on Brown Paper</i> Purchased from Cedric Price (02/20/98)	8,000	

CONT'D

**Aldo ROSSI**

1971 / 1971-84	Cemetery of Modena <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 22.75 X 49.5 Ink and Pencil on Paper Initialed and dates lower right front <i>With G. Braghieri</i> Purchased from Aldo Rossi (03/09/77) Gym 04/22/81 ; Outside McCormick 03/23/82, 04/18/83	1,750	10,000
1972 / 1971-84	Study for Cemetery at Modena <i>Plan Study</i> 9 1/4 X 14 Ink and Pencil on Paper <i>With G. Braghieri</i> Purchased from Aldo Rossi (03/09/77) Chelton	Group of 5 drawings for 500	3,000
1971 / 1971-84	Study for Cemetery at Modena <i>Plan Study</i> 28 1/2 X 33 3/4 Ink and Pencil on Paper <i>With G. Braghieri</i> Purchased from Aldo Rossi (03/09/77) Chelton	Group of 5 drawings for 500	3,500
1972 / 1971-84	Study for Cemetery at Modena <i>Plan Study</i> 9 1/4 X 14 7/8 Ink and Pencil on Paper <i>With G. Braghieri</i> Purchased from Aldo Rossi (03/09/77) Chelton	Group of 5 drawings for 500	3,500
1971	Study for Cemetery at Modena Ink and Pencil on Paper Purchased from Aldo Rossi (03/09/77) NOT IN MoMA LIST	Group of 5 drawings for 500	
1971 / 1971-84	Study for Cemetery at Modena <i>Elevation Study</i> 7 3/4 X 29 5/8 Ink and Pencil on Paper <i>With G. Braghieri</i> Purchased from Aldo Rossi (03/09/77) Gym	Group of 5 drawings for 500	4,000
1976	Workers Dwelling Project <i>Sections</i> 17 1/2 X 57 1/4 / 25 1/4 X 64 3/4 Pencil and colored pencil on paper / <i>Pencil and Color Pencil on Tracing Paper</i> Initialed and dated lower right Purchased from Aldo Rossi (03/09/77) Berry, 05/15/80 ; Chelton 04/27/81, 03/23/82, 04/18/83	1,750	3,000

CONT'D

1976	Workers Dwelling Project <i>Elevation</i> 14 1/2 X 64 Pencil and colored pencil on paper Gift to Pierre Apraxine from Aldo Rossi ; Gift from P. Apraxine to Architectural Drawings Collection, GPC Collection Berry, 05/15/80 ; Chelton 04/27/81, 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Gift ; Insurance: 3,000	
<b>Paul RUDOLPH</b>			
1967-72	The Lower Manhattan Expressway for the Ford Foundation Perspective Looking East 40 X 33 1/2 Ink on Paper Signed lower right "Paul Rudolph '72" Purchased Christie's (06/06/92), Sale 7496 Park, Lot 56	2,860	
<b>Massimo SCOLARI</b>			
1975	Adio Melampi / <i>Addio Melampo</i> <i>Perspective</i> 11 3/4 X 10 Watercolor Signed Lower Right Purchased from Massimo Scolari (summer 1976) Gym 04/22/81, 03/22/82 ; Switchboard 04/18/83	2,000	3,500
1974	Untitled (#20), Passagio Urbano <i>Perspective</i> 7 1/8 X 5 1/8 Watercolor Signed and Dated Lower Left Purchased from Massimo Scolari (02/27/76) Gym	800	2,500
<b>Ettore SOTTASS</b>			
1973	Tea Pot (by ocean with shells), from "Planet as a Festival" 19 X 13 1/2 Pencil on Paper By Tiger Tateishi Pinxit Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) Programming	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
1973	Fruit Bowl ( <i>with Grapes</i> ), from "Planet as a Festival" <i>Aerial Perspective</i> 10 3/4 X 8 5/8 Pencil on Paper By Tiger Tateishi Pinxit Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) Computer Area	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
1973	Tea Pot, from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>Tea Pot (with Red Lid)</i> <i>Perspective</i> 19 X 13 1/2 Pencil on Paper By Tiger Tateishi Pinxit Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) Programming	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000

CONT'D



1973 / 1972-3	Tea Pot (in Forest Setting), from "Planet as a Festival" <i>Perspective</i> 19 X 13 1/2 Pencil on Paper By Tiger Tateishi Pinxit Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) Computer Area	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
1972-3	Untitled, from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>Study for "A Dispenser of Incense, LSD, Marijuana, Opium, Laughing Gas"</i> <i>Perspective</i> 15 1/8 X 13 3/8 Pencil on Paper Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) La Stella 05/15/80 ; Rudin 04/27/81, 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
1973	Fruit Bowl (with Apple), from "Planet as a Festival" <i>Perspective</i> 19 X 13 3/8 Pencil on Paper By Tiger Tateishi Pinxit Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) La Stella 05/15/80 ; Rudin 04/27/81, 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
1973	Tea Pot (Plants), from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>Study for "Teapot in a Forest Setting"</i> <i>Perspective</i> 19 X 13 1/2 Pencil on Paper Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77)	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	
1972-73	Untitled (Two Cliffs), from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>Design of a Stadium for Rock Concerts</i> <i>Aerial Perspective</i> Framed: 21 3/4 X 17 3/4 Pencil on Paper Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77)	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	
1972-73	Irawaddy, from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>A Gigantic Work</i> <i>Aerial Perspective</i> Framed: 21 3/4 X 17 3/4 Pencil on Paper Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) La Stella 05/15/80 ; Rudin 04/27/81, 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
1972-73	Untitled (Houses), from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>Study for "A Large Dispenser of Waltzes, Tangoes, Rock, and Cha-cha-cha"</i> <i>Perspective</i> Framed: 21 3/4 X 17 3/4 Pencil on Paper Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) La Stella 05/15/80 ; Rudin 04/27/81, 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
1972-73	Untitled (Manhattan), from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>Design of a Roof to Discuss Under</i> <i>Perspective</i> Pencil on Paper 11 1/2 X 10 7/8 Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77)	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	

CONT'D

1972-3	Untitled (Floating Structures), from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>Study for "Rafts for Listening to Chamber Music"</i> <i>Perspective</i> 14 1/2 X 12 3/8 Pencil on Paper By Tiger Tateishi Pinxit Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) La Stella 05/15/80 ; Rudin 04/27/81, 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
1972-73	Untitled (Canyon), from "Planet as a Festival" / <i>Study for</i> <i>"Design of a Stadium to Watch the Stars"</i> <i>Aerial Perspective</i> <i>Framed: 21 3/4 X 17 3/4</i> Pencil and White Crayon on Paper Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77)	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	
1972-3	Plan of Temples / <i>Study for "Temple for Erotic Dances"</i> <i>Aerial Perspective and Plan</i> 13 3/4 X 12 5/8, <i>Framed</i> Collage, Pencil on Paper Purchased from Ettore Sottsass (06/20/77) Gym 05/15/80, 04/27/81 ; Switchboard 03/23/82, 04/18/83	Group of 14 drawings for 4,000	2,000
<b>Friedrich ST. FLORIAN</b>			
1975	Elements of the Vertical City (3 Drawings, Triptych – "City Base," "City Torso," "City Crown") <i>Axometrics</i> 36 X 28 each Pencil and Ink on Cardboard Signed, dated, and titled lower center of each Purchased from Friedrich St. Florian (07/01/77) Gym 04/22/81 ; Pantry Corridor 03/23/82 ; 04/18/83	2,000	3,500
1974	Himmelbett <i>Perspective</i> 36 X 48 Pencil and color pencil on paper Titled and Dated Lower Left Purchased from Friedrich St. Florian (10/08/76) Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81; Bergman 03/23/82 ; K Haggerty 04/18/83	800	2,500
<b>SUPERSTUDIO</b>			
1969	"On the River" and "St. Moritz Revisited," from The Continuous Monument: <i>An Architectural Model for Total</i> <i>Urbanization</i> <i>Framed Together: 26 X 38</i> <i>Photomontage with Pencil on paper ; Collage and Pencil on</i> paper Signed, lower middle of mat (matted together) Purchased from Superstudio Faiella	Group of 2 for 700	3,500

CONT'D

1969	<p>“On the Rocky Coast” and “Alpine Lakes. from The Continuous Monument: <i>An Architectural Model for Total Urbanization Perspectives</i></p> <p><i>Framed Together: 25 3/4 X 38</i></p> <p>Collage and Pencil</p> <p>Titled and Dated Lower middle of mat (matted together)</p> <p>Purchased from Superstudio (01/13/77)</p> <p>Faiella</p>	Group of 2 for 700	2,500
1969	<p>New York Extrusion, from the Continuous Monument: <i>An Architectural Model for Total Urbanization Aerial Perspective</i></p> <p><i>25 3/4 X 38</i></p> <p>Collage and Pencil</p> <p>Purchased from Superstudio</p> <p>Atwell 05/15/80 ; Berry 04/27/81, 03/23/82, 04/18/83</p>	1,400	2,500
<b>Mathias UNGERS</b>			
1964	<p><i>Student Housing</i> for the Enshede Project, <i>The Netherlands Axonometric</i></p> <p>84 X 55 1/2</p> <p>Ink on Paper</p> <p><i>With J. Sawade and G. Geist</i></p> <p>Purchased from Mathias Ungers (09/30/78)</p> <p>Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Outside Faiella 03/23/82, 04/18/83</p>	Group of 2 for 700	3,500
<b>Michael WEBB</b>			
1957	<p>Furniture Manufacturers Association Building for High Wycombe</p> <p>Side Elevation</p> <p>32 1/2 X 24</p> <p>Pencil on board</p> <p>Signed on reverse of Masonite backing</p> <p>Purchased from Michael Webb (06/12/77)</p> <p>Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Haggerty 03/23/82 04/18/83</p>	2,500	4,000
1957	<p>Furniture Manufacturers Association Building for High Wycombe</p> <p>Front Elevation</p> <p>24 X 21 1/2</p> <p>Pencil on board</p> <p>Signed on reverse of Masonite backing</p> <p>Purchased from Michael Webb (06/12/77)</p> <p>Gym 05/12/80, 04/22/81 ; Haggerty 03/23/82 04/18/83</p>	2,500	4,000

CONT'D

**Elia ZENGHELIS**

1975 /	Hotel Sphinx	1,000	3,000
1975-6	Axonometric 18 X 22 Acrylic and Ink on Paper Signed on reverse of Masonite backing Purchased from Elia Zenghelis Men's Room Corridor		
1976 /	Hotel Sphinx	500	3,500
1975-6	<i>Axonometric Detail of Head</i> 70 X 28 Acrylic and Ink on Paper Signed on reverse of Masonite backing Purchased from Elia Zenghelis Men's Room Corridor		

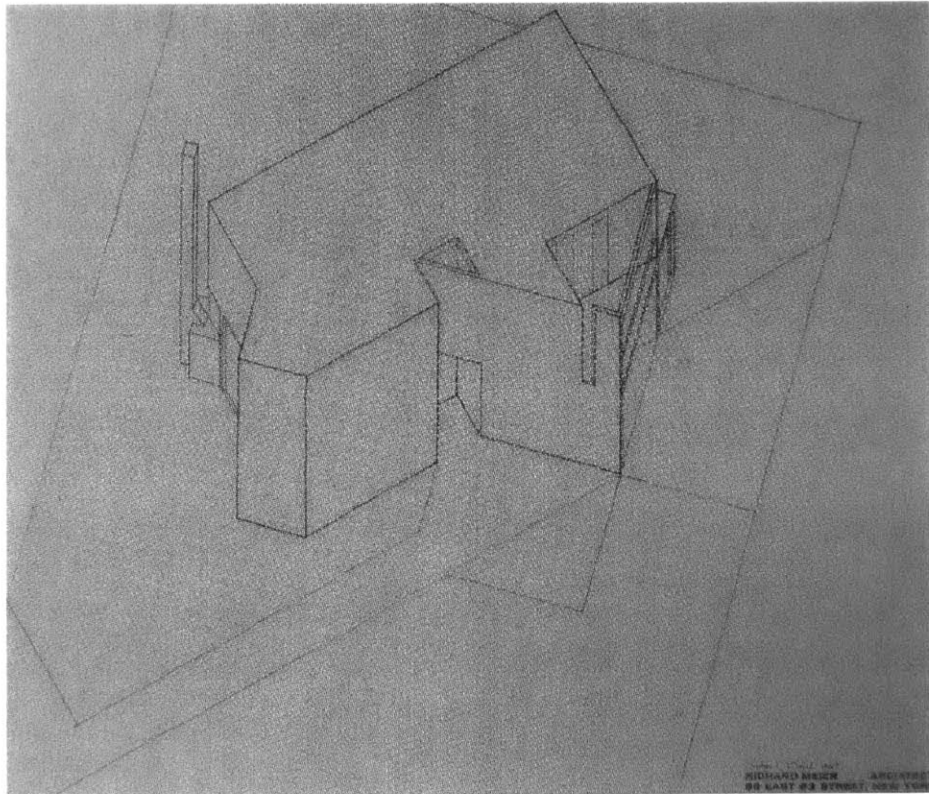
Note: The information in this list is compiled from two sources. One is the series of three inch by five inch notecards that Apraxine used to record the collection. All information from these cards appears in normal typeface. These cards are supplemented by a list generated by MoMA when the collection was acquired. Where this information was not included on Apraxine's cards, the information has been included in italic typeface.

## IMAGES

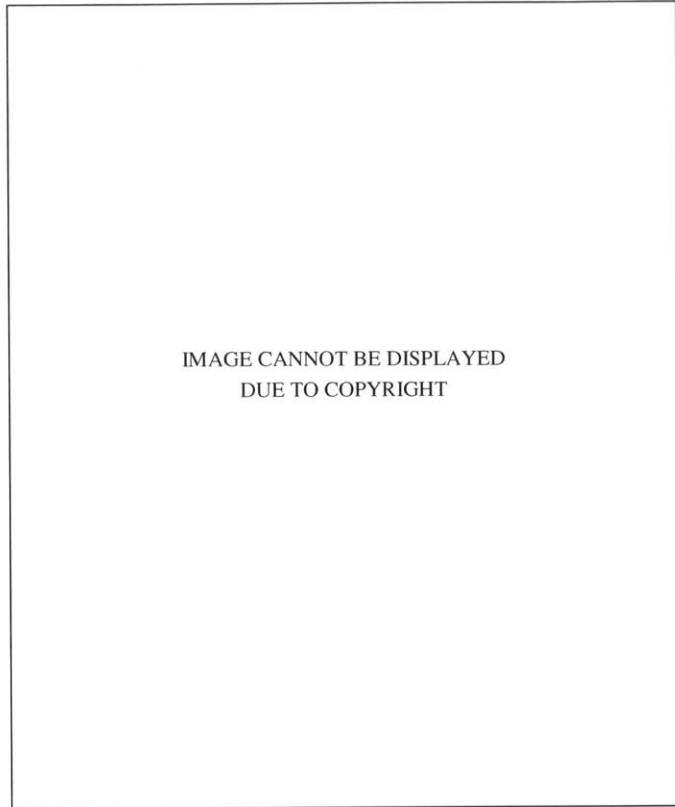
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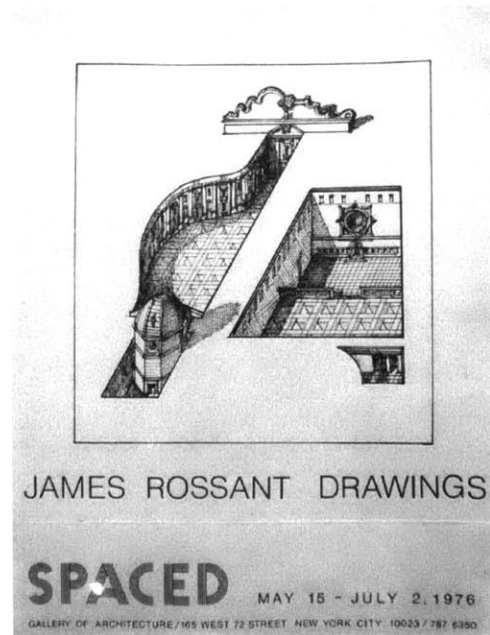
**Barbara Pine.**  
In her study, sitting in her Mario Botta *Quinta* chair.



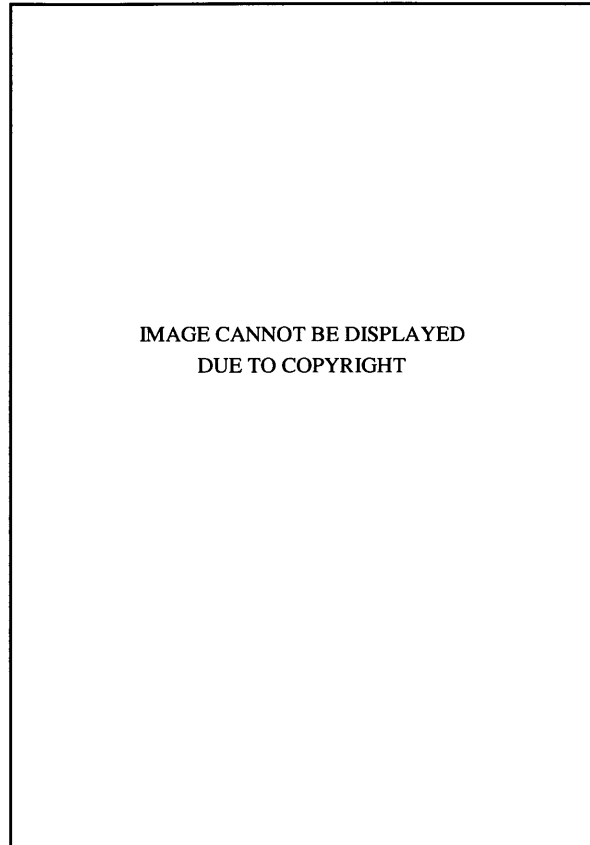
**Richard Meier, drawing for the Hoffman House, 1967.**  
From the Collection of Barbara Pine.



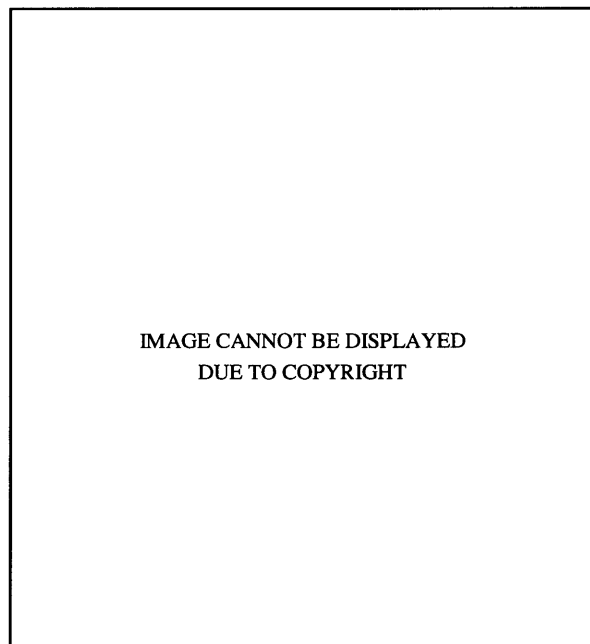
**Spaced Gallery, 1977.**  
© Brent Brolin.



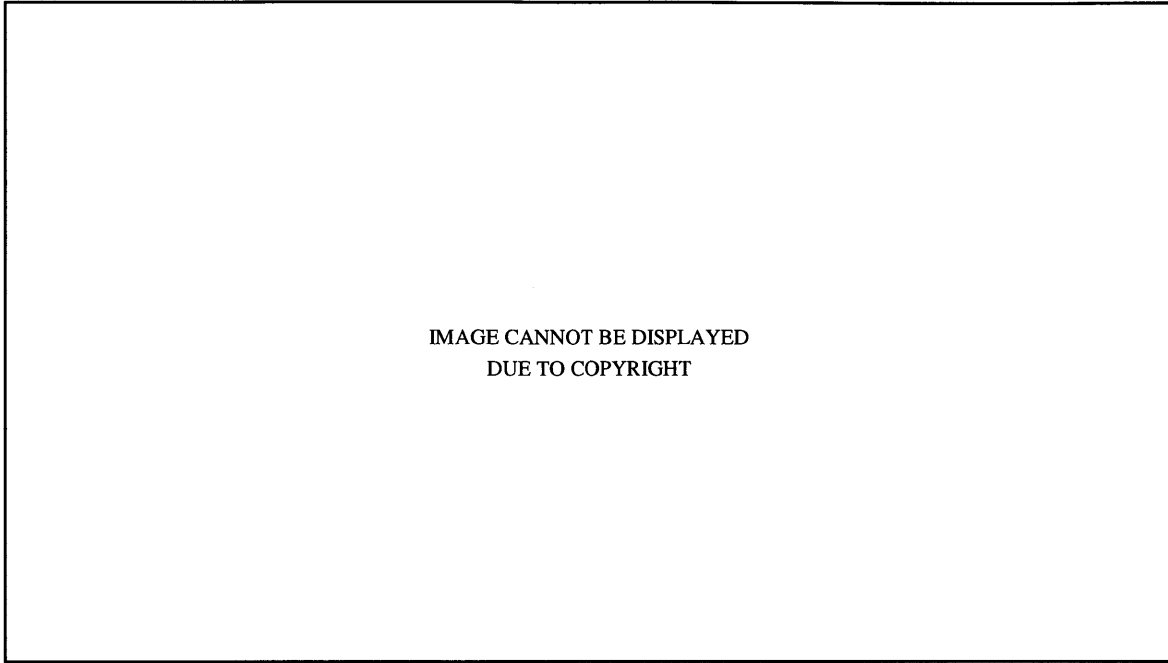
**James Rossant: Drawings, Spaced Gallery, 1976. Invitation.**  
Courtesy Judith York Newman.



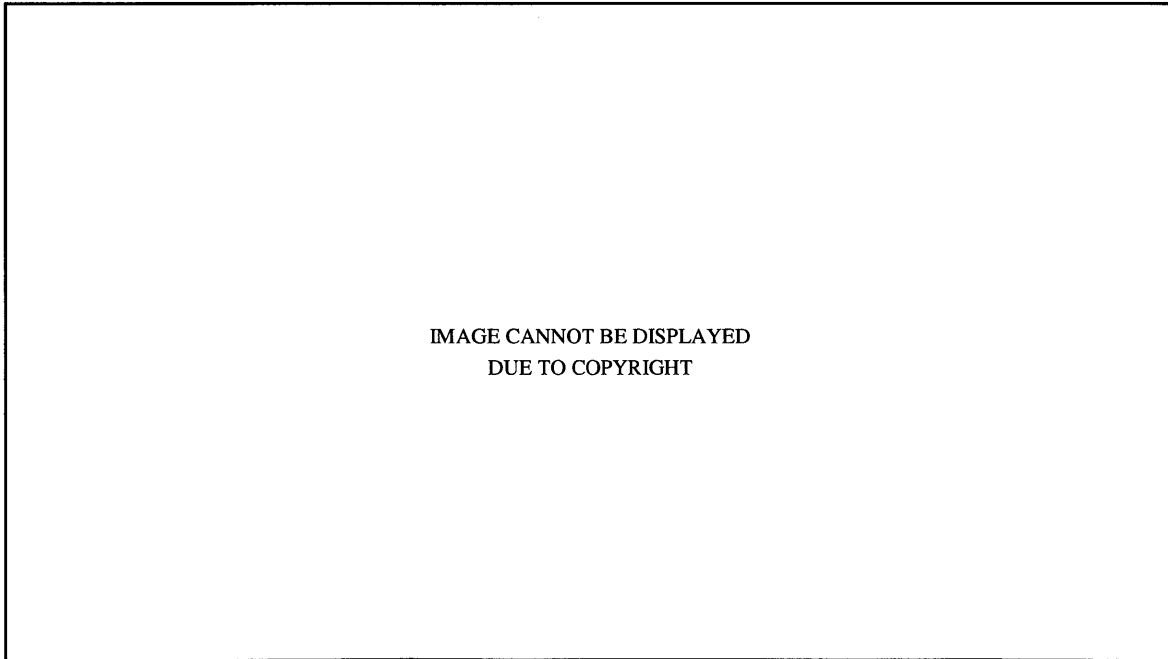
**Proposed Plan for the Art Lending Service, MoMA Penthouse.**  
Courtesy Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.93.



**Invitation to opening of *Architectural Studies and Projects*, 1975. MoMA Penthouse.**  
Courtesy Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.93.

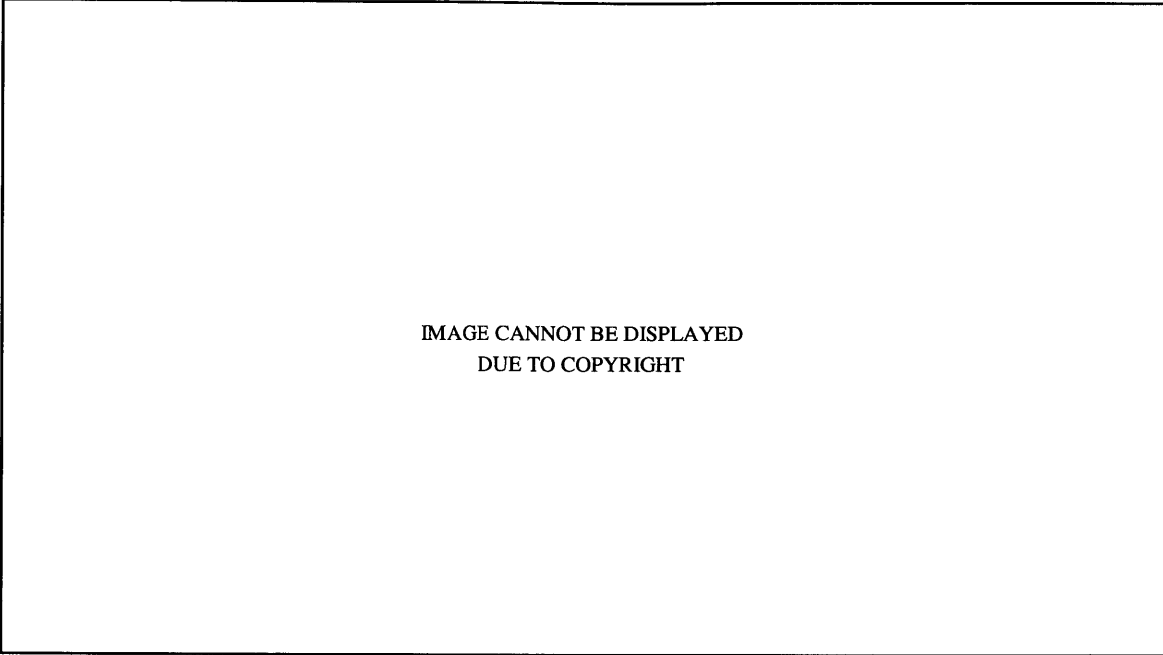


***Architectural Studies and Projects, MoMA Penthouse, 1975. Installation.***  
Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.92.

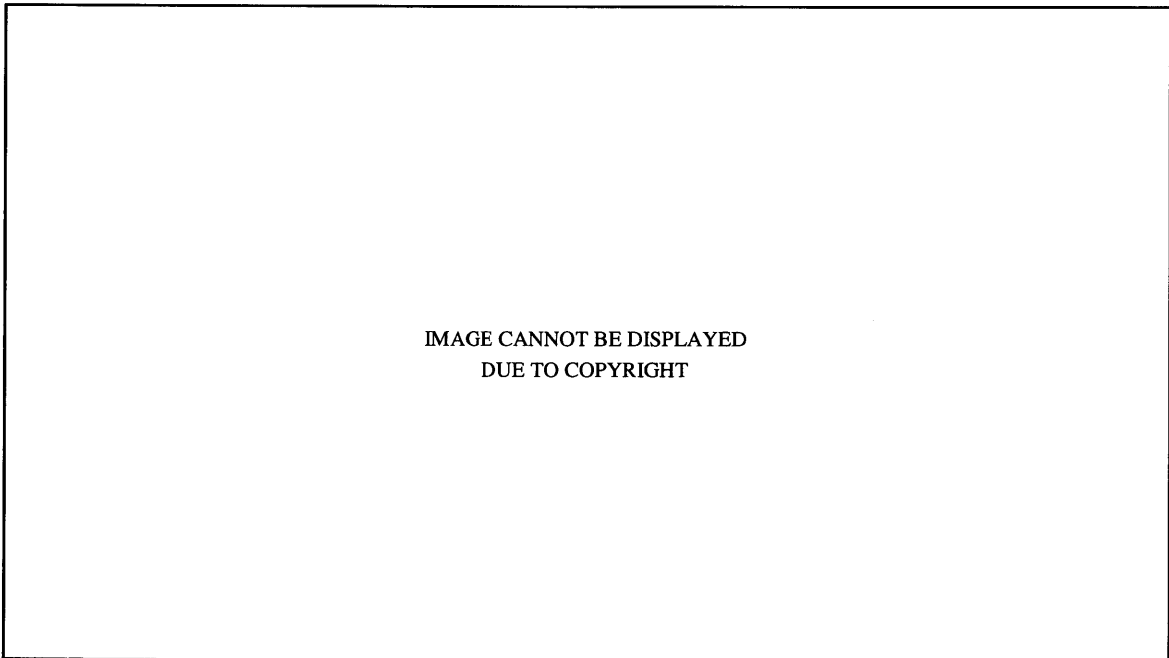


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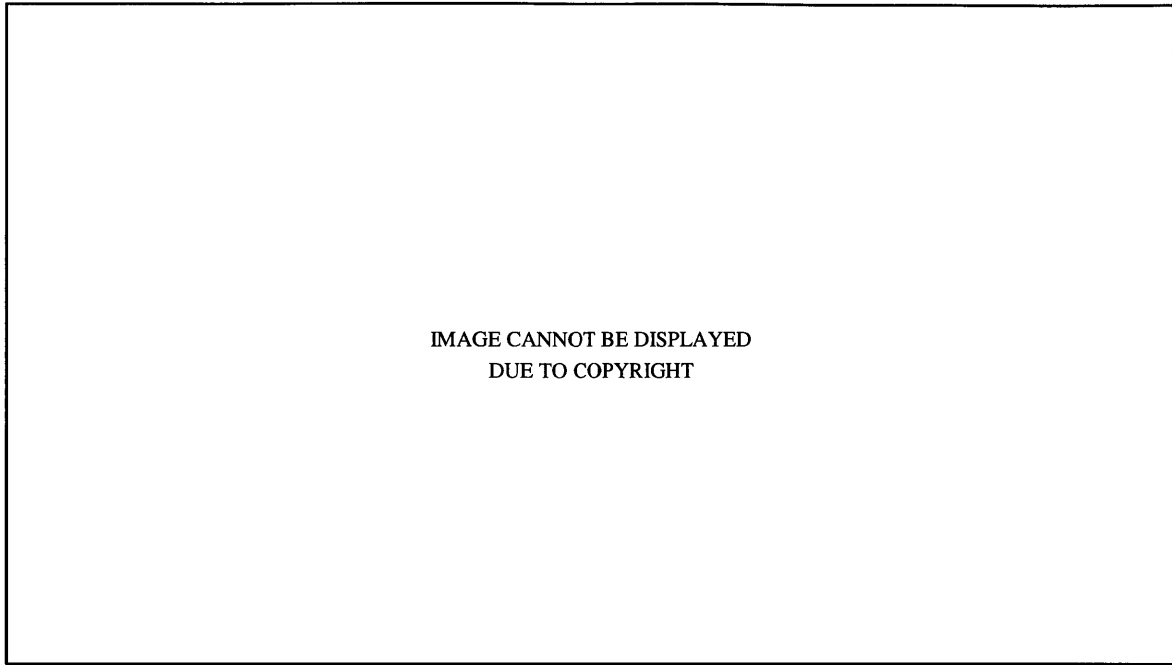




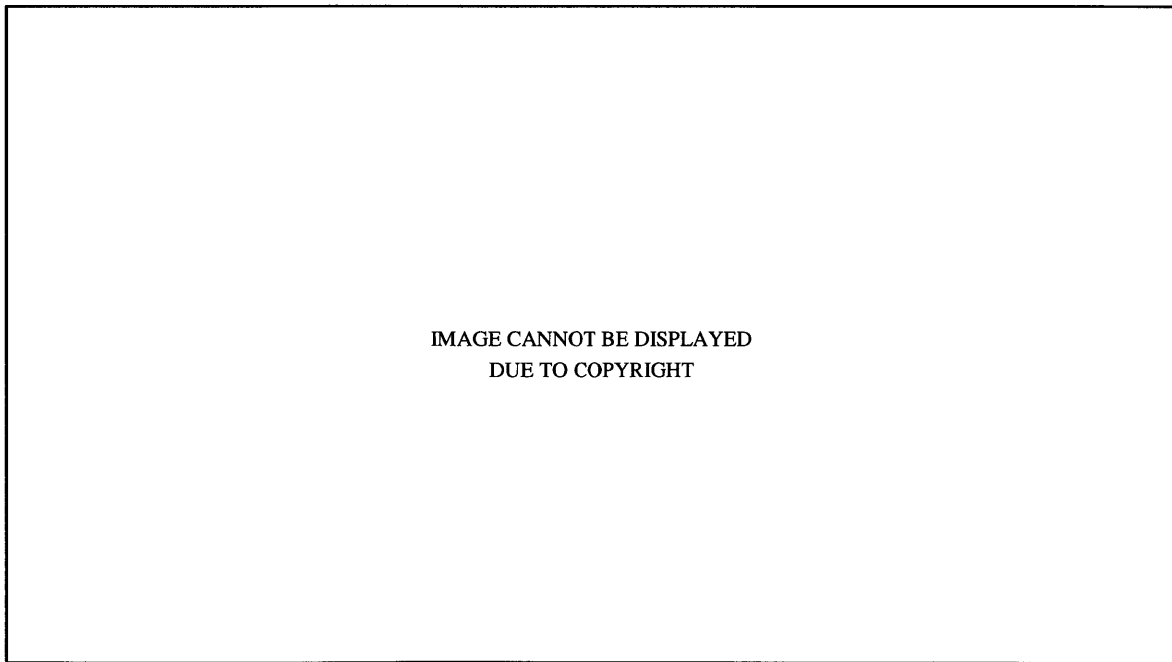
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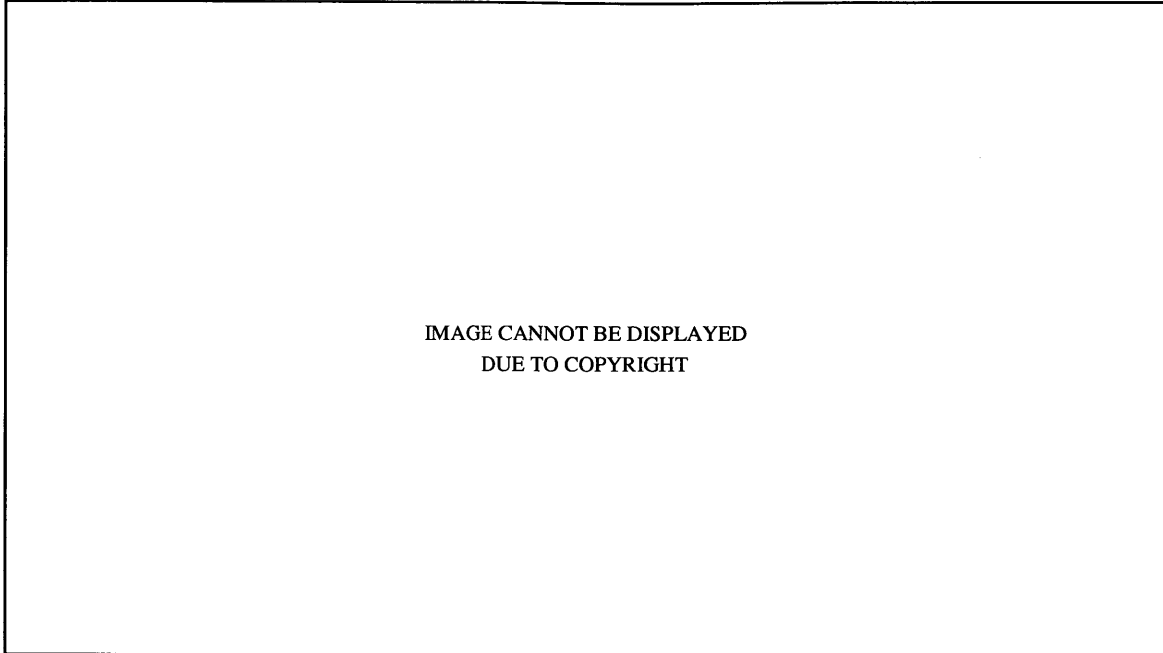
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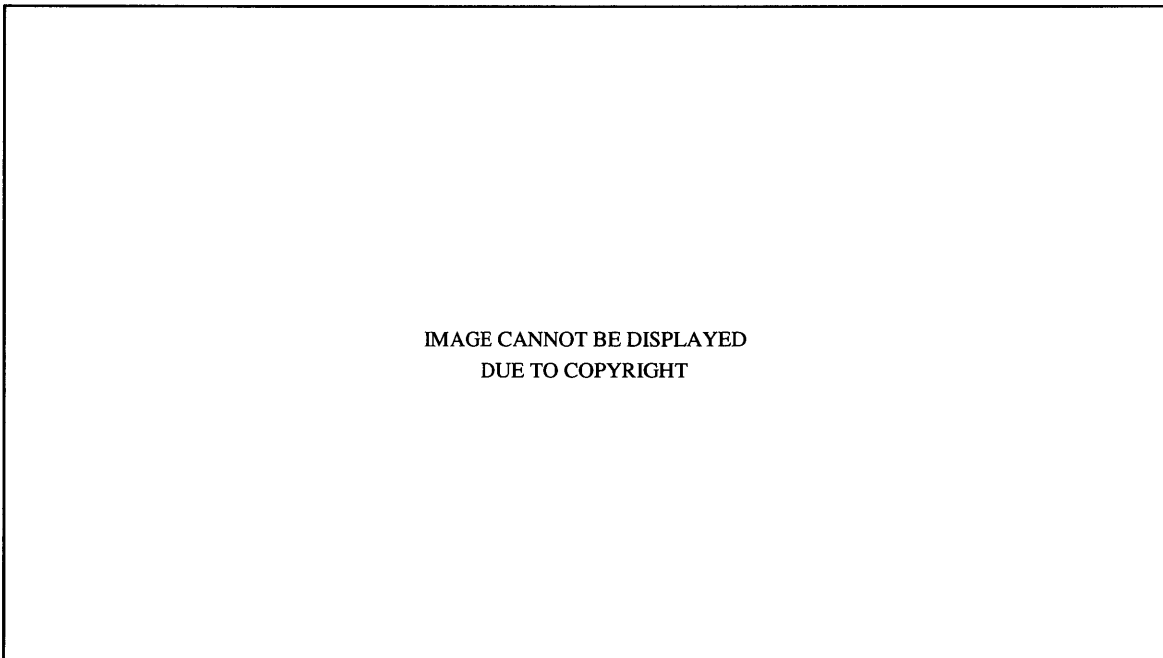
***Architectural Studies and Projects, MoMA Penthouse, 1975. Installation.***  
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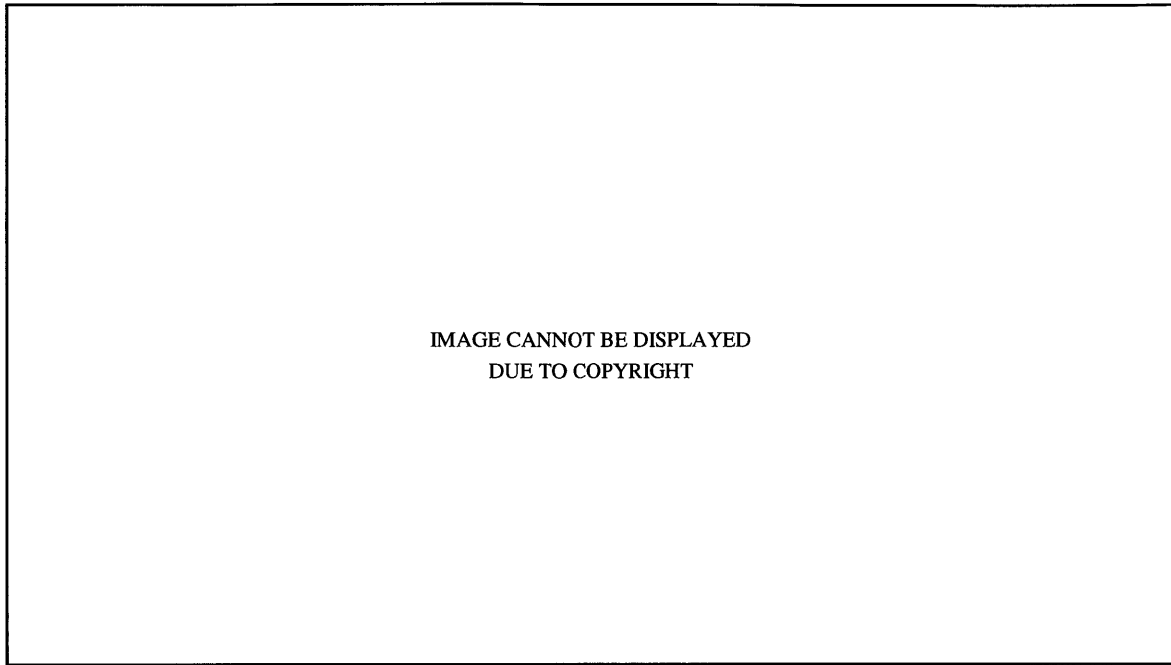
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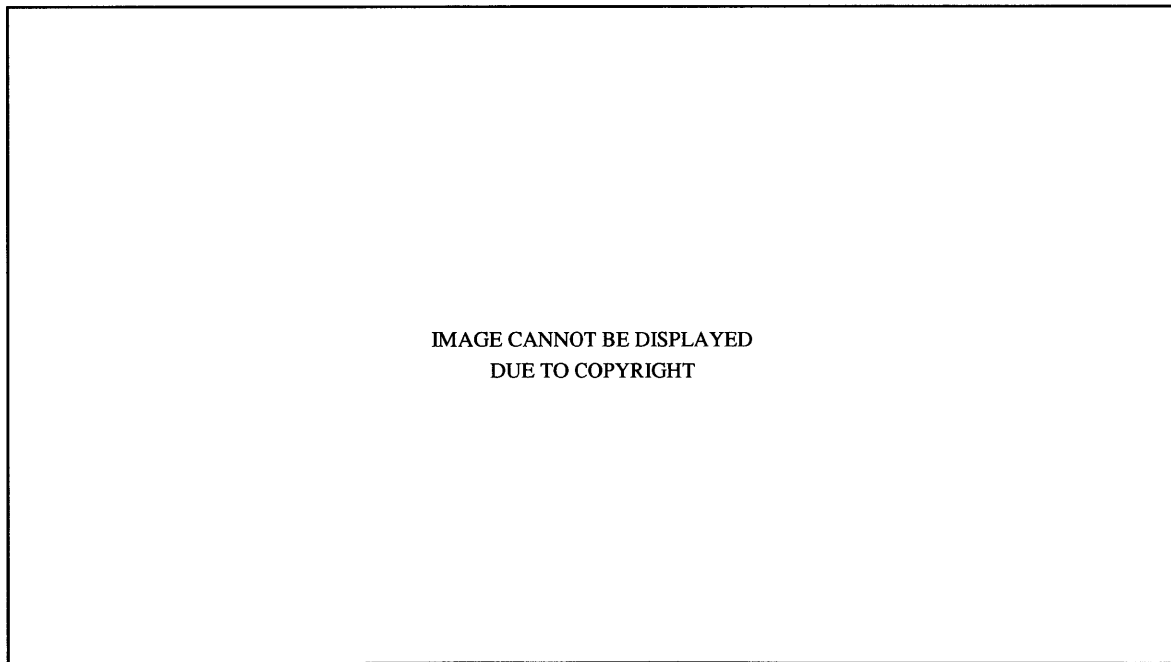
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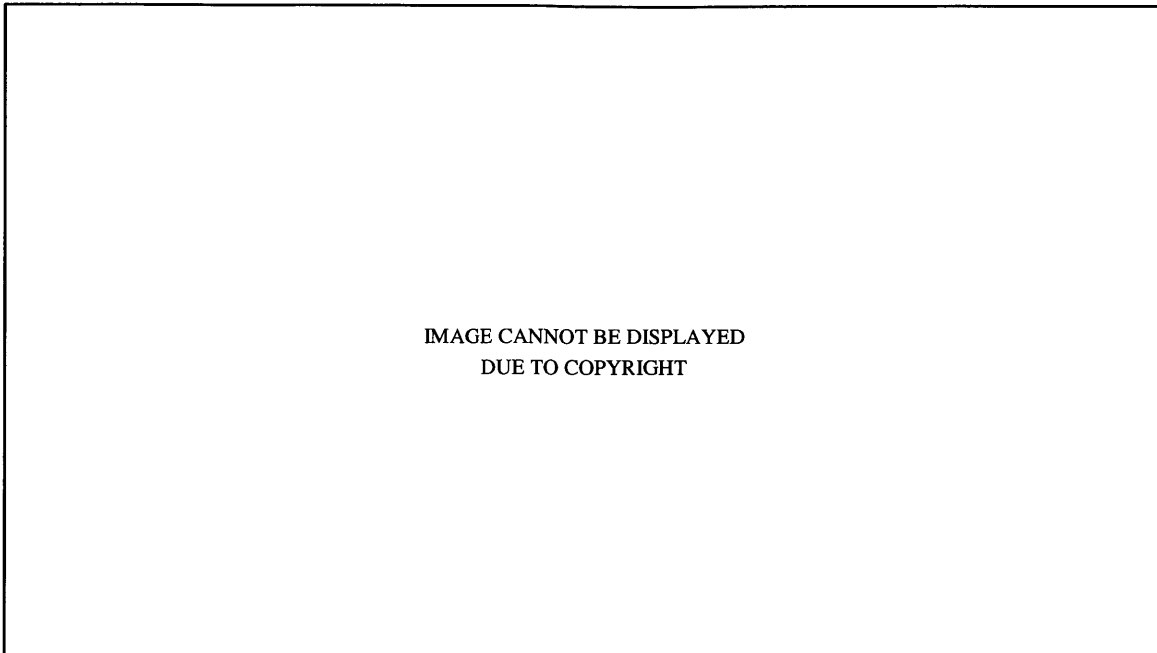
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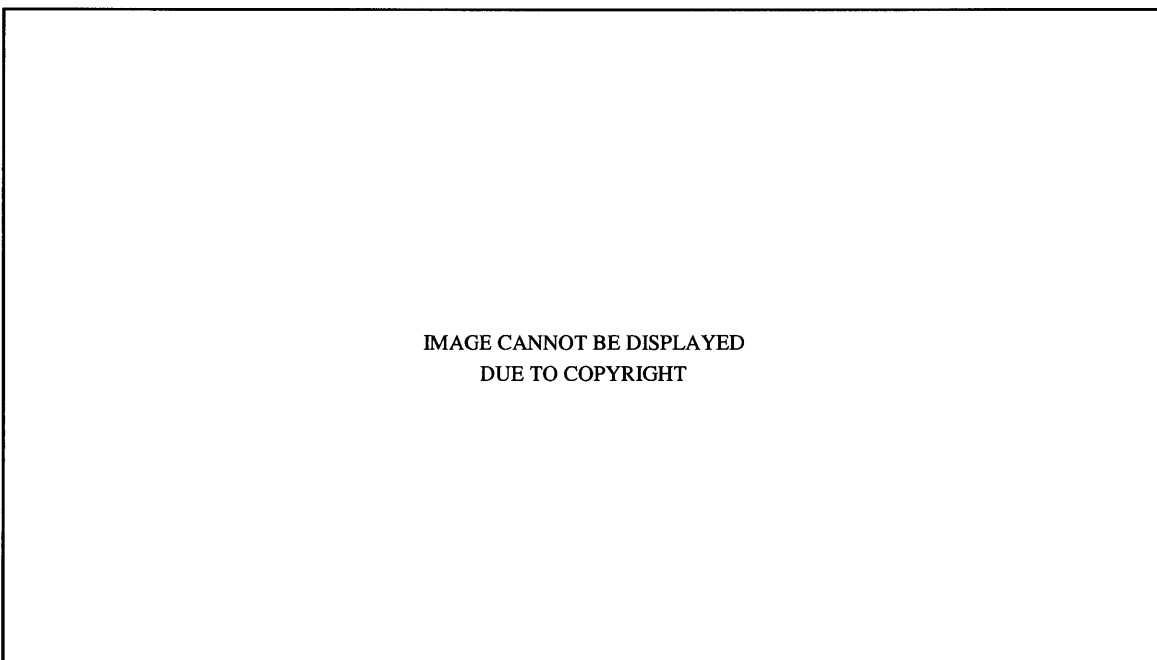
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Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY, Collection: ALS/AAS, Series Folder, I.D.1.92.

### CHAPTER 3

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## THE CHANGING NATURE OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS: THE LEO CASTELLI GALLERY SHOWS

“Until recently, the architectural drawing has been the ugly duckling of art, scorned by many architects themselves as mere scribbles.”<sup>235</sup>

—Douglas Davis, *Newsweek*

“Architectural drawings have become an art commodity. They sell. The demand for drawings in galleries has, over the last several years, elicited a surprising supply, and the new market situation has subtly changed the nature of architectural drawings itself.”<sup>236</sup>

—Joseph Giovannini, *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*

During the late 1970s, architectural drawings became more firmly entrenched in the economics of the art world.<sup>237</sup> As architectural drawings increasingly entered art galleries, they began to receive widespread attention. Critics accepted that an object’s presence in a gallery determined whether it qualified as art. Architectural drawings, therefore, by virtue of being shown in a gallery, were granted this status. Furthermore, they were embraced as aesthetic objects, removed from all pretense of usefulness, and appreciated in and of themselves. This transpired directly through those involved in

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<sup>235</sup> Douglas Davis, “Paper Architecture.” *Newsweek*, February 26 1978.

<sup>236</sup> Joseph Giovannini, “Models for ‘Houses for Sale’ for Sale,” *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (March 16, 1981), B5.

<sup>237</sup> This occurred for two reasons; one psychological, one economic. The first hinges on the fact that there were people in the art world who also held an appreciation for architecture and its representations. Although individual desire on its own is not typically enough to start a trend, in this instance it is of prime importance, as it was only through personal desires and connections that early shows were instigated and mounted. It was, therefore, a necessary factor that was integral to the creation of this market. The second reason is that the same people also saw an opportunity to take advantage of the developing realization that contemporary architectural drawings could be a viable investment.

*Architectural Drawings and Projects*. Importantly, Barbara Jakobson's personal connections were crucial in attracting the attention of one gallery and in particular, its owner, whose involvement would instantly thrust architectural drawings into the art-world spotlight. This gallery was The Castelli Gallery and its eponymous owner was Leo Castelli.

### **THE CASTELLI GALLERY AND LEO CASTELLI**

The Castelli Gallery was, at this time, one of the premier private art galleries in the world, known for the sale and promotion of modern and contemporary art. The gallery is widely credited for launching the careers of some of the most successful modern artists, and it was at different times an international hub for Pop Art, Minimal Art, and Conceptual Art. Artists on the gallery's roster included among others, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly, Frank Stella, Roy Lichtenstein, Andy Warhol, James Rosenquist, Donald Judd, Dan Flavin, Robert Morris, Bruce Nauman, Richard Serra, Claes Oldenberg, Ellsworth Kelly, James Turrell, and Keith Sonnier. The gallery was the first to show Jasper John's flag paintings. It also was the first to show Frank Stella's shaped canvases, as well as Roy Lichtenstein's cartoon drawings. The Castelli Gallery's importance cannot be overstated.

Leo Castelli was equally as well known as the gallery to which he gave his name. In recognition of his contributions to art and culture, he received numerous awards and honors. On May 23, 1991, at the Élysée Palace he was made an officer of the *Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur* (Legion of Honor) by French President François Mitterrand. In addition, the "Leo Awards" were created in 1990 by the Independent

Curators International (ICI) to honor his accomplishments in the field of contemporary art.<sup>238</sup> During the 1980s, numerous exhibitions were held around the United States in tribute to Castelli and his gallery. For example, in 1982, there was a travelling exhibition celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Castelli Gallery; in 1987 Museum of Art in Fort Lauderdale hosted the exhibition *Three Decades of Exploration: Homage to Leo Castelli*; and, also in 1987, the Butler Institute of American Art in Youngstown, Ohio mounted *Leo Castelli: A Tribute Exhibition*. In 1996, the Gagosian Gallery in Los Angeles mounted *Leo Castelli: An Exhibition in Honor of His Gallery and his Artists*.

In 1998, Castelli was presented with the Centennial Medal of Honor from the American Arts Club. Although many of Castelli's artists could not attend, Jasper Johns sent a note stressing that the club was "certainly doing the right thing" because "Leo Castelli is priceless." Dennis Hopper called Leo Castelli "the godfather of the contemporary art world."<sup>239</sup> At the time of his death, the press canonized him, noting that he was "the most influential of art dealers," "the Italian who invented American Art," and "the prince of dealers"<sup>240</sup> A memorial service was held in the auditorium at MoMA. David A. Ross, the director of the Whitney Museum, was quoted in 1991 as saying, "Wherever the important work was in postwar American art, Leo has been at the center of it."<sup>241</sup> Artists such as Elaine de Kooning, Richard Artschwager, Andy Warhol, Frank

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<sup>238</sup> Neither of these awards were completely unbiased acts. It is rumored that the former was most immediately in exchange for a donation of works to the Centre Pompidou, while the latter was influenced by Castelli's daughter Nina Sundell, who was one of the founders of the ICI.

<sup>239</sup> Phoebe Hoban "A Pearl Beyond Price." *The New York Times* (March 29, 1998).

<sup>240</sup> As stated in Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo and his Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli*, trans. Mark Polizzotti and Annie Cohen-Solal (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 452.

<sup>241</sup> See Carol Strickland, "Leo Castelli Meets Film Maker and Fan," *The New York Times* (May 12, 1991).



Stella, Robert Morris, and Jasper Johns memorialized Castelli in their artworks by using his image or naming works after him.

Although Castelli was very influential in the art world, it was not always obvious to him that art would be the focus of his career. It was only through fortuitous circumstances, coupled with his own initiative, that he would take this path. Annie Cohen-Solal has meticulously detailed his life in the hagiographic *Leo and his Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli*.<sup>242</sup> She met Castelli in 1989 while she was stationed in New York as the Cultural Counselor to the French Embassy in the United States; it is clear from her account that she was impressed with him and all he had accomplished .

To gain proper perspective on Castelli's achievements, it is necessary to understand elements of his life that led to his founding the Castelli Gallery. Leo Castelli was born Leo Krauss in Trieste, Italy in 1907; he was the middle child of three children born to Ernest Krauss, a prominent banker, and Bianca Castelli, an heiress of coffee importers. He pursued a law degree at University of Milan, then returned to Trieste to work for an insurance company. His job was transferred to Bucharest, where he met his future wife, Ileana Schapira.<sup>243</sup> It was her family's wealth and generosity that would provide the foundation for them to begin collecting art, and eventually, to open Castelli's first gallery. It was during their honeymoon in Vienna that they bought their first piece of art: a Matisse watercolor.

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<sup>242</sup> Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo and his Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli*, trans. Mark Polizzotti and Annie Cohen-Solal (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010). Originally published as Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo Castelli et les siens* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2009).

<sup>243</sup> They were married on October 7, 1933. After Schapira and Castelli divorced, she married their colleague and friend, Michael Sonnabend. Although Schapira took Castelli's name during their marriage, the author refers to her as Schapira throughout this work for clarity.

Castelli's job was again transferred in 1927—this time to Paris at the Banca d'Italia. The Castellis moved to a house in the Neuilly-sur-Seine where their neighbor was Wassily Kandinsky, whom Castelli would come to later represent. He and Schapira hired Rene Drouin to furnish their apartment in an Art Deco style. At the time, Drouin was one of the most successful interior decorators in Paris. The connection was made possible by Drouin's marriage to one of Schapira's childhood friends. This connection would develop further when Schapira's father loaned Castelli 500,000 francs, which was key to enabling him, along with Drouin, to found the Société René Drouin, LLC. Castelli owned 98 percent of the company with 490 shares, while Drouin owned 2 percent with 10 shares. It was in Drouin's name only, since his was widely recognizable at that time.

Together, Castelli and Drouin opened the Galerie d'Art Décoratif on July 5, 1939 at 17 place Vendôme between the Ritz Hotel and Maison Schiaparelli. The opening show focused on the works on Surrealist artists. The exhibition was assembled through Leonor Fini, a friend of Leo Castelli's from Trieste, who was active then in the Surrealist group.<sup>244</sup> Dali, Max Ernst, and Tchelitchev were among the artists exhibited. The gallery was extremely short lived. It held only this one show before it closed when Drouin enlisted to fight in World War II.

In the summer of 1938, just before the Galerie d'Art Décoratif opened, Castelli and the rest of his family changed their name from Krauss to Castelli to conceal their Jewish heritage because of the anti-Semitic laws enacted by Benito Mussolini. Shortly after the start of World War II, Castelli's and Schapira's families tried to flee Europe for America. However, their first attempt was unsuccessful, and they were forced to stay at a

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<sup>244</sup> For an in depth look at the genesis of this exhibition see Michèle C. Cone, "First Steps" <http://www.artnet.com/magazineus/features/cone/leo-castelli-surrealist-design7-21-10.asp> (accessed March 25, 2014).

house owned by Schapira's father—the Villa Isabelle, in Cannes. When Paris fell in June 1940, they decided it was time to try again to emigrate to the U.S. Their journey began in December 1940 when the family left France from Marseille. They traveled through Oran, Oujda, Casablanca, Tangiers, and Havana and eventually arrived in New York on March 12, 1941.<sup>245</sup>

It was only a few days later that Castelli would have one of his most formative experiences, one that would influence his collecting, selling, and exhibition program. This pivotal moment occurred when he walked into MoMA. In recalling this event, Castelli pronounced, “I was amazed at the fact that I didn't know anything about art at all until I got there.”<sup>246</sup> In subsequent visits, as he absorbed Alfred Barr's version of modernism, he learned an entire history of modern art about which he was previously unaware.<sup>247</sup> Although he was familiar with certain movements and certain artists, he believed that until he experienced MoMA, he did not truly understand the history of modern art. More importantly, he realized how valuable museums were in creating that history. This awareness would eventually drive him to participate in the burgeoning modern art world in the United States. It would also influence his desire to see that his artists became part of museum collections.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> See Chapter 11 “Dramatic and Perilous, an Exodus to the United States” in *Leo and His Circle* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), for a riveting account of this journey.

<sup>246</sup> Stated in interview. See Leo Castelli, interviewed by Sharon Zane for The Museum of Modern Art Oral History Program, October 24, 1991. [http://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/learn/archives/transcript\\_castelli.pdf](http://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/learn/archives/transcript_castelli.pdf) (accessed April 3, 2012).

<sup>247</sup> Castelli credits Barr and MoMA as his great teachers. On the occasion of a donation of art to the museum, he stated, “I think I've said many times that the Modern, and of course Alfred who created it, were my great teachers.” *MoMA Magazine*, Summer 1989, col. 2 no. 1, p.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives.

<sup>248</sup> Castelli was one of the first private gallery owners to understand the benefits of art museums in the creation of cultural history. It was partly because of the influence of MoMA on Leo Castelli that today we understand this period of art in a historical context. Castelli recognized the

Nonetheless, Castelli did not yet pursue a career in art, even though he spent considerable time in museums and with his artist friends.<sup>249</sup> Instead, he and his wife studied at Columbia University—Castelli studying economic history; Schapira studying psychology. Then, in March 1942, Castelli volunteered for the army and thereafter attained the rank of Sergeant, for which he was awarded American citizenship. Upon his return to New York, he worked at his father-in-law's clothing factory in a managerial position, although he was much more focused on attending gallery and museum shows than on his duties at the factory. During this time at the factory he not only cultivated relationships with artists and galleries but he began to develop relationships with museums through donations of art.<sup>250</sup>

During the late 1940s, Castelli would become more entrenched in the U.S. art world after he and his wife became two of only three non-artist members of The Club.<sup>251</sup> Organized in 1948, the group would meet once a week to discuss issues in art. Other members included Franz Kline, Willem de Kooning, Ad Reinhardt, and Robert Rauschenberg.

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importance of attaining art historical status for the artists he showed, and he was adamant about getting them placed in museums and other institutions that were generally considered to constitute cultural history. That, in order for his artists to have lasting cultural importance, Castelli was aware that he had to establish art historical significance for their works was one of Castelli's most significant realizations.

<sup>249</sup>See Cohen-Solal, *Leo Castelli and His Circle*, 151. Cohen-Solal quotes Castelli from Ann Hindry, ed. *Claude Berri rencontre Leo Castelli* (Paris: Renn, 1990), 21-23.

<sup>250</sup>For instance, in 1946 Castelli donated an Arshile Gorky portrait drawing to MoMA. The drawing was of Monroe Wheeler, who had worked at MoMA. At the time of Castelli's donation, Wheeler was acting as the head of the exhibitions and publications departments. Castelli's most famous donation was also to the Museum of Modern Art, when in honor of Alfred H. Barr, Jr., he gave Robert Rauschenberg's *Bed*.

<sup>251</sup>This date is given in an interview of Leo Castelli conducted by Barbaralee Diamondstein in 1976 for the series "About the Arts". <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4vxKIzFRGPA> (accessed January 10, 2014). See 3:21. A dealer, Charles Egan, was the third non-artist member of this group.

Since he was now living in the U.S., but still strongly influenced by European Modernism, Castelli saw an opportunity to bridge the two art worlds. Castelli became Wassily Kandinsky's agent in the U.S. and also worked as a go-between for European artists and American gallerists. He had a working relationship with Sidney Janis of the Sidney Janis gallery in New York and had a large role developing the exhibition *Young Painters in the U.S. and France* there, in 1951. Because of his knowledge of European artists and their comparative equals in the U.S., Castelli's role was to select the American artists for Janis Gallery the show. Pollock, Kline, de Kooning, Gorky, Rothko, and David Smith were among the artists chosen. In addition, Castelli had a major role in organizing the *Ninth Street Show*, a seminal show of abstract expressionism in New York featuring members of The Club. He would also help organize exhibitions of various American artists who toured Europe. He once proposed to open a branch of the Janis Gallery in Europe in order to promote American painting. Although Janis seems to have been uninterested, Castelli was really only deterred when he received a lukewarm response from Alfred Barr to a correspondence elaborating his idea.<sup>252</sup>

Through his ventures in art, Castelli observed that the U.S. gallery scene was lackluster. From his perspective, there were no galleries in existence then that fully integrated European and American modernism. He believed there was space for him to open his own gallery, so he capitalized on this opportunity to fill a void in the market. On February 3, 1957, he held his inaugural show in his apartment at 4 East 77 Street in New York, using his living room and his daughter's bedroom as display spaces. It was, like the show at the Janis Gallery, a comparison of American and European artists. Barbara

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<sup>252</sup> For a full transcript of this letter, see Cohen-Solal, *Leo and his Circle*, 224-227.

Jakobson attended this exhibition. From this small show, Castelli would progress to having one of the most successful careers of all gallery owners.

Castelli established a number of galleries in New York throughout his life. His main gallery, which was called simply “Leo Castelli,” was launched in 1957, as noted above, and remained in this location until 1977. The gallery opened new premises in 1971 at 420 West Broadway and moved solely to this location in 1977. It stayed at this location until 1997. In 1999, it reopened at 59 East 79 Street, where it still resides today and is run by Castelli’s third wife, Barbara Bertozzi Castelli. From 1980 to 1988, Castelli had a second satellite gallery by the same name located at 142 Green Street in New York, although this venue was preceded by a temporary space located at 103 West 108 Street from 1968 to 1971, which was called Castelli Warehouse. In 1969, Castelli and his second wife, Antoinette Fraisse du Bost, opened Castelli Graphics, which operated at 4 East 77 Street. This gallery featured prints and photographs of artists associated with the Castelli Gallery. In 1988, Castelli Graphics relocated to 578 Broadway and remained there until it closed in 1997. There were two additional collaborative galleries in New York in which Castelli was involved. The first was with Richard Feigen and James Corcoran called Castelli Feigen Corcoran. It was housed at 1020 Madison Avenue and was open from 1981 to 1985. The second, operating from 1989 to 1996, was with Larry Gagosian and was located at 65 Thompson Street.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Castelli innovated and created a business model in which he did not have to open new branches of his gallery in each city in which he wanted to showcase his artists. He collaborated with other gallery owners by sending his artists’ works to their spaces establishing a farm system that still influences gallery relationships today. This model helped established satellite galleries for him and his artists in Vancouver, Los Angeles, Dallas, Kansas City, Minnesota, St. Louis, Miami, and Toronto. He also had contacts in London, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Düsseldorf, Kasel, Cologne, Paris, Basel, Zurich, Munich, Geneva, Biumo, Turin, Milan, and Venice.

During the 42 years that these eight galleries were open, they held innumerable exhibitions. The artists discussed at the beginning of this chapter mounted some of the most well known shows.

Of central importance, though, were a series of seminal exhibitions of architecture mounted between 1977 and 1983. These have been neglected in the historiography of this gallery. In the entire Castelli biography by Annie Cohen-Solal, there is only one cursory mention of two of these shows. This occurs in one quote from an interview that Cohen-Solal conducted with Barbara Jakobson.<sup>254</sup>

Beginning in 1977, the gallery held five architectural-themed exhibitions, three of which were constituent parts of the market's development. *Architecture I*, featuring the works of Raimund Abraham, Emilio Ambasz, Richard Meier, Walter Pichler, Aldo Rossi, James Stirling, and Robert Venturi and John Rauch was on show from October 22 until November 12, 1977. *Architecture II: Houses For Sale* featured Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman, Vittorio Gregotti, Arata Isozaki, Charles Moore, Cesar Pelli, Cedric Price, and Oswald Mattias Ungers. It was mounted from October 18 until November 22, 1980. *Architecture III: Architectural "Follies," Drawings and Models* was the last in this numbered series. The participants were Hans Hollein, Quinlan Terry, Rafael Moneo, Emilio Ambasz, Diana Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas, Frank Gehry, Raimund Abraham, Gae Aulenti, Joseph Rykwert, Peter Eisenman and Jaquelin Robertson, Bernard Tschumi, Michael Graves, Christian Hubert, Peter Cook, Andrew Batey and Mark Mack, Paul

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<sup>254</sup> As Barbara Jakobson recalled, "Towards the end of the seventies, I was able to organize two architecture shows, 'House for Sale' and 'Follies,' in Leo's gallery, as if in a museum. I commissioned designs for houses from architects. The idea was to sell a house in an art gallery the same as you could sell artwork—an idea that was a critical, but certainly not a financial, success. Leo was generous as ever. He paid for everything. He published the catalogues with Rizzoli and helped tour the shows around the world." Barbara Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012.

Rudolf, Arata Isozaki, Machado-Silvetti, and Ricardo Bofill. It was displayed from October 22 until November 19, 1983.<sup>255</sup>

No substantial studies of these exhibitions have been conducted. What has been written from a historical perspective is cursory and relies upon the catalogues to understand the extent of the exhibitions.<sup>256</sup> As this chapter will make evident, while there is valuable information to be gleaned from the catalogues, the content of the exhibitions is not part of it.

This lack of a substantive historical perspective necessitates the reconstruction of the development of these exhibitions, the layout, display, and sale of the works, and the reception of the exhibitions. By comparing documents across all of the exhibitions' archives, detailed descriptions of these exhibitions were developed.<sup>257</sup> In addition, contemporary reviews of the exhibitions were examined to understand the debates that these exhibitions generated. Since Castelli was a well-known trendsetter in the art world, and since these exhibitions represented the first time architecture was shown at a private gallery, these exhibitions were crucial to the emerging change in perception of contemporary architectural drawings. Although the shows were never financially

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<sup>255</sup> The two other architectural-themed shows at the Castelli Gallery were focused on other issues. One, in 1980, consisted of a series of taped interviews shown in the gallery space. These interviews had been conducted by Barbaralee Diamondstein-Spielvogel (known then as Barbaralee Diamondstein) for the "American Architecture Now" series. They were screened from November 19 through December 13, 1980 with the title *Barbaralee Diamondstein: American Architecture Now*. The other show took place in 1992 from June 23 until July 31. It was titled *The Guggenheim in Europe: Architectural Models and Drawings*, and showed proposals for the Guggenheim Museum expansion in Europe. Since these last two exhibitions fall outside the scope of the current work, they will not be discussed here.

<sup>256</sup> See, for example, Tony Côme, "L'architecture à tout prix," *Criticat* 12 (Paris: Association Criticat, 2013): 19-31.

<sup>257</sup> These reconstructions are only possible by these methods, as no floor plans exist for the first two exhibitions.



successful, at least compared to the forms of art that were more commonly associated with private galleries, they ultimately were to have a major cultural impact.

## ARCHITECTURE I

The first sale show of contemporary architectural drawings held at the Castelli Gallery (and only the second in New York) was *Architecture I*. It originated through Castelli's friendship with Barbara Jakobson. Their relationship began in 1956 when Jakobson's cousin, Harriet Peters, introduced them. Peters and Castelli were acquainted through Peters' activities as an art collector. When Jakobson moved to New York, Peters casually suggested that she meet "this man who was opening up a gallery."<sup>258</sup> Jakobson and Castelli became fast friends and were soon speaking to each other almost every day. This personal connection continued until Castelli's death in 1999. At the same time as their personal relationship was flourishing, their professional relationship began blossoming as well. Jakobson and her husband, John Jakobson, bought one of their first artworks from Castelli during Castelli's first Jasper Johns show. Castelli helped develop the Jakobson's personal collection, and also evaluated it for insurance purposes numerous times.<sup>259</sup>

This professional relationship benefited Castelli as well, because Jakobson, having successfully mounted *Architectural Studies and Projects*, was keen to continue

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<sup>258</sup> Barbara Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012.

<sup>259</sup> See, for instance, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Folder: John and Barbara Jakobson, NYC. In this folder there is correspondence between John Jakobson and Leo Castelli, who refer to each other with first names only, indicating a friendly familiarity. Castelli valued six paintings in Jakobson's collection, two by Jasper Johns, *Colored Alphabet*, 1959 and *Green Target*, 1956; one by Cy Twombly, *Untitled*, 1968; and three by Josef Albers, *Homages to the Square—Consonant*, 1959, *Homage to the Square—Grisaille and Gold*, 1961, and *Homage to the Square—Insight*, 1963.

exploring the subject of that show. Jakobson therefore suggested to Castelli that he do a show on architectural drawings. Jakobson recalls that he “was immediately taken by the idea.”<sup>260</sup> Once the show’s theme was selected, they needed to find a curator. Because of her responsibilities at MoMA, Jakobson could not work for a dealer and thus was precluded from curating Castelli’s exhibition. So, she asked Emilio Ambasz if he would like to be involved. While interested, he was reluctant to curate it since it would mean he could not exhibit his own work. Instead, Pierre Apraxine, whom Jakobson and Ambasz both knew from his tenure at MoMA, was thought to be a good candidate because of his experience curating shows for the Art Lending Service and because he was then curating an art collection for The Gilman Paper Company. When asked, he said he would be “delighted”.<sup>261</sup>

Castelli decided on the date himself and chose October as the month. This, in itself, has significance. Jakobson reveals the date was chosen, “to show that he was serious about architectural drawings”<sup>262</sup> Emilio Ambasz is more specific when he states, “I was flabbergasted because the month of October is the best month for a gallery. That’s when all the foreigners come because of the auctions at Sotheby’s and Christie’s. And I spoke to Mr. Castelli. And I said Leo—you’ve given us your best month. You can’t expect to get more than 3-5,000 dollars out of those drawings, if anybody buys them. He

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<sup>260</sup> Barbara Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012.

<sup>261</sup> Pierre Apraxine interview with author, February 24, 2013. Although it is tempting to give all of the credit to Jakobson and Castelli, one will recall that 1977 was a watershed year for architectural drawings exhibitions. Other exhibitions mounted this same year were *Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture* at the Drawing Center and the Cooper Hewitt, *New York, Past, Present and Proposed* at the Spaced Gallery, *200 Years of American Architectural Drawing* at the Architectural League of New York and the American Federation of Arts, and *Le Corbusier: Drawings* at MoMA.

<sup>262</sup> Barbara Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012.

says—no, I want people to know that if I do a thing like that it is because I am serious about architectural drawings.”<sup>263</sup>

Once the subject, date, and curator were finalized, the next task was to choose the architects to be included in the exhibition. For this part, both Ambasz and Jakobson were integral. From their experiences at MoMA—having together mounted *Architectural Studies and Projects*—they assembled a list of potential exhibitors. The list was finalized in consultation with Pierre Apraxine prior to presenting it to Castelli, who then wrote the invitations.<sup>264</sup>

The architects who accepted were Raimund Abraham, Emilio Ambasz, Richard Meier, Walter Pichler, Aldo Rossi, James Stirling, and Robert Venturi and John Rauch.<sup>265</sup> Each had already participated in architecture exhibits. Two of them, Abraham and Meier, had participated in *Architectural Studies and Projects*.

All of the architects sent works that they had previously completed. Although peculiar for a gallery exhibition, the requirement to sell was not requisite. On August 11, 1977, Pierre Apraxine responded to a letter from James Stirling. While Stirling’s letter is lost, from Apraxine’s response it is clear that Stirling had asked for some background about the exhibition and whether it was necessary to sell drawings in the Castelli Show. Apraxine’s response notes that selling drawings “is not essential to the Castelli show,” but, “it would be good.”<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Emilio Ambasz interview with author, March 25, 2013.

<sup>264</sup> Only the positive responses to Castelli’s invitation to participate survive in the archive.

<sup>265</sup> It is possible that Castelli, at one point, had the idea to include more architects, as the archive also contains a form letter with spaces left blank for the address and the salutation. The form letter indicates that he had already invited the seven that would participate. Perhaps though, with the seven listed on this form letter having already accepted, there was no need to send it to others.

<sup>266</sup> Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Some drama did occur while the works were being assembled for the exhibition. John Hejduk, who was not invited to present in the show, convinced Raimund Abraham to withdraw at the last minute; the reasons why are unknown. In order to keep the show as it was scheduled and laid out, the curators resorted to clandestine means to acquire Abraham's material. As Ambasz bluntly tells it, "We got his wife to give him something to sleep. He used to drink too much. And we walked into the house [and] took the bloody drawings."<sup>267</sup> With that, all of the intended works were gathered.

Once the works were mounted, the exhibition was set to open. On October 22, at 420 West Broadway, the Castelli Gallery opened its doors. An elevator located just inside the front door provided direct access to the exhibition space. The entry room was a small reception space, lined on the right with windows facing onto West Broadway. Here, on the wall to the left, or perhaps on the wall straight ahead, was a sign announcing the exhibition that began in the next room. In a typeface suggestive of Courier New, there were possibly two signs, one of which was roughly 18.5 inches wide and roughly 7 inches high and simply read "Architecture I". The other, which was 24 inches wide by 10 inches high, read "Architecture: Seven Architects". "Seven Architects" was underneath the main title, "Architecture:". Both were left justified.<sup>268</sup>

It is likely that the catalogues for the exhibition were available in this area. Each was printed on matte card stock and had a vibrant azure cover. "Architecture I" was center-justified three inches from the bottom, formatted in white, serif text that was

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<sup>267</sup> Emilio Ambasz interview with author.

<sup>268</sup> Though there is no installation photograph of this room, a negative of the signage survives in the archives. Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

crisscrossed with thin azure lines one-eighth of an inch apart to signify graph paper. A total of 3,000 catalogues were printed. They were short, only twenty pages long.

The catalogue explained the ultimate goal of the exhibition to be “to illustrate the notion of architecture as a vital art form which derives its often contradictory meanings from the strictly private domain as well as the sociocultural context.” Such a multi-layered statement, which invokes the relation of architecture as art, architecture as a private endeavor, and architecture as a sociocultural act, speaks to the high aspirations the curator and the Castelli Gallery had for this show.

To do this, the exhibition would “illustrate the diverse aesthetic and philosophic attitudes prevalent in contemporary architecture.” Since it was a group show, there was opportunity to contribute to a wide discourse on architecture. While the architects in some sense could be experienced as a cohesive group, each could also be experienced individually. This has the effect of creating both a movement within architecture and a survey of architecture more broadly. The exhibition brought together “seven outstanding international architects, their ages spanning 34-56.” The Austrian avant-garde of the 1960s was represented by Abraham and Pichler, “Italian neo-rationalism” was represented by Rossi, a subversive European formalism was illustrated by Stirling, “American neo-functionalism” was exemplified by Meier, American Pop Art was exemplified by Venturi and Rauch, and agriculture and industrial technology was represented by Ambasz. The architects’ ideas would be illustrated by a variety of material that would include many forms of representation from within architecture. This would fulfill another of the exhibition’s goals, which was to “go beyond the mere presentation

of drawings...[to include] all forms of visual representation utilized by architects to give form as well as to convey ideas.”<sup>269</sup>

Despite these ambitious objectives and the amount of material needed to achieve them, the catalogue provided only one, two-page spread for each architect. The right page was dedicated to an image of the architect’s contribution to the exhibition. Aside from Venturi and Rauch, all images were of drawings. Abraham was represented by a drawing for *House with Projected Landscape* and Ambasz was represented by two drawings for *Housing in an Agricultural Setting*, The selection for Meier was an axonometric drawing for *The Athenaeum*, and for Pichler was *Drawing Room*. Rossi’s image was *La Cabine dell’Elba*, and Stirling’s included four sheets of sketches for the *Museum for Northrhine Westphalia Art Collection*. The Venturi and Rauch image was instead a photograph of the model for their *Restoration, Renovation and Addition to the Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel, Atlantic City, NJ*.

The entirety of the works in the exhibition as delimited by the catalog is summarized in the following table.

**Raimund ABRAHAM**

1965-1967	House for Contemplation (Experimental House for Anthony Woolner) Photographs
1972-1974	Nine Houses Model, Drawings
1974-1975	House Without Rooms Model, Drawing
1976-1977	House with Projected Landscapes Drawing
1977	Vertical Building Drawing

<sup>269</sup> Pierre Apraxine, *Architecture I*. (New York: Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977).

**Emilio AMBASZ**

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1974	Center for Applied Computer Research and Development, Mexico City Model, Drawings, Photographs
1975	Community Arts Center, Grand Rapids, MI Drawings
1977	Housing in an Agricultural Setting, Pembroke, GA Drawings

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**Richard MEIER**

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1975	The Atheneum, New Harmony, IN Model, Drawings, Photographs
1977	House in the Southeast Model, Drawings

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**Walter Pichler**

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1972-	St. Martin a.d. Raab Drawings, Photographs
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**Aldo ROSSI**

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1962	Monument to the Partisans of Cuneo Model
1965	Fountain in Segrate Model
1971-	Cemetery, Modena Model, Drawings
1976	Student Housing in Chieti Model, Drawings
	Conceptual Exercises Paintings, Drawings

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**James STIRLING**

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1964-1967	Cambridge University History Building Model, Drawings, Photographs
1975	Museum for Northrhine Westfalia, Dusseldorf Model, Drawings

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**VENTURI and RAUCH**

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1967	Football Hall of Fame, New Brunswick, NJ Collage, Photostats
1977	Restoration, Renovation and Addition to the Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel, Atlantic City, NJ Model, Photostats

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The left page of each spread contained a brief resume with a “selected bibliography,” and short lists of “buildings and projects,” “awards,” and “exhibitions.” From this limited information, it is almost impossible to comprehend the true magnitude of the exhibition. Since the catalogue lists only 20 projects and fails to enumerate the representations of

those projects, it leaves the impression of a fairly anemic exhibition. It was anything but that.<sup>270</sup>

In total, the exhibition contained 108 drawings, 22 models, and 9 photographs.

The breakdown is as follows:

	Drawings	Models	Photographs
<b>Raimund ABRAHAM</b>	7	10	3
<b>Emilio AMBASZ</b>	15	1	-
<b>Richard MEIER</b>	10	3	-
<b>Walter PICHLER</b>	31	-	-
<b>Aldo ROSSI</b>	13	4	-
<b>James STIRLING</b>	24	2	6
<b>VENTURI and RAUCH</b>	8	2	-

The exhibition filled the two showrooms of the Castelli Gallery. The front room was the larger of the two and measured 48 feet by 37 feet. The second room was 32 feet by 20 feet. The rooms were typical white walled gallery spaces. Each wall had a deep four-inch shadow gap at its base and smaller two-inch gap at the top. Thin planks of hardwood flooring ran left to right across the exhibition space, stained a medium brown

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<sup>270</sup> Documents scattered throughout the Castelli Gallery Archives at the Archives of American Art, when combined with a photograph in Pierre Apraxine's personal papers and two sheets from the archives for the exhibition *Architecture III*, make a reconstruction of this exhibition possible. These documents consist of wall-layout sketches for each architect's works. These are each on individual, wide-ruled sheet of yellow legal paper. Each is held in a folder specifically marked for each architect. Other documents are installation photographs (there are two of the photographs in the folder for this exhibition that are not from this exhibition, and two photographs in the folder for *Architecture III* that are), one photograph of the opening, and two sheets containing a plan of the Castelli Gallery for *Architecture III*. The first thing that these documents make abundantly clear is that the list of works presented in the catalogue does not illustrate the sheer amount of work that was mounted in the exhibition.



color to contrast with the white walls. Track lighting on the ceiling provided ample illumination.

The works in the first showroom were those of Meier, Rossi, Abraham, and Stirling. Upon entering and moving clockwise around the room, one part of Meier's installation occupied the wall to the left. Here three drawings for the *Dormitory for Olivetti Training Center* in Tarrytown, NY (1971) hung. The first two, mounted one over the other, were aerial perspectives from opposite ends of the building. The third drawing, mounted near the end of this wall is too unclear in the only available photo to decipher its subject matter.<sup>271</sup> The adjacent wall contained an unframed aerial cutaway perspective of the building mounted on board. Two models were placed in the corner created by these two adjacent walls. One was an *Olivetti Branch Office Prototype* (1971), and the other a model of the *Dormitory for the Olivetti Training Center*. Both were displayed on bases roughly three-and-a-half feet high.

Further along this same wall was Rossi's section, which was anchored by a large drawing for the *Casa dello studente e Chieti* (1976) that measured 32 inches by 44.25 inches. To the right were eight drawings from various projects that were hung as a group. Starting at the upper left and ending at the lower right, the drawings were *Souvenir de Coney Island* (1976), *Triangolo con Ciminiere* (1971), *Palme del Sagui con Paesaggio* (1976), *Il Castello* (1973), *Le Cabine dell'Elba 2* (1975), *Il Cubo Rosso* (1973), and *Le Due Città* (1973). Hung next was a now very well-known, seminal drawing for the *Cemetery in Modena* (1971), followed by three other drawings of the cemetery, one of which occupied a top register, with two placed below. The top drawing was the largest of

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<sup>271</sup> Only one installation photograph shows this wall. There are also no individual photographs in the archives that show this work.

the group, measuring 41 inches by 85 inches. Four models were positioned in front of these drawings and were titled *Monument to the Partisans of Cuneo* (1962), *Fountain in Segrate* (1965), *Cemetery in Modena* (1971), and *Student Housing in Chieti* (1976).

Following Rossi's works, on this same wall and continuing on the adjacent wall, were Abraham's drawings. Nearest to Rossi's work was one drawing on two equal-size sheets, framed separately and mounted with their common edges flush. This was his *9 Houses* project of 1972-74. Turning the corner one encountered the remaining eight pieces by Abraham. In order from left to right, they were: three drawings for *House for Contemplation* (1966-67), a large drawing of *House with Projected Landscape* (1976-77), another drawing of *Seven Gates to Eden* (1976), two drawings for *Vertical Building* (1977), and a drawing for *House without Rooms* (1974-75). In front of this wall were two model bases, one with a single model placed upon it, and one with a set of nine models. The singular model was for *House without Rooms*. The set of nine models consisted of houses made from plaster and plastic that were titled *House with Curtains* (1972), *House with Path* (1972), *House with Three Rooms* (1972), *House with Three Walls* (1973), *House with Permanent Shadow* (1973), *House with Two Horizons* (1973), *House with Flower Walls* (1972), *House with Road* (1973), and *House with Internalized Shadow* (1974).

Stirling's display followed and began with six 8-inch by 10-inch photographs of the *Cambridge University History Faculty Building* (1964-5). A model housed in a Perspex box was hung from the ceiling by wire in the corner formed by this wall and the adjacent wall. The base of the model was cut through so that the interior of the building was visible by looking up through it. The result was a worm's-eye view of the project

reminiscent of the worms-eye axonometric drawings that Stirling explored in the drawings for the *Leicester University Engineering Building*, for which he would become identified. Turning the corner, there were 11 additional drawings of the same project. Stirling's remaining works were separated from these by his model of a competition entry for a new *Museum of Modern Art for Northrhine Westphalia*, Dusseldorf, measuring 15 inches wide by 19 inches long on a pedestal roughly 4 feet tall. The last of his display consisted of 16 frames containing 29 drawings for the *Kunstgalerie in Dusseldorf* (1975).

Meier's remaining work was hung next to Stirling's and continued on the adjacent wall. The first of these was a large ink-on-Mylar, cut-a-way axonometric of the *Atheneum* in New Harmony, Indiana (1976).<sup>272</sup> The two other drawings on this wall were also for the *Atheneum*.<sup>273</sup> The adjacent wall contained drawings for this same project, which were arranged in a square and justified to their shared corners in four frames. The frame in the upper left had two drawings, both elevations; the upper right was a site study; the lower left was a section; and the bottom right was another, small-scale axonometric drawing. A large model for the *Atheneum* with a base of 30.25 inches by 40.25 inches was placed in the corner defined by the two walls.

Between the Abraham and Stirling displays was a doorway leading to the second exhibition area, which contained the works of the remaining three architects. Again

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<sup>272</sup> It is possible to see the drawing in the installation photos for Meier's works and determine this by cross-referencing the list sent by Meier and Associates Architects (which also survives in the archives). See Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>273</sup> The installation photographs were not taken with high enough fidelity to record the remaining two drawings on this wall. But since the wall and the adjacent wall are both for the *Atheneum*, it is safe to assume that the remaining two frames, the top one containing one pencil drawing and the bottom containing two pencil drawings are for the same project. It is possible that these drawings are perspective renderings of the building.

moving clockwise around the room, starting on the left through the threshold, were the works of Pichler, Venturi and Rauch, and Ambasz.

Pichler's works were mounted on the wall immediately to the left when entering this room. All 31 of his drawings were hung on this one wall, which is the longest, uninterrupted span of works in the exhibition. The display began with four vertically organized photographs of a *Shed for Moving* in Sankt Martin an der Raab, followed by six ink and pencil drawings for the *Shed* (1974-5), arranged two wide and three high. Next were two drawings for *Cell* (1975). There was, then, one drawing each for *Laubhütte* (1970), *Observatory* (1974), *Two Rooms* (1975), *Raintrap* (1974), *House in a Corn Field* (1975), *Table in Front of my House* (1972), *Chapel* (1976), and *Door* (1977) arranged two or three drawings high. Following were two drawings of *Small Room at the Edge of the Woods* (1977), three of *Drawing Room* (1971), three of *House for a Sculpture* (1977), two of *Large Figure with an Organ Pipe* (1977), and one of *Installation in the Studio* (1977).

Venturi and Rauch would be viewed next. Between their exhibition items and the Pichler drawings was the doorway with a red velvet rope strung between two brass bollards.<sup>274</sup> Just to the right of the doorway was Venturi and Rauch's model for the *Marlborough-Blenheim Casino Hotel*. It was placed on a pedestal smaller in length and width than the base of the model. The model was very large with a base of 72.5 inches by 109 inches. To the right were four drawings for the *Marlborough-Blenheim Casino Hotel* project arranged in a square pattern. These consisted of elevations and sections of the project made from Photostats with pantone coloring. They were unframed, mounted on

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<sup>274</sup> When closed, this rope separated the exhibition space from the back of the gallery where transactions and business discussions would take place. As it was set up during the exhibition, it was oriented perpendicularly to the doorway to lead people into the back room.

boards, and arranged as follows: the top left was a drawing of the parking area and restaurant; the top right was the parking area, shops, pool, and deck; the lower left was the parking area, show lounge, shops and facilities; and the lower right was the shops, casino, hotel lobby, and convention facilities. Adjacent to these, on the next wall, was a centerline section of the *Marlborough-Blenheim Casino Hotel*. Beside this drawing were three drawings of the *National Collegiate Football Hall of Fame* (1967). The first, framed, was the now famous collage of the interior. Colored in greys, yellows, browns, and blacks and made of panchromatic film, ink, pencil, paper, and photographs on vellum, it was unique in the exhibition. Next to it, mounted one on top of the other, were two unframed information boards. The top board contained a site plan and elevations of sections of the project, while the bottom board contained sections.

Only one foot to the right marked the beginning of Emilio Ambasz's works. Below Ambasz's name were three drawings made of ink on acetate, airbrushed acrylic paint, and color films for the 1975 project *Center for Applied Computer Research* in Las Promesas, Mexico. To the right of these photos were four larger drawings for the same project made from the same materials. Three drawings of the *Grand Rapids Community Arts Center* (1975) completed this wall and were constructed using sepia lines and airbrushed watercolors. The remainder of Ambasz's works was on the adjacent wall. This final section consisted of the final two drawings for the *Grand Rapids Community Arts Center* and three drawings for the project *Housing in an Agricultural Setting*. These were sepia line drawings and watercolor. In front of Ambasz's works was a model, 61.75"

wide by 61.75” long, on a white pedestal with a 4-inch shadow gap at the bottom, enclosed in a Perspex box, of the *Center for Applied Computer Research*.<sup>275</sup>

While this description lays out the show as it unfolded, the actual experience could have been much different and more enriching. The intimate space of the Castelli Gallery increased the potential to allow for contrasts and comparisons by the simple placement of different projects within the space. While the relatively small venue and placement of the works allowed a viewer to see that these architects were contributing to a similar discourse by questioning Modernism in architecture, it also made it easy to appreciate how each architect was doing so in very different ways. For instance, in the same room, using various representational techniques, Meier sought to extend Modernist formal vocabulary into his projects. These are placed next to the work of Rossi. Meier’s drawings are inked, while Rossi’s drawings are rendered in color. Rossi’s measured, rational, strict drawings, which evoke metaphysical truths about form, abut Abraham’s loose, atmospheric meditations on space.<sup>276</sup> It would also have been possible to view the exhibit geographically—the U.S., England, Italy, and Austria.

Irrespective of each architect’s investigations, values had to be assigned to the works since they were to be exhibited at a private gallery. The establishment of monetary value for the works was one of the primary challenges. As the market was only in its infancy, economic value was not easy to ascribe. But, it was important to do so for a

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<sup>275</sup> There are no installation photographs that include this wall, so the author has estimated the layout from the wall-layout plan found in the Archives of American Art.

<sup>276</sup> It should be noted that, even though one of the goals of the show was to represent the “diverse aesthetic and philosophic attitudes” in architectural practice, this goal was only partially fulfilled. The exhibition could not be exhaustive. As such the architects chosen for this exhibition only constitute part of an architectural elite that was able to investigate certain theoretical, non-practical issues.

number of reasons. First, it was essential for this particular show, the gallery, and the architects who wished to sell. However, it was also important for the future since this show could establish the indicative values for contemporary architectural works moving forward. It was of even greater significance since this show was at the Castelli Gallery, a gallery many looked to for guidance in establishing prices for art. More than this, though, it would indicate the readiness of the market and of collectors for this work. The success of contemporary architectural drawings in the art world at this delicate stage likely rested on the success of this show.

To establish value, the gallery could rely on only minimal precedence.

*Architectural Studies and Projects* had made some headway in establishing value. But that show was only intended to reach the small audience of members of MoMA and only a few of the works sold. Further, a sale show at a museum is hardly comparable. There was not enough evidence to know whether they did not sell because of the price, because of the audience, because of a combination of the two, or because of other factors altogether. Apraxine had also begun to assemble the Gilman collection, but the drawings he was purchasing were not on the open market. Thus, assigning values to the works in Castelli's show was somewhat arbitrary. Ambasz, for one, actually had an opinion of the value of his works, as evidenced by an invoice provided to the gallery specifying the insurance values for his works.<sup>277</sup> Three drawings of the *Mexican Computer Center* were valued at \$3,500 each. Another four drawings for the same project valued at \$2,500. One drawing for the *Grand Rapids Community Arts Center* valued at \$3,500, another for \$1,650, and two others for \$1,600. Five drawings for *Housing in an Agricultural Setting*

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<sup>277</sup> Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Box 41, Folder 49 Emilio Ambasz. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

were valued at \$1,700 each, 4 others for \$900 each, 3 for \$250 each, and 3 others for \$50 each. The total insurance value for these was \$40,250. None of Ambasz's works sold, but a few works of others did.<sup>278</sup> Stanley G. Mortimer purchased three or four drawings by Walter Pichler for a total of \$5,508.<sup>279</sup> Pierre Apraxine purchased *Two Rooms* (1975) and *Large Figure with an Organ Pipe* (1977) for the collection he was assembling.<sup>280</sup>

Not all of the items shown were available for sale. Since this was not a requirement to participate in the exhibition, some architects did specify certain pieces that were meant for display only. These works included four drawings and one model from Richard Meier, all for the Athaneum,<sup>281</sup> all of Venturi and Rauch's work.<sup>282</sup>

In addition, some drawings were lent to the exhibition from collections. One was *Foundation for the Shed* (1975), which was purchased by Apraxine from Ambasz

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<sup>278</sup> Only some of the prices for the works are knowable, as no comprehensive price list survives.

<sup>279</sup> See Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. On December 12, 1977, Mortimer wrote to the Leo Castelli Gallery responding to a bill for three drawings by Walter Pichler. The price for all three was \$5,508. An invoice addressed to Hague Art Deliveries and drafted at the Institute for Contemporary Art on February 1, 1978 confirms this sale. It is a list of some of the works in the exhibition that will have to be returned after the exhibition is dismantled. This list specifies "2-4 drawings" that will be shipped to Stanley Mortimer. There may have been a fourth drawing sold to Mortimer, as on the wall-layout plans, there are four drawings with the name Tony Mortimer written on them, though there is no other record of the fourth drawing's sale. The four consist of three drawings for *Drawing Room* (1971) and one for *Rain Trap* (1974).

<sup>280</sup> Various names are written on the works represented on the wall-layout plans. It is unclear whether the names refer to those who bought the drawings from the show, or who loaned them for the exhibition, or both. For instance, if the installation photos of Pichler's drawings are cross-referenced with both the information cards for a collection of drawings that Apraxine was in the process of assembling and the wall-layout sketches, it is clear that Apraxine bought two drawings of Pichler's work from this exhibition. His name was written on the drawings of the *Foundation for the Shed*, *Observatory*, *House without Rooms*, and the *Cemetery in Modena* drawings as well, but they were meant to indicate the loan of the work, rather than the purchase. Emilio Ambasz's name is written on two drawings for *Cell* (1975). There is no indication why, so it is unclear whether these were sold to Ambasz, or whether they loaned them to the exhibition, as the individual photographs of the works, on the reverse of which would indicate this, do not survive. Ambasz also does not recall where he bought these works from (related in interview with author March 25, 2013)

<sup>281</sup> These were large cutaway axonometric, the two unidentified drawings, and the model.

<sup>282</sup> On the installation photograph of Venturi and Rauch's work, a round sticker was placed above the image "NFS," indicating "Not For Sale," handwritten in pen on it.



working on behalf of Walter Pichler in 1975. The other was *Observatory* (1974), previously purchased directly from Pichler in 1976. Apraxine lent some further works for the exhibition from the same collection. They were Abraham's *House without Rooms* (1974-75) and all four Rossi drawings for the *Cemetery in Modena*. Barbara Jakobson lent a drawing for the *Shed for Moving Sculpture* (1974) from her and her husband's collection.<sup>283</sup>

Still, even though several items were not for sale, with so few of the available drawings sold, the economic success of the show was unconvincing. It was not profitable at all for Castelli. Nonetheless, it was abundantly reviewed, since it was so unusual for a dealer to organize a show of architectural drawings. Apraxine recalls that it attracted enough attention that afterwards, Abraham had a collector for his work. But it did not increase business for Castelli; no one began to collect through his gallery. At issue was the relationship between a dealer and a client. Within architecture there was no established practice of using a third party to conduct business between the architect and the client. When it came to their drawings, the direct connection between the client and the architect held sway. If someone wanted the works, especially if it was someone not familiar with the art world's practices, they simply approached the architects. The architects were complicit, and would sell directly.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> That this work came from their collection is indicated on the reverse of a photograph of the drawing on which is written, "from the Collection of Mrs. John Jakobson." See Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>284</sup> It is speculation whether this was a reason for the limited success of the show. While it seems evident in the case of Abraham, less is known about other transactions. Castelli did not retain rights over the sale of the drawings once the show ended, so the Castelli Gallery falls out of the discussion after this show. But there are numerous objects from this show that were donated or sold when entire archives were sold. For example, all of Venturi and Rauch's work from this

The Castelli Gallery never intended to be the only place involved with this exhibition. Originally, thought was given to combining the efforts of the Castelli gallery with the Architectural League of New York. Castelli wrote to Jonathan Barnett, then president of the Architectural League, to inquire about the League's potential involvement with the exhibition. Barnett was enthusiastic in his response, indicating he would seek the board's approvals to perhaps coordinate some of that year's lecture series with the subject of the exhibition. Barnett offered to put Deborah Nevins,<sup>285</sup> then program director at the Architectural League, in contact to discuss the possibility further. This did not come to fruition, but at the same time other collaborators were being sought to expand the show's audience.

Apraxine and the Castelli Gallery endeavored for the exhibition to travel by offering the exhibition to museums and other galleries for \$1,500.<sup>286</sup> Only one person expressed interest at this time. This was Suzanne Delehanty, then Director of Philadelphia's Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA).<sup>287</sup> So, after the exhibition closed at Castelli's gallery, it moved to the ICA and ran from December 15, 1977 to February 2, 1978 under the title *Architecture I: Seven Architects*.<sup>288</sup> This was in a slightly expanded

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exhibition now resides in the Venturi Scott Brown and Associates Archive at the University of Pennsylvania School of Design's Architectural Archive.

<sup>285</sup> Nevins is the same person mentioned earlier who interviewed Barbara Pine about her collection. She and David Gebhard were the parties responsible for the exhibition *200 Years of American Architectural Drawing*.

<sup>286</sup> Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. This document also specifies that 500 catalogues were included in the price.

<sup>287</sup> His initial letter, expressing his desire to have the show at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Philadelphia, still survives in the archives.

<sup>288</sup> The ICA had two galleries filled, one 50 feet by 50 feet, the other 60 feet by 30 feet. A letter from the Assistant Director of the ICA specifies these dimensions. See Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Letter dated 23 December 1977.

version of the Castelli show, as it included some works that had not been hung at the Castelli Gallery.<sup>289</sup>

There are three surviving letters that give some indication of the differences between the two exhibitions. One indicated that work by each architect was added.<sup>290</sup> The other letters are more specific. One to Aldo Rossi, dated November 16, 1977, is the ICA's formal letter requesting to borrow his works. The works listed in the letter include all of those that were on view at Castelli, plus 14 others. There are "4 small drawings with old-fashioned frames, 2 paintings," and "8 additional 'Conceptual Exercises'."<sup>291</sup> The other letter, dated the following day, November 17, 1977, is addressed to James Stirling. Listed in this letter are "eight additional drawings not on view at Castelli."<sup>292</sup>

There were, however, some works in the Castelli show that were not shown at the ICA. These included six Pichler works, titled *My House*, *Chapel*, *Door*, *Small Room at the Edge of the Woods*, *Drawing Room*, *House for a Sculpture*, *Large Figure with an Organ Pipe*, and *Location of a Sculpture in the House*, that had to be returned to the architect.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> A list of the additional works does not survive. There are only four surviving installation photographs of the ICA show. Three are in the Castelli Gallery Archives, while the other is in the University of Pennsylvania Archives. Together, they reveal too little of the exhibition to infer either its layout or all of the works in the exhibition. None are of high enough quality to be able to discern what all of the drawings are.

<sup>290</sup> This letter was sent by the assistant director Michael Quigley to ask for information about the exhibitions on December 23, 1977. Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>291</sup> Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999.

<sup>292</sup> There is also a list of drawings sent on October 3, 1977 to the Castelli Gallery by Richard Meier and Associates. On this list are eight drawings for a project that was not shown at the Castelli Gallery. See Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Box 41, Folder 50, Richard Meier. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. It is possible that these were also part of the ICA show.

<sup>293</sup> Additionally, there are two installation photographs of this exhibition.

That the show could be held with minimal change at both a commercial gallery and at a cultural venue, where there was no intent to sell the works, speaks to an inherent paradox in the nature of the exhibition. The exhibition was meant to be equally a museum show as a gallery show.<sup>294</sup> This is evident first in the display of the works at the Castelli Gallery. All drawings were framed and matted similarly, lending consistency to their presentation. They were treated as similar objects, whether placed on the wall or on pedestals. It was also made apparent by the inclusion of information panels about each architect's works. These panels described both the architect and the works, something common in museum exhibitions, but not in gallery shows. Additionally, the selling of the work was not the only goal of the show. This was not only evidenced by the letter that Apraxine sent to Stirling, but also by Castelli's statement, as recalled by other key participants, that he was mostly interested in putting on the show "for the sheer pleasure of showing architectural drawings."<sup>295</sup> The roles of the gallery, then, were both as a sale venue and as a cultural venue.

The show proved popular at both locations. After the Castelli show, *Architectural Digest* requested to include Raimund Abrahams's, "Seven Gates to Heaven" in their March 1978 issue.<sup>296</sup> The journal, *Architecture in Greece*, contacted the Castelli Gallery in November 1977 to secure a catalog, press release, and photographs for presentation in its review.

But, it was after the ICA show that the exhibition achieved its broadest impact. Many galleries, most of which were associated with academic institutions, had expressed

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<sup>294</sup> This was related by both Jakobson and Apraxine in their interviews with the author.

<sup>295</sup> In their interviews, both Jakobson and Ambasz related to the author that Castelli said this.

<sup>296</sup> A letter requesting Abraham's work survives in the archives. Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999.

interest in carrying this exhibition during the time it was at the ICA. For instance, on December 19, 1977, Dennis M. Ryan, the Chairman of the Urban Design Program at the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Washington in Seattle, sent an inquiry to the ICA, after seeing the show, to ask about the “chances of the show traveling...to Seattle.”<sup>297</sup> He emphasized in the letter that he had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, thinking that this would help get a positive response, as the ICA was located there. He was seemingly unaware that the show was managed by the Castelli Gallery and not organized solely by the university.

Letters were written by the ICA in response to requests from Ohio State University’s University Gallery of Fine Art, Iowa State University’s Brunner Gallery, The College of Arts and Architecture at Montana State University in Bozeman, the University of Washington in Seattle, and the Architectural Association in London.<sup>298</sup>

There was one letter, dated during the ICA exhibition, sent to the Castelli Gallery from the Col·legi Oficial d’Arquitectes de Catalunya i Balears in Barcelona. Another letter sent to the gallery was from the Charles S. Rhyne, Director of the Gallery Program at Reed College in Portland, Oregon. The dates of both of these letters—January 4, 1977 and February 3, 1978 respectively—suggests that the colleges became familiar with the exhibition through the ICA show, were informed where the show originated, and subsequently contacted the Castelli Gallery. Perhaps, like the others, they wrote to the ICA only to receive the same response that “the show was organized by Pierre Apraxine for the Leo Castelli Gallery and is presented at the ICA in an expanded version. You

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<sup>297</sup> Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>298</sup> Only the responses survive in the archives. The original letters do not.

would need to speak with Leo Castelli directly about the possibility of the show's travelling further."<sup>299</sup>

All of these requests were denied, not because the Castelli Gallery did not want the show to travel further, but because by this time arrangements had already made to return the works to their owners. Those who wrote likely got a response similar to the one Susan Brundage, an employee at the Castelli Gallery, sent to Betty Collins of Ohio State University: "Thank you for your letter of January 19<sup>th</sup> concerning the architecture exhibition that we held at the gallery this Fall. Unfortunately, we had anticipated travelling the show when we first started organizing the project, however, we did not receive any positive answers until after the show had closed. Now we are committed to returning the drawings and models to the architects as soon as the exhibition closes in Philadelphia."<sup>300</sup>

Based on the sources of inquiry and the timing of the correspondence, it is clear that the ICA was instrumental in bringing the exhibition to the attention of the academic community. The Castelli Gallery was outside the purview of academia, though, because Castelli's ties were stronger outside of the academic world. There was a different audience was paying attention to the private galleries in New York and to the ICA.

Although the show proved popular with academic institutions interested in current trends in architectural production, elsewhere criticism of the show began immediately. In a letter to James Stirling on August 11, 1977, Apraxine noted that the subject was of

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<sup>299</sup> This is from a letter responding to Ms. Christine Dailey from the Brunnier Gallery at Iowa State University. All of the letters responding to requests for the exhibition received similar responses. See Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>300</sup> Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

considerable debate. He wrote, “The show generates already an enormous amount of interest, controversy, numerous plots, mini-scandals, counter shows, etc. It seems that I am fast on my way to becoming the most hated man in New York, but it is supposed to be part of the fun.”<sup>301</sup>

The first letter to the Castelli Gallery regarding the show arrived on November 11, 1977. In it, Adolfo Natalini, of the architecture firm, Superstudio, thanked Castelli for sending a catalogue and suggested that his firm participate in any future exhibits.<sup>302</sup> However, he went on to tell Castelli that he believed the architects that had been chosen for the show had no substance to their practices, were merely facile at handling graphics, and were too late to make any contribution to the status of architectural drawings. He credited the prior generation of architects with having already investigated “‘architectural drawings’ (not drawings-for-architecture...).”<sup>303</sup> Drawings, he continued, acquired their autonomy through Archigram, a renowned group of architects formed in the 1960s, and the present trends revert “to being a graphic nothing in the hands of some talented architects and draughtsmen.” He lamented, “Has all our work served only to free hands and air brushes?”<sup>304</sup>

Nonetheless, the early, published reviews looked more positively at the exhibition and its varied implications. Ada Louise Huxtable was the first to press. In order to ensure her review, on September 23, 1977 Pierre Apraxine sent Huxtable a letter, along with an

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<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*

advanced copy of the introduction to the exhibition, and offered an advanced showing and a “SoHo lunch.”<sup>305</sup>

Huxtable’s review was titled “Architectural Drawings as Art Gallery Art.”<sup>306</sup> She was careful to emphasize the importance of this particular exhibition among the many shows of architectural drawings that were mounted during that season. It had, she stated, “special esthetic and theoretical significance.”<sup>307</sup> There were two reasons for this. First, selling architectural drawings in a gallery demonstrated their status as collectible items. They were not simply pedagogical tools to explain a building or to understand the process of architectural design. They were deemed objects with their own value. Thus, architectural drawing was equated with forms of art that were typically displayed in the Castelli Gallery. It brought architecture and art together. She states:

“Today the lines between all of the arts are becoming less firm; the divisions between painting and sculpture are disappearing and the nature of drawings is being re-examined. The same thing is happening with architecture. . . . art and architecture have come closer than at any time in history. In these examples, they merge and dissolve.”<sup>308</sup>

While the chief goal stated in the catalogue was to represent attitudes within architecture, the effects of exhibition were altogether different. Architecture and art, by virtue of being shown together in a gallery and being offered for sale as collectible items,

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<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>306</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, “Architectural Drawings as Art Gallery Art,” *The New York Times* (October 23, 1977), D27. Her focus on the drawings in this show, at the expense of the models and photographs, is a theme that continues throughout the show’s many reviews. The models, when they are discussed, garner only a brief mention.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*



attained comparable status.<sup>309</sup> This was undoubtedly a comment on the content of the exhibition as well. Many of the drawings in the exhibition were not normative architectural drawings. They differed dramatically from other shows, such as the seminal *École des Beaux-Arts* at MoMA, which many claim was a predecessor to the architecture shows of this time. The drawings in this MoMA show consisted of plans, sections, and elevations. Although highly rendered, they were conventional views. Plans, sections, and elevations did not dominate the Castelli exhibition. Axonometrics, abstract drawings, and aerial views were emphasized over these other forms of drawings.

Others critics saw added benefit to the gallerization of architectural drawings. Among a certain set, there was a feeling that some forms of art had lost their meaning and had become derivative as attention shifted to surface.<sup>310</sup> Architectural drawings, on the other hand, were seen as less superficial and, as such, could inject art with deeper meaning.

Among those who viewed architectural drawings in this light was the critic, Victoria Donohoe. She was of the opinion that “. . . architectural drawings have become an ardently sought after commodity.”<sup>311</sup> In a piece, titled “Architectural Drawings Suddenly Sought-After Items,” for *The Philadelphia Inquirer* on December 25, 1977, she wrote about the incomplete quality of some of the sketches. Since there were no complete

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<sup>309</sup> This review builds upon one Huxtable wrote only three months earlier about the exhibition, *200 Years of Architectural Drawings*, and that she titled “Architectural Drawings as Art.” She traces this achievement to developments both within and outside of architectural practice.

<sup>310</sup> See Victoria Donohoe, “Architectural Drawings Suddenly Sought After Items,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (December 25, 1977). She states, “This show has depths explored in few recent exhibits. It suggests also an exploration of a whole new area of ‘fine art’ that is neglected and which will be tremendously refreshing after so much experience with ‘art’ where the surfaces are glittering but no depth exists.”

<sup>311</sup> Victoria Donohoe, “Architectural Drawings Suddenly Sought After Items,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (December 25, 1977).

sketches in the show, it is likely that she is referring to drawings by Pichler that had unfinished and unresolved areas. Donohoe also wrote, “One thing close observation discloses is that earlier sketches made before an architect’s idea had fully taken shape are more probing and have something far more satisfying about them than highly finished renderings done for presentation to a client.”<sup>312</sup>

Paul Goldberger exemplified those who were more cautious about what this meant for architecture. Writing in the *New York Times* on December 12, 1977,<sup>313</sup> he echoed Huxtable when he wrote that the Castelli show was the most significant show of the year, and further remarked that because it was crowded for its entire run, it was also the most successful.<sup>314</sup> He also touched on the collapse of architecture into art. The show revealed “the extent to which architectural drawings have become a phenomenon of the world of art.” The fact that it was held at the Castelli Gallery was sufficient for him to conclude that “something has happened” and that “[a]rchitectural drawings . . . have become . . . art objects.”

For Goldberger, though, this was to architecture’s detriment. The drawings were considered “seductive” and “suave.” Countering Donohoe, he believed they were too much removed from the act of building and too close to the drawing surface (as if an architectural drawing’s meaning was derived from its inference of the building to come and the surface of the drawing was the antithesis of this). In essence, Goldberger felt that what defined architecture was at risk when appreciation focused more on the representational techniques, color, and display of drawings than on the buildings they

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<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>313</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Architectural Drawings Raised to an Art.” *The New York Times*, December 12, 1977.

<sup>314</sup> It was estimated that 25,000 people visited the exhibition. See Joseph Giovannini, “Models for ‘Houses for Sale’ for Sale,” *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (March 16, 1981), B5.

might become. “Real buildings,” he states, are in danger of being forgotten. This is damaging because “real buildings” deal with issues that drawings cannot. It is these issues, which include politics, economics, structures, and space, that define architecture’s center. These drawings cannot not engage with any of these in the ways that buildings can.<sup>315</sup> While Goldberger does acknowledge that drawings can push the limits of architecture, he does not believe that they are beneficial to the progress of architecture in the long run. “Visionary projects enlarge the scope of art and for this they are welcome. But in the end, it is still the buildings that matter.” For him, unlike Donohoe, this change in perspective results in art turning architecture into surface, and neglecting its depth.

Others echoed this unease about the effects of this show on architecture. For many, this concern arose from the showing of architectural drawings at a commercial venue. Henry Wollman, at the time a planner in New York, wrote a letter to Castelli in which he expressed the concern that many felt. Wollman voiced his apprehension after receiving a copy of the catalogue. His trepidations cut to the core of architecture itself. His concern was an ontological one about what architecture would become if it was removed from social concerns and became images on a wall. He was fearful that if a market matured and became a means for architects to support their practices, that architecture itself would simply become aesthetic exercises on the wall. Architecture’s future would be one that had forgotten a significant portion of its history.<sup>316</sup> He states,

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<sup>315</sup> Goldberger states, “Architecture is the making of space as much as it is the making of form and the making of cultural symbol, yet space cannot ever be conveyed in two dimensions.”

<sup>316</sup> Interestingly, Wollman does not seem to be completely against the exhibition and sale of architectural drawings. The second issue that he articulates is one of content. He thinks that both Peter Eisenman and John Hejduk should be in the exhibition. Their works, he believes, are among the most interesting for their rigor and dedication to working out architectural issues on paper. He encourages Castelli to invite them for a future show. It seems that perhaps much of his critique is associated with whom was displayed in the show. The architects shown were not rigorous

“The exhibition raises, however, two sorts of problems. First, the obvious ones about the transformations in meaning that architecture undergoes when architectural drawings are objectified and gallerized. Is architecture, beyond the pursuit of the formal object – in ‘reality’ or on paper – a dead possibility within this culture? Is architecture as function – that is, within the humanist tradition – with the capacity to concern itself with personal knowledge and liberation, and community well-being, capable of being made? If architecture is now a matter of drawing and galleries – work within the history of ideas – then the gallery setting assumes new importance for sustaining the careers of promising or important architects.”<sup>317</sup>

Stuart Greenspan, in a review *Artforum*, probed even further by questioning the potential impacts on architecture if architects became more interested in creating art than in producing drawings for an end product. Will they still be architects? He asks,

“... [W]hat happens when architectural drawings really hit the market? Will the stock climb for architects or for a new hybrid, the artist-architect?”

“Does ‘Architecture I’ satisfy the public’s intense, media-hyped interest in esoteric architecture, as much as it legitimizes a new and commercially viable art form? That question is the inherent danger in this exhibition. The architects allow themselves to be seduced into producing more and more beautiful drawings, and get further from dealing with the real crises confronting architecture today, then they are doing great harm in compromising their achievements as architects by putting architecture at the service of another art. They lose as much as they gain.”<sup>318</sup>

Ann Lorenz van Zanten further addressed architects’ accountability for the future of their profession in her article “Architecture: Seven Architects.”<sup>319</sup> While she saw that this show changed the status of architectural drawing in many people’s minds, she was not convinced it would be beneficial that “Castelli has pushed architectural drawings into the area of big-time, saleable modern art. . .” She asserts, “The fact that Castelli...is now...offering for sale these drawings and graphics places further emphasis on their debatable status as independent works of art. They seem to have been torn from their

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enough, and were contributing works that were for display, rather than for conveying architectural issues.

<sup>317</sup> Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>318</sup> Stuart Greenspan, “‘Architecture I, Leo Castelli Gallery and ICA, Philadelphia,’ *Artforum* (January 1978).

<sup>319</sup> Ann Lorenz van Zanten, “Architecture: Seven Architects.” Review held in Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

context as steps in a process and propelled into the milieu of international high art, which is inappropriate.” The inappropriateness stems from the removal of the drawings from the architectural process.

Arguing against this shift, she appealed to architects and architectural historians who customarily understood architecture as a history of buildings. She states, “...few architects or architectural historians would be willing to accept drawings over buildings as the highest productions of architectural art or even, in many cases, as something which can stand alone.” Van Zanten concludes with a warning: “Architects should think long and hard before they involve themselves in a new and possibly artificial art market; and organizers of future exhibitions of architectural drawings should take more care in deciding what point to make and how to make it.”

A striking fact about these reviews is that, no matter what the questions, arguments, or conclusions were, the focus was always on the drawings. None of the reviews mentioned the photographs and only one made passing reference to the models. Surely something was happening here.

This attention to architectural drawings, especially as collectible items, forced reconsideration of the relationship between architecture and art. Questions concerning what constituted architecture—whether drawings or buildings—and the relationship between them, arose to the forefront of discourse. The presumed responsibilities that architects and galleries bore to maintain architecture, to maintain art, or to combine the two into something new, became pressing. Since this exhibition was held at both a private gallery and a cultural institution, architectural drawings became exposed to a broader audience than most prior exhibitions. Not only were the architectural cognoscenti well

aware of what was happening, but word had begun to spread to the larger art-loving public.

## **ARCHITECTURE II: HOUSES FOR SALE**

Although *Architecture I* was not a commercial success for Castelli, he was known to have enjoyed showing architecture.<sup>320</sup> The show generated enough critical acclaim that Castelli held another show three years later. This exhibition was titled *Architecture II: Houses for Sale* and opened on October 18, 1980. It closed just over one month later on November 22.<sup>321</sup>

The curator for this follow-on exhibition went by the name of B.J. Archer. Although it was not widely known at the time, B.J. Archer was a pseudonym for Barbara Jakobson.<sup>322</sup> In fact, it is Jakobson who lays claim to the idea for this exhibition. All it took was a simple suggestion. As she stated,

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<sup>320</sup> Jakobson recalls that the subject was enjoyable for all of those who participated in the planning and organizing of the exhibitions, as it was a subject that they were all interested in. Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012

<sup>321</sup> After its run at the Castelli Gallery, the show visited Los Angeles, CA and was mounted at the James Corcoran Gallery at 8223 Santa Monica Blvd. from February 20 to March 28, 1981. Corcoran related that the show was one of his most popular. (See John Dreyfuss, "Architecture in Search of a Style," *Los Angeles Times* (May 7, 1982), H1). He was quoted as saying in the same article, that it was "a financial disaster." Corcoran was planning another exhibition showing house plans on sale for 200-300 dollars each. The show also traveled to the Texas Gallery at 2012 Peden Street in Houston, Texas. A poster for this exhibition is in the archive. See Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Box 151, Folder 15 for the poster as well as an advertisement for the Corcoran show. An art critic for the *Houston Chronicle* mentions this show. See Ann Holmes, "'Houses for Sale' offers ideas via 8 original minds," *Houston Chronicle* (May 13, 1981).

<sup>322</sup> Barbara Jakobson explains her choice of name as follows, "Now whenever I did my architecture projects, I always used my pen name, which is B.J. Archer. I am B.J. Archer. Because what happened, was when I separated, I didn't want to just be...you know, I'm Barbara Jakobson, trustee of the Museum of Modern Art, blah, blah, blah. So I wanted a whole other identity. I always wanted to be George Eliot. I love the idea of an androgynous pen name. BJ are my initials and a lot of people call me B.J., and the Archer came from – 1. My favorite character in a Henry James novel is Isabelle Archer; 2. It's also a play on the word architect; 3. During the

“I said to Leo that I wanted to do an architectural drawings show at the gallery. He said, ‘Sure.’”<sup>323</sup>

Jakobson also was aware that the architects she knew had few opportunities then to build, since the downturn in the economy had slowed architectural production tremendously. To address this, she considered using the gallery to assist in finding work for the architects. Jakobson thought it would be worth seeing if a gallery could act as agent for architects, as it did for artists, where business might be generated from those who viewed the architects’ drawings of homes.<sup>324</sup> This exhibition, then, differed in character from any architectural exhibition before. The gallery was to be a place where buildings were marketed and sold. It would represent the architects and would help them expand their client base. She stated:

“My idea for this show – could you do an exhibition in an art gallery of a private house and put it on the wall of a place like Leo Castelli—the preeminent art dealer in the world—could we sell houses as if they were great works of art? Would people come, look at the plans for these houses and say, yeah – I’m going to commission a house. So what I did was a show called ‘Houses for Sale.’”<sup>325</sup>

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few years that I was very involved with Cedric Price, we always listened to this radio program called “The Archers”. So it had a lot of resonance in my life.” Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012.

<sup>323</sup> Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012.

<sup>324</sup> The idea to hold such an exhibition was likely influenced by another exhibition that the Castelli Gallery was made aware of shortly after *Architecture I* opened. On November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1977 the gallery was sent a catalogue for an exhibition that had been mounted in Boston. Warren Schwartz of Cambridge, MA, sent Castelli a catalogue of *Immanent Domains*, which had been mounted the Marcus Krakow Gallery. The exhibition featured nine Boston area architects—Thomas Amsler, Louis Bakanowsky, Donlyn Lyndon, Rodolfo Machado, Francis McGuire, Warren Schwartz, Robert Silber, Jorge Silvetti, and Jan Wampler—who showed houses that they had previously designed. The catalogue was part of the Castelli Gallery’s papers, and still survives in the archives. But this show differed from the Castelli show in at least one important way. All of the works on exhibit at the Marcus Krakow Gallery had been designed before the show. The purpose of the show was to represent differing attitudes towards housing. It is possible still that this correspondence underpins the idea for Castelli’s show.

<sup>325</sup> Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012.

Jakobson was referring to houses that had not yet been designed. Again, unlike any previous architectural exhibition, this show required that works be designed specifically for it. A brief was sent out that delimited the requirements as follows:

**Project's Background:**

Traditionally, in the history of the private house, the client came first—an enlightened prince or burgher who commissioned the gifted architect to design the mansion of his dreams. *Houses for Sale* proposes a reversal of the process. Here, a number of internationally known architects are invited to put forth their visions for the modern house: a place suggestive of perceiving new modes of domestic experience functionally, intellectually, and sensually. Reversing the process whereby the client commissions an architect, here the client may be anybody with the enthusiasm and the means to build these proposals.

**Project's Purpose:**

To invite an international group of architects to propose prototypical solutions for private dwellings. These prototypes are to be perceived by the public as both artistic and practical solutions that they may wish to undertake building. The architect is free to propose a solution that will act as either whether a primary residence or a vacation house.

**Basic Program:**

To design a prototypical family house conceived as an individual unit.

Geographical areas are to be considered: preferably, but not exclusively the United States.

Minimum plot size: one acre (approximately 4,520 sq. m.) Cost: approximately US \$250,000 (excluding cost of land).

**Presentation Material:**

Plans, section, elevation, axonometrics, and/or perspective drawings, as well as a brief description of architectural intentions. Models are not required.

The information presented should also be described:

- a) suggested construction method(s);
- b) approximate cost estimate (not including land)
- c) climatic suitability

**Material for Sale:**

The project's drawings (with the consent of the architect) and/or the commission of the project itself. The drawings may be purchased separately from the commission of the project. However, the project's clients shall have the first right to purchase their project's drawings.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> B. J. Archer, ed. *Houses for Sale, By Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman, Vittorio Gregotti, Arata Isozaki, Charles Moore, Cesar Pelli, Cedric Price, Oswald Mathias Ungers* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), xvii.



This text was mailed to those architects that accepted the Castelli Gallery's invitation. They were Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman, Vittorio Gregotti, Arata Isozaki, Charles Moore, Cesar Pelli, Cedric Price and Oswald Mattias Ungers. They had been invited simply because of their connections with Jakobson. Jakobson relates, "My criteria had to do with my pals."<sup>327</sup> The projects were, in respective order, *Arcadian Berm House*; *House El Even Odd*; *Una Casa*; *House of Nine Squares*; *Hexastyle Texas House*; *Long Gallery House*; *Pavilions, Platforms, Pylons, and Plants*; and *House within a House*.

With such minimal requirements, each of these architects could develop a house free from typical constraints of site and client. Each took the opportunity to incorporate theoretical ideas about houses in their submissions. Ambasz designed a "green" house, which was intended to meld with the landscape. He used a berm to insulate all north-facing walls. It was sensitively placed within a slice in the landscape. It made a statement about a building's relationship with the landscape and how integrated both can be. Eisenman pushed the boundaries of formal experiments in architecture by continuing explorations developed in his series of numbered houses. He used the representational technique of axonometry as a tool for design. His explanation of the project focused solely on the house as an exercise in formal axonometric manipulation. Vittorio Gregotti investigated how to reconcile the "self" with the "external world" through his "house

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<sup>327</sup> Jakobson interview with author, November 16, 2012. Not all the architects who were invited to participate did. A letter of polite rejection survives from James Stirling. He was simply too busy with other projects. Another letter specifies that Ambasz had spoken with Aldo van Eyck, and the gallery was forwarding him the information. Nothing else survives regarding van Eyck's participation, so it is left to assume that in the end he also was not interested or was not available. See Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

building”. More specifically, the house must, he stated, relate one “...to the earth, to the site, and then by extension to the group . . .” He was the sole architect who sent a project complete with construction drawings and details. Isozaki sought to illustrate the reduction of architecture to two qualities: an irreducible spatial organization and an expression of the “house form” by ruminating on the nine-square grid. Charles Moore focused on a formal exercise in Postmodernism, by combining a ranch house, the inspiration for the exterior, with “Italianate recollections” on the interior. He described it through opposing concepts, saying that “[t]he scheme is as symmetrical–anti-symmetrical as it is formal–anti-formal.” Cesar Pelli explored how to unite the “two opposite spiritual needs” of individuality and collectivity by searching for archetypal forms that represented himself, the designer, and at the same were universal (and thus able to be understood by everyone); he arranged the forms along a linear corridor. Cedric Price continued his quest for a user-defined architecture. He created an architecture of possibilities, a “twenty-four-hour living toy” consisting of “[a] series of pavilions, platforms, and pylons, all self-structured. . . sometimes individually and sometimes interlinked.” Lastly, Ungers produced a house that changed with the seasons and, by doing so, responded to environmental concerns. It consisted of three concentric houses: an interior stone house used during the winter, a glass house with plants to provide shade for the stone house during the spring and summer and then dismantled in the winter, and a garden house that contained the other two and provided green space.<sup>328</sup>

To help assemble these works, the Castelli Gallery underwrote the costs of insuring and transporting the drawings, unframed, to and from the gallery. The gallery

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<sup>328</sup> These descriptions are taken from the architects submissions in the catalogue. See B. J. Archer, ed. *Houses for Sale, By Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman, Vittorio Gregotti, Arata Isozaki, Charles Moore, Cesar Pelli, Cedric Price, Oswald Mathias Ungers* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980).

explicitly stated that it would not cover costs associated with transporting models or other special presentation material. The gallery also specified its take: If a building was purchased from the gallery, the architect would be entitled to receive from the client a fee of 15% of the total cost of the project. The gallery's commission was 40% of the sale price on all drawings, and 25% of the architect's fee or fees. There was a contingency built into the contract in case of multiple commissions of the same project.<sup>329</sup> Although there was some disagreement over the inclusion of these stipulations, all the architects did contribute their works.<sup>330</sup>

Once the work was assembled, the show was mounted. The gallery was organized spatially, similar to *Architecture I*. One entered the gallery into the same area in which the catalogue would have been found. The catalogue for this exhibition was comparatively substantial. Whereas the catalogue for *Architecture I* totaled only 19 pages, including the title page and introduction, the catalogue for *Architecture II* contained 115 pages of works, accompanied by an additional 17 pages of contents, acknowledgements, and introduction. Also, its quality was substantially more refined, as it was printed on heavier, glossy stock. The first page of each architect's section featured a portrait and a narrative biographical sketch. The second and third pages contained a description of the project. The fourth page was a black and white drawing of their work. The fifth and sixth pages were color reproductions of drawings or color photographs of

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<sup>329</sup> This highlights a complication that arose with this model that relates to originality. If more than one house was built, then which version would be the original? Would they be read as serial pieces?

<sup>330</sup> Two participants were not pleased that the gallery would take 15% of a commission. Charles Moore expressed that his firm was already in the habit of charging a 15% architectural fee, and that they just about break even on that, and requested that the gallery charge 20% and then charge their same 15% commission on that. Cedric Price charged even more. He requested that on any commission, his firm never charged less than 25%, and specified that the gallery's 25% fee be added on to that. Whether or not the gallery accepted this is unknown.

models. The seventh through the 13th pages were additional black and white reproductions.

Three versions of this catalogue were produced. The contents were the same but the covers were altered. Rizzoli published the first two versions. The first featured a blueprint as its cover and was the least formal design of the three. The finish was matte, much like the cover for *Architecture I*. The blueprint was not from any of the proposed projects, but was instead a generic section of a blueprint meant to invoke the subject of the exhibition—a house. The visible portion of the blueprint showed part of an exterior wall and a bathroom. Text labels, dimension lines, and registration marks were present. These marks reinforced its architectural qualities. To the top left of the cover, was a white box outlined in red, with red text. Tilted 30 degrees, the text was in a courier typeface and contained the title of the exhibition and the last names of the participating architects in alphabetical order. To the lower right, rotated the same 30 degrees, was a circular stamp mark revealing the editor, B.J. Archer. In the center of the stamp was a drawing of a house, homage to the exhibition's theme. To the lower left of the cover, tilted 30 degrees in the opposite direction was the publisher's mark. The three overlays read as if they were stickers slapped haphazardly on the blueprint.

The second version of the catalogue had a higher quality, glossy cover. The main image was a high-contrast, grey-scale photograph of tightly bonded, rough, square-cut stones. Onto this image, in the center of the cover, was superimposed a large white box outlined with two red lines, a thin inner line and a thicker outer line, together forming a double red border with rounded corners. A more refined font had been chosen and hierarchy had been created between the title and the architects through the use of cases.

“Edited by B.J. Archer” was in a white, sans-serif typeface underneath this box, oriented to the lower left corner. Beneath this, Rizzoli was written in the publisher’s font.

The third version of the catalogue was published in Barcelona in 1981. Its contents were exactly the same as the others translated into Spanish. The cover was a color image of a light-brown brick wall. “B.J. Archer (ed.)” was written toward the center-top. Below was an off-white rectangular box with “CASAS EN VENTA” and the architects’ names listed, all in a sans-serif typeface. The publisher’s mark was center justified below. Its publishing is curious since the exhibition did not travel to Barcelona. It was produced simply because there was the interest for it to be disseminated in Spain.

The three catalogue designs speak to different uses. The first catalogue was produced specifically for the exhibition, the second as a volume to reach the wider public, and the third to disseminate the work completed for this exhibition to a larger cultural context. The exhibition quickly navigated these three spheres through the catalogues.

At the very end of each catalogue was one notable page. This page credits all of those who worked on the projects and those who rendered the drawings. For instance, under Emilio Ambasz, a renderer, a model photographer, a model maker, and a portrait photographer are also listed. Peter Eisenman’s team was noted to have consisted of six project assistants, a coordinator, two structural engineers, two mechanical engineers, and a photographer. For Vittorio Gregotti, his entire firm, Vittorio Gregotti Associati, was credited. This is the first time this type of recognition was given in an exhibition of architectural drawings. The architects themselves were credited on the cover of the catalogue and on the project pages, but there was also acknowledgement that an entire group was needed to complete these works. The collaborative nature of the architectural

profession, as opposed to the frequently individualistic nature of art, was being highlighted. This characteristic, common to architectural design, was shifting into the realm of drawings.<sup>331</sup>

This catalogue, like the catalogue for *Architecture I*, did not provide a complete account of the exhibition. Some of the plans and section drawings in the catalogue differed from those displayed in the exhibition.<sup>332</sup> Therefore, a reconstruction of the exhibition is necessary for a more accurate understanding of its contents.

Sufficient installation photos survive to make this possible.<sup>333</sup> Even so, there are some limitations since the surviving photos do not document every piece on display. Also, since detailed descriptions were lacking, sizes of the works and materials used can only be presumed. Moving clockwise in the first room of the gallery were the works of

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<sup>331</sup> Michael Sorkin remarked about this precise point in his review of the show for the *Village Voice*. "The drawings themselves are often not even produced by the 'name' architects themselves . . . but by their offices or by the subculture of freelance airbrushers and prismacolor masters, often working for 10 dollars an hour or less." He concludes his review with an appeal to the market, associating monetary gain with recognition: "Having at last gained broad recognition for their artistic qualities, it is critical that their collaborative nature be suitably recognized and compensated. After all, it is the drawing that is being sold, not the idea. Therefore let the draftsperson profit." See Michael Sorkin, "Drawings for Sale," *Village Voice* (November 19, 1979). Reprinted in Michael Sorkin, *Exquisite Corpse: Writing on Buildings* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

<sup>332</sup> The catalogue, then, resembles so many of the magazines in which one could buy house plans complete with materials to construct one's own house. These magazines are perhaps another forerunner to this exhibition. This was a point also noted by Michael Sorkin in his review for the *Village Voice*. See Michael Sorkin, "Drawings for Sale," *Village Voice* (November 19, 1979). Reprinted in Michael Sorkin, *Exquisite Corpse: Writing on Buildings* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

<sup>333</sup> Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Box 51, Folder 82: Architecture II: Houses for Sale, Oct18-Nov22(420WBroadway).

Isozaki, Eisenman, Ambasz, Price and finally Ungers. Works by Pelli, Moore, and Gregotti were located in the adjacent room.<sup>334</sup>

Isozaki's contribution consisted of seven lead reliefs. From left to right, the first was an axonometric representation of the house. The second demonstrated "the formal principle," or the organizational forms, the house. The third was of the north elevation. These were followed by four reliefs in a square layout that consisted of a plan in the upper left position, a section in the upper right, another plan with the structural grid in the lower left, and the north-south section in the lower right. There was a series of 10 drawings that had been featured in the catalogue but were not mounted in the exhibition. These were the site plan, north, south, east and west elevations, first, second, and third floor plans, and north-south and east-west sections.

Eisenman's work was not framed or matted, in contrast to all other drawings in the exhibition. And instead of the horizontal and vertical alignment chosen by the others, Eisenman rotated his four installations by 45 degrees, resulting in four diamond shapes. This was in homage to the axonometric techniques he used in developing his design. The first diamond was split into four zones by an invisible line between opposite apexes of the diamond. The other three diamonds were split into four parts by projecting lines from the center-points of each side. The bottom two sides of each diamond were extended straight downward by a few inches with darker paper. This created the illusion of a three-dimensional object viewed on axis from an elevated angle. The result was an axonometric representation of a rotated rectangular prism. The first diamond had a negative space cut out of it. This space was centered on the diamond, in the shape of the plan drawings for

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<sup>334</sup> Sorkin's review in the *Village Voice* also discusses the layout of this exhibition. See Michael Sorkin, "Drawings for Sale," *Village Voice* (November 19, 1979). Reprinted in Michael Sorkin, *Exquisite Corpse: Writing on Buildings* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

the building itself. Inside this space was printed the credits for the work, while on the darker, extruded pieces was the description of the work. The second diamond contained four axonometric floor plans. It is here that the reason to rotate the canvas 45 degrees was made clear—it allowed for the drawings to be rendered with a diamond-shaped plan, emphasizing the ambiguities that this form of representation can present. The third diamond contained four floor plans in the same orientation. The fourth diamond was manipulated more than the others. The general form was of a diamond, but the right-most apex had been chamfered, while the bottom segment had been enlarged and mounted below the rest. The left segment contained an axonometric section model of the building. The top was a construction that showed the house in perspective. The right segment contained an elevation of the house. The lower segment was a model of the house as it was meant to be constructed. This last model revealed that the entire construction was axonometric. That is, it was generated through manipulations of forms in axonometric representation. The ambiguous plans, which seemed to make the most sense, were actually axonometric representations of the already axonometric object. There were individual images of another seven drawings and two sheets that showed the transformations Eisenman went through to generate the final form of the house, though whether they were actually displayed in the exhibition or were only shown in the catalogue cannot be determined.

Ambasz's contribution included a model in front of six colored drawings. Laid out in two rows of three, the top row consisted of a roof plan, an alternate roof plan, and a section showing the house to four feet below grade level. The bottom row had a section of the house at grade, a drawing of two floor plans, and a drawing of an alternative floor



plan. The remaining works in Ambasz's contribution were 12 color renderings of the project. They were aerial and interior views.

Price's works consisted of 18 drawings and one model. The first drawing was a rendered elevation of the building on the site. To the right was the site plan featured in the catalogue. In front of these drawings, the model was placed in a Perspex box on a tall pedestal at roughly eye height. It could be viewed from the sides and looked at through a mirror hanging at a 30-degree angle from the ceiling. On the adjacent wall were 18 drawings arranged in vertical bands of three, two, three, two, two, and four. The first three, from top to bottom were colored elevations of the building. The uppermost was the entrance side, the middle was the dispensing side, and the bottom showed the observation side to the left and the private side to the right. The following two drawings consisted of an isometric drawing of the frames used in the construction of the main building and an isometric diagram of the central "forum hall" of the main pavilion. Of the three drawings to the right of these, two are sections—a "long section" and sections of the "four pavilioned major volumes" and the "columned hall with four pavilions beyond." The next two drawings are of the upper level in plan, and the lower level in plan. The next six drawings in Price's section were not featured in the catalogue. Two were collages of various sketches pertaining to the project, and the four further to the right were massing studies constructed with red and pink tissue paper. Some individual drawings that appeared in the catalogue were not hung in the exhibition.<sup>335</sup> These are drawings for the lower level plan, the upper level plan, the roof plan, a key that indicates what the elements in the drawings are comprised of, and a sheet on which the individual

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<sup>335</sup> Photographs of each of these drawings are in the archive. See Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

elements—shelters, enclosures, fire and light pylons, and frameworks—were drawn in elevation.

The final project in the first room belonged to Ungers. His project spanned the remaining area of the wall containing the second part of Price's works and continues to the adjacent wall. There were one model and 17 drawings in total. The model was placed in front of the first spread of drawings. The drawings were made up of five color axonometric renderings, two plans, a drawing of sections, two further axonometric drawings, four drawings that could not be identified, and two axonometric drawings.

Entering the second room, to the left was one drawing by Gregotti, which he termed "the setting principle". It showed only the four long walls that form the main structure and spatial devices in the building and their construction lines. Charles Moore's work most likely followed this drawing. His installation consisted of four model reliefs in shadow-box frames arranged in a square configuration.<sup>336</sup> To the right were four drawings on yellow paper arranged two-up, two-down. They consisted of the main floor plan, the south elevation, the north elevation, and a section from the courtyard looking south. Further along the wall, were eight watercolors arranged in vertical bands of three, one, two, and two. A model was also included.<sup>337</sup>

Following Moore was Pelli's work. This consisted of a model and eight drawings arranged on three walls of the room. On the wall shared by Moore were two drawings, vertically arranged. The top drawing was an aerial view of the house and the bottom was the site plan. Against the adjacent wall, the model came first, followed by a section

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<sup>336</sup> There is one photograph and one slide of Moore's work as it was installed in the gallery. The photograph is misfiled in the folder Architecture III: Follies (Oct22-Nov19).

<sup>337</sup> Slides of this model survive in the archive, but they give no hint as to the precise location of the model in the gallery.

through the gallery, a view from the gallery to another element of the building, a drawing with two floor plans, and a drawing labeled in the catalogue as “the structure of the plan.” This was followed by two colored renderings of the long sides of the house, and ended with a drawing of an aerial view of the house, below which is mounted a drawing of the site plan. In the catalogue were drawings showing “the growth principle,” or how the elements of the building were distributed over time, a drawing for the clapboard room and long gallery, and a street elevation showing one of the short sides of the building, but these did not appear in any installation photos.

The rest of Vittorio Gregotti’s drawings completed the second room.<sup>338</sup> Five of his drawings were mounted on the wall in a line and adjacent to Pelli’s work. In order from left to right, the first two were detail drawings, the third was a drawing composed of an elevation and two sections, the fourth was the plan, and the last on this wall was a drawing of two axonometric views of the building, one with a roof, and one with none. In the catalogue there were also three, finely drafted detail drawings not documented in the archive.<sup>339</sup>

When viewing these drawings, it is difficult to see how the majority could result in a built form. Since all the architects pushed their own personal thinking regarding housing, they chose to represent their projects in ways not typical to architectural construction. Only Gregotti contributed construction documents to the exhibition. Others

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<sup>338</sup> There are two photographs of Gregotti’s work. One is in the Architecture II folder. It shows only one wall of five drawings. The other photograph is misfiled in the folder Architecture III: Follies(Oct22-Nov19). This photograph shows all five drawings in the previous photograph as well as a sixth on an adjacent wall.

<sup>339</sup> It seems that there is a portion of the wall between Pelli’s and Gregotti’s works that is not shown in the installation photographs. It is possible that there are additional drawings of Pelli and/or Gregotti hung in the room. It is certain that these three were the only architects in the room.

were more concerned with representing the ideas in their singular viewpoints of what houses could be.

This, though, lent itself to one contradiction inherent in this exhibition. Even though its explicit aims were to sell the house, and to use these drawings and models to advertise them to perspective buyers, the drawings themselves were still for sale. Drawings that are more representative of an idea than an actual basis for construction are better suited for this purpose, as they are more easily separated from the process of design and construction.

But, since it was possible to commission the projects, the drawings also still represented buildings yet to come. Thus, they had a double role, at the same time projective and autonomous. Correspondingly, they had dual value, as both artworks and useful documents. This was reinforced by the fact that if a house were commissioned, the buyer would receive the drawings, framed, to hang in the house. But their possible use would be curtailed if the decision were definitively made not to commission a house. Then, as the gallery specified, the drawings would be for sale individually. At this point the buildings would cease, at least temporarily, to exist as a potential material facts and would be only propositions embodied in the drawings. Only then would the drawings be solely an artistic works, confined to the frames that housed them.

Since the drawings were for sale, prices had to be established for the works. Again, price setting was fairly arbitrary. Although by this time, some galleries had opened specializing in architectural drawings (these will be discussed in the following chapter), they were still too new to help establish a baseline. The prices that were decided upon for this exhibition have been assembled in the following table.

**Emilio AMBASZ**

Photographs	500 Each (USD)
Drawings	2,000 Each
Model	Price upon request

**Peter EISENMAN**

Panels 1-6	12,000
Model A	2,500
Model B	3,000

**Vittorio GREGOTTI**

Photostats of drawings	Not for Sale
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**Arata ISOZAKI**

Series of (9) lead reliefs in multiples of (9).	Each relief: 2,000
Set of (9) reliefs	13,000

**Charles MOORE**

Prints (not in exhibition)	1,500 Each
Colored drawings/colored prints	2,000 Each
Shadow boxes	3,000 Each

**Cesar PELLI**

Drawing of gallery with tricycle	3,500
Drawing of façade (in sections)	3,000
Large overhead view	4,000
(2) Axonometrics	2,000 Each
(2) Long colored pencil drawings of house	5,000 Each
Small graphite site plan	2,500

**Cedric PRICE**

All Plans, except	3,000
Yellow, mauve, purple/the upper floors	2,500
Yellow, mauve, purple/the lower floors	2,500
Early pavilions and pylons (rough sketch)	3,500
Preliminary design probes (rough sketch)	3,500
Activity volumes and cognizant space (4 pink plans)	2,500
Model	5,000

**Oscar [sic] [Oswald Mattias] UNGERS**

Drawings with no color	2,000 Each
Drawings with color	2,500 Each
Drawing of house in four seasons	3,000
Paintings	4,000 Each
Model	5,000

If the pricing of these works is an indication of the success and growth of the market, the conclusion can be drawn that the market was becoming marginally more successful. The

price on average was higher than the drawings shown in *Architecture I*. Some, such as Ambasz's works, are comparable to the earlier exhibition, but there were no drawings as inexpensive as the ones purchased by Mortimer from *Architecture I*.<sup>340</sup> Although these prices are hardly comparable to those commanded for drawings by top-tier artists, they were certainly comparable to prices artists of somewhat lesser standing were able to achieve at the time. This illustrates that galleries were ascribing more value to the drawings at the same time as architects were believing more in the commercial value of their drawings.

The gallery-going public was intrigued, as demonstrated by the approximately 25,000 people who visited the exhibition.<sup>341</sup> More viewed this show than any other show Castelli had mounted. Jakobson recalls that the audience was a mix of those interested in art and those interested in architecture. The art world was interested, the architecture world was interested, and a larger percentage of the general public was interested in this show of architectural drawings than had been the case for any show prior.

But even with its record audience, the show had similar commercial success to *Architecture I*, which is to say, not much. It failed to meet its goal of establishing the gallery as an intermediary within architectural practice between the client and the architect, since not one of these designs was bought and constructed.<sup>342</sup> It was ineffective

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<sup>340</sup> It is revealing that Michael Sorkin, in his poignant review for the *Village Voice*, exaggerates the monetary values of the works in this show. He relates that the drawings were priced between 2,000 and 50,000 dollars. The models, he states, were priced up to 13,500 dollars. These inflated estimates indicate a disparity between the value of the material established by the gallery and the perceived value of them. Sorkin's upper estimate locates the drawings squarely within the top prices paid for drawings of already established fine-art artists.

<sup>341</sup> As stated in Joseph Giovannini, "Models for 'Houses for Sale' for Sale," *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (March 16, 1981), B5.

<sup>342</sup> In a short article on this exhibition, Paolo Portoghesi states that, "Ungers' house was one of the first to be sold," and that it was sold ". . . to Jacqueline Kennedy or to Liz Taylor." This claim

in starting a new way for buildings to be sold. It also was not very successful in selling the drawings. There is no evidence that any of the drawings or models sold during the show. The only evidence that any were ever acquired is at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) in Montreal. Within the Peter Eisenman fond are the drawings for House El Even Odd.<sup>343</sup> However, these drawings were obtained when the CCA acquired the entire Eisenman archive. Cedric Price's contribution to the show is also at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, and its accession is similar—the drawings arrived with the Price archive.<sup>344</sup> Cesar Pelli's contribution is located today in the Library of Congress, having been gifted by his firm, Cesar Pelli and Associates, in 1990.<sup>345</sup> Jakobson relates that even though the exhibition had “. . . a huge amount of visitors, a huge amount of attention . . . this . . . brilliant idea . . . didn't actually work. In other words, people were interested, but no one said to Leo, let's do the deal; you sit down and negotiate this. Nor did anybody ever get in touch with any of these architects to build these houses.”<sup>346</sup>

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is not supported by the archives; there is no evidence for it. See Paolo Portoghesi, “Houses for Sale,” *Postmodern: The Architecture of the Postindustrial Society*, trans. Ellen Schapiro (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 100-111. Originally published as *Postmodern* (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1982).

<sup>343</sup> See Peter Eisenman fond, 1925-2008, predominantly 1951-2008, AP143.S4.D26. (File 26: The Castelli House). Canadian Centre for Architecture.

<sup>344</sup> See Cedric Price fond, 1925-2008, predominantly 1951-2008, AP144.S2.D109. (File 109: Castelli). Canadian Centre for Architecture.

<sup>345</sup> Additionally, there is one mention in a review of the exhibition that one of Isozaki's lead reliefs was sold at the Castelli show, but there is no evidence to support this claim in the archives. See Joseph Giovannini, “Models for ‘Houses for Sale’ for Sale,” *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (March 16, 1981), B5.

<sup>346</sup> Jakobson interview with author. The archives support this claim, as there is no documentation about the sale of any of the houses or any of the drawings. Jakobson thinks that someone commissioned the Pelli house well after the exhibition had closed, and did not go through Castelli to do so.

Similar to *Architecture I*, the exposure the show received was astounding.<sup>347</sup> Reviews were written by a mix of architecture critics, art critics, journalists, and interested persons in art, real estate, feature, and event sections of magazines and newspapers. It was discussed and critiqued in *Architektur und Wohnen*, *ArtNews*, *Vogue*, a Brazilian weekly magazine out of São Paulo called *Veja*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *A+U*, *Kunstmagazine*, the German publication *Art*, *LA Architect*, *Newsweek*, *House and Garden*, the *New York Times Magazine*, *Artforum*, *Art in America*, *Domus*, the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, the *Houston Chronicle*, *Future Life*, the *Yale Daily News*, the *Village Voice*, the *New York Times*, and *Der Spiegel*.

Overall, these articles signal a remarkable shift in thinking about architectural drawings in the brief three years since *Architecture I*. It was no longer surprising that architectural drawings were for sale or that they were displayed at a private gallery. Many saw it as established practice, a viewpoint illustrated by an anonymous writer in *Domus*, who remarked, “Traditionally an art gallery is a place where you could buy paintings, sculpture, photographs, or even architectural drawings.”<sup>348</sup> Although really an overstatement, since a few years is hardly long enough to establish tradition, the remark nonetheless identifies an acceptance of the sale of architectural drawings in a private gallery. More than this, though, it equates architectural drawings with forms of art such as painting and sculpture. It does so by leveraging their means of sale—an art gallery. Their equivalence through their methods of sale also resulted in similar symbolic values for the works, which further validated these drawings are art.

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<sup>347</sup> Reviewed: C.B.H “N.Y. Show Turns Spotlight on Custom Single-Family Dwellings,” *International Herald Tribune*, (Nov 24, 1980). He states, “The Current show at the Leo Castelli Gallery in the SoHo section of Manhattan is setting attendance records for the famous art gallery and causing controversies over the future direction of the design of custom single-family houses.”

<sup>348</sup> Anonymous, “Houses for Sale,” *Domus*, No. 611 (1980): 30.



Joseph Giovannini, the architecture critic for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, was more articulate. Writing in March 1981, his article recognized these drawings on their own terms.

“Architectural drawings have become an art commodity. They sell. The demand for drawings in galleries has, over the last several years, elicited a surprising supply, and the **new market situation has subtly changed the nature of architectural drawings itself.**” (author’s bold)<sup>349</sup>

But even more,

“. . . [T]he drawings themselves have become artifacts; no longer do they serve only the building—they have come out of the drawer onto the wall.”

“. . . [N]ow there are architectural drawings suffused with both genuine and self-conscious ‘artistic’ content . . .”<sup>350</sup>

As Giovannini relayed, there were three interrelated reasons that architectural drawings were being recognized as art objects. One was due to the market, where space opened within which architectural drawings could be bought and sold. The second was due to the sale process, as drawings needed to be displayed for viewing, primarily by being hung on walls. This method emphasized their singularity beyond their place within the design process; they were objects in themselves. The third reason, a product of the first two, is that architectural drawings had become intentionally rendered with artistic content. Although the development was more complex than Giovannini described, the combination of these factors was sufficient for some to be convinced of architectural drawing’s artistic status.

While these drawings became art, they did not become completely hermetic works. They continued to serve the building and maintained their function of representing something yet to come.

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<sup>349</sup> Joseph Giovannini, “Models for ‘Houses for Sale’ for Sale,” *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (March 16, 1981), B5.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*

Because buildings continued to be represented by these drawings but were not meant to remain confined only to paper, a complicated relationship arose between these drawings and the buildings they represented. As such, another issue that emerged was centered on the status of the buildings.<sup>351</sup> That is, if one accepts that these architectural drawings are art and bases this conclusion on the fact they are sold by an art gallery, then are the buildings being represented, which are also being sold through the drawings and within the gallery, similarly to be considered art? Martin Filler, writing for *House and Garden*, made this correlation. The subtitle of his article is “Art by Architects that You Can Buy, Build, and Live In.” This subtitle alone reveals the complex values that this show negotiates. It also complicates the understanding of just what constitutes the “art” of this show. The art one can buy may be the drawings. But, it just as readily can be the buildings.

Melissa Harris, writing for the *Yale Daily News*, also touched on this. She wrote, “‘Architecture II: Houses for Sale’ may be a new frontier for the gallery, not only in the marketing sense, but conceptually as well. It means the establishment of architecture as more than a means to a living enclosure, and the acceptance of architecture as art.”<sup>352</sup> The buildings, bound with the drawings (considered art), become art themselves.

A different problem was created as a result of the forms of representation used and the absence of specific sites for the houses. Without this specificity, people were perplexed by what was on display. In this regard, one of the more surprising write-ups

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<sup>351</sup> Michael Sorkin again contributed a poignant observation. By providing access to drawings whereupon, after viewing, a client could commission the building represented, continued the tradition of the many magazines and books, in which one could pick out a pre-made design of a house and have it built. See Sorkin, “Houses for Sale,” *Village Voice*.

<sup>352</sup> Melissa Harris, *Yale Daily News*. See Leo Castelli Gallery records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

was in the magazine, *Future Life*.<sup>353</sup> It was surprising because *Future Life* was a monthly science and science fiction magazine, and the inclusion of commentary on a contemporary architecture show was far from its typical topics.<sup>354</sup> Many of the issues it covered derived from scientific advances of the time. Preoccupation with space travel and thinking about life in space were recurring themes. Nonetheless, in 1980, the magazine turned toward architecture and architectural exhibitions when it featured an article on *Architecture II: Houses for Sale*.

The exhibition was the cover story. Printed on the cover was a view of Emilio Ambasz's Berm House. It is a view looking across the site into the main living space and it had been chosen because of its composition. The impossibly flat landscape and flat sky project an eerie quality, as if the house resides in an arid, alien landscape, protected from the elements of a harsh planet by its submersion underground. "TOMORROW'S HOUSES," printed in yellow, is blazoned across the cover. "Visionary Habitats by Eight Earthbound Architects" is underneath and announces the theme of the article.<sup>355</sup>

The review is the most complete description of the works in the exhibition outside of the catalogue. Its six pages describe each house in detail through excerpts of the catalogue. Images of each house also accompany the text. Most have one image, with Ambasz's, Moore's, Pelli's and Isozaki's houses each containing two images. There are no critical analyses of the works, but Woods's introduction strikes a cryptic tone when discussing the implications of these houses. The house is the "protective membrane" of the family unit where people live, die, eat, sleep, and make love. He continues,

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<sup>353</sup> Bob Woods. "Tomorrow's Houses," *Future Life* 26 (May 1981), 14-19.

<sup>354</sup> The publication ran from 1978-81.

<sup>355</sup> The review was authored by Bob Woods and was titled "Tomorrow's Houses." The tagline for the article read, "Eight visionary designs from an exhibit called 'Houses for Sale' show the down-to-Earth ideas of an international group of architects."

“[w]hether a clammy cave or a geodesic dome, *Homo sapiens* have always clung to their place of dwelling as the ultimate source of comfort.” This is the reason that designing an ideal house is so compelling and “has infected Earthlings since those cave-dwelling times.” He uses only vague references to time and location for the houses. In this way, they become removed from specificity and can be houses for today, tomorrow, or even on other worlds. Woods is clearly taken by this indefinability of the projects. They offer an intriguing opportunity for a future in which large parts of the present—what locates these houses in time and space (such as site or client)—are not determined. This review, then, also speaks to a quality the buildings possess individually.

This is because, with the restrictions that define the specificities of a design, such as site and client, suspended, the architects ruminated on their own personal views of what houses could be.<sup>356</sup> In designing the buildings, these specific facts were not considered since they did not exist. Hence, the drawings were vague in many of the aspects that customarily defined a particular building. They do not reveal anything specific about the house’s immediate environment, and instead refer mostly to themselves and to the minds of architects who design them. Through this, the drawings can be seen as hermetic ruminations on housing that through their intellectual rigor can contribute to a broader understanding about the nature of houses. As Paul Goldberger writes in his review for the *New York Times*, “Dream Houses that Can Really Be Built,”

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<sup>356</sup> It could also be seen as a way to accentuate the architect’s wants over the clients needs. See for example, Martin Filler, “Peter Eisenman: Polemical Houses,” *Art in America* (Nov. 1980), 126-133. “To some, this idea of off-the-rack architecture will seem to be in direct contradiction with most recent design practice, which has maintained that the site must be a prime determinant of architectural form. (The show even contains a house by Charles Moore, a leading exponent of the importance of intelligent site planning in architecture.) For others, who will view the very idea for such a show as a cynical manifestation of star-system merchandising, the concept will seem at least frank in its open admission of the primacy of the architect’s concerns over the needs or wishes of any prospective client.”

“The houses do not represent “conventional” houses. . . . They emerge out of real thought about what the purpose of enclosing space for private use is: There is not one of these designs that cannot teach us something about the nature of all houses. That they are unusual does not make these eight houses necessarily something apart from real life.”<sup>357</sup>

This inwardness caused some to see this work as participating in avant-garde tendencies toward self-reflexivity. This was no doubt enhanced by the representational systems used to develop the drawings, few of which conform to normative representational techniques in architecture. It was, for those who emphasized this, the reason that these works were art. As the aforementioned Harris states, “The avant-garde nature of the exhibition forces architecture to be seen artistically . . .”<sup>358</sup>

Another topic stemmed from this: if the architects were producing art, then what is their status? Were they artists? Were they architects? Some posited that they were a new category defined as the “artist-architect.”<sup>359</sup> This difficulty in describing the exhibition and its implications was recognized by Joseph Giovannini. As he articulated, this was because what was happening was so new that the language with which to describe it had not yet been established.

“This is essentially an art show with architecture as the subject. The critical vocabulary for this art/architecture does not really exist—it is wrong to fault the drawings for not always being ‘architecture,’ or for not being art as we have known it. One maneuvers into a new, somewhat uneasy intellectual stance looking at these pieces—the genre is relatively new, as is the creature, the gallery architect, who creates them.”<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Exhibiting Dream Houses that Can Really Be Built,” *The New York Times* (Oct. 12, 1980), 117, 129.

<sup>358</sup> Melissa Harris, “Houses Find a Home in NY Art Gallery,” *Yale Daily News*. See also Ann Holmes, “‘Houses for Sale’ offers ideas via 8 original minds,” *Houston Chronicle* (May 13, 1981), which unquestioningly accepts the “Avant-Garde” nature of these drawings.

<sup>359</sup> See Harris, “Houses Find a Home in NY Art Gallery,” where she states, “The gallery therefore becomes important in exposing the work of the ‘artist-architects.’”

<sup>360</sup> Joseph Giovannini, “Models for ‘Houses for Sale’ for Sale,” *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (March 16, 1981), B5.

Hal Foster also suggested a further possible shift in the understanding of the architectural drawings. Presenting the works at the forefront of architectural practice within a gallery, the purpose of which historically has been to establish art historical significance for the works shown, could conceivably result in architectural drawings becoming viewed as constituent parts of history. The show, he states, “. . . presented the projects as ‘avant-garde architecture,’ as ‘important works,’ that is, bound for art history’s paradise. This is a heady inducement to the potential buyer—he gets a house, an object of art and perhaps a piece of history to boot.”<sup>361</sup> History, in this case, is what collectors who trade in cultural capital long to acquire.

**ARCHITECTURE III:  
FOLLIES: ARCHITECTURE FOR THE LATE-TWENTIETH-CENTURY LANDSCAPE**

In 1983, three years after *Houses for Sale*, the Castelli Gallery mounted the final exhibit in this series of architecture shows. Again, Barbara Jakobson, using the pseudonym B.J. Archer, organized the exhibition. The idea was similar to *Architecture II* and followed a comparable format. After *Houses for Sale*, she realized that people were not going to commission a house through a gallery. But, she considered the possibility that people would commission something on a smaller scale. So she thought, “A folly, maybe. You already have the house. So why not build a useless building to enhance your property?”<sup>362</sup> As a result the architects were prompted to design garden follies for

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<sup>361</sup> Hal Foster, “Pastiche/Prototype/Purity: ‘Houses for Sale,’ Leo Castelli Gallery, New York,” *Artforum* (March 1981), 77-79.

<sup>362</sup> Jakobson interview with author.

exhibition; this gave the exhibition its title, *Architecture III: Follies: Architecture for the Late-Twentieth-Century Landscape*.<sup>363</sup>

The exhibition was held first at the Castelli Gallery in New York from October 22 until November 15, 1983<sup>364</sup> before a short tenure at the Corcoran Gallery in Los Angeles from January 1 to February 25, 1984. It also traveled to Madrid and was shown in the exhibition hall (Sala de Exposiciones) at the Ministry of Public Works and Urbanism (MOPU Arquitectura) in Madrid from May through June, 1984.

Jakobson and Castelli invited even more architects to participate than they did for the previous exhibition. In total, 19 architects agreed to participate.<sup>365</sup> They were Raimund Abraham, Diana Agrest & Mario Gandelsonas, Emilio Ambasz, Gae Aulenti, Andrew Batey & Mark Mack, Ricardo Bofill, Peter Cook, Peter Eisenman & Jacquelin Robertson, Frank Gehry, Michael Graves, Hans Hollein, Christian Hubert, Arata Isozaki, Machado-Silvetti, Rafael Moneo, Paul Rudolph, Joseph Ryckwert, Quinlan Terry, and Bernard Tschumi. The titles of their submissions were, respectively, *House for Euclid*, *The Forms of a Legend*, *Emilio's Folly: Man is an Island*, *Imagined Contexts*, *The Tent*, *The Temple-House*, *A Lantern from Secret Blue*, *Fin d'Ou T Hou S*, *The Prison*, *Castelli Leone*, *Holly Folly*, *Cuber(t)*, *Thatched Hut Folly*, *Taberna Ancipitis Formae*

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<sup>363</sup> Quinlan Terry's contribution to the exhibition was 12 drawings for the follies at West Green House, an estate that belonged to Alistair McAlpine, in Hartley Wintney, Hampshire, England. Terry had been hired to design an ongoing series of follies for the garden beginning in 1974 and continuing until 1982. At that time 14 had been completed, of which 12 had drawings on show.

<sup>364</sup> This date is indicated in the press release for the exhibition. An advertisement in the New York Times on November 3, 1983 gave the dates of the exhibition from October 22 to November 22. There is also a letter written to the Countess de Lesseps on November 10 that states the exhibition will be at the Castelli Gallery until November 22.

<sup>365</sup> Among those invited who did not participate were James Stirling and Aldo Rossi. There is a list of architects that seems to indicate who was asked and what their responses were. Phillip Johnson is on this list, with "NO" written by his name, indicating that he was asked and did not wish to participate. See Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

*Architectorum Machadus Silvettusque Mirabile Inventio MCMLXXXIII, A Clepsydra, A Folly, Janus with his Head in the Clouds, West Green House, and Broadway Follies.*

These works consisted of a total of 98 drawings, 16 models, and one photograph.<sup>366</sup>

The brief for this exhibition was even more minimal than *Houses for Sale*. Like the previous exhibition, the typology was given. But unlike the *Houses for Sale*, no budget was specified. The brief was almost entirely open and the submissions were a broad range of works, each again influenced by the individual propensities of the architects who created them.

The Castelli Gallery's layout was the same as it had been during the other two exhibitions. The general layout of this show was also similar. Each architect's name was mounted roughly one foot down from the ceiling in a square shaped, black, sans-serif font. Each had an information panel describing the works that were being shown. Upon exiting the elevator into the gallery, the first space ran the length of the front of the gallery. Here, the first works were those for Moneo's *A Clepsydra*. One drawing was hung on the window wall to the right, and three drawings were arranged vertically on the wall to the left. At the far end of this space was the reception desk. Behind the desk were four drawings for Terry's drawings for the follies at West Green House. Turning to the left, one again entered the front room of the gallery.

In this room, 11 projects were on display. Moving clockwise around the room, beginning on the left, is the remaining work of Quinlan Terry. All of Terry's drawings were done in pencil and framed with thin, black metal frames, many of which were

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<sup>366</sup> A short description of this exhibition is available in a doctoral dissertation for the School of Education, Health, Nursing, and Arts Professions at New York University. See Robert Jon Daniel, "The Role of the Visual Arts in Post-Modern and Late-Modern Architecture: A Comparative Study" (Doctoral Dissertation, New York University, 1986), 226-237. Daniel only provides a list of a few of the architects and a short description their works.



elevations. Terry's contribution was anomalous for two reasons. The first is because of Terry's commitment to continuing the development of classical architecture. Terry did not engage history as other historically-minded postmodern architects did—as signs that could be taken out of their original context and applied in a new one. He developed an architecture that relied on classical compositional forms and techniques. The second reason is because, also unlike the other contributions to the exhibition, his works were already built. He lent 12 drawings for follies at West Green House. This estate belonged to Alistaire McAlpine, at the time deputy chairman of the Tory party, and was located in Hartley Wintney, Hampshire, England. Terry had been hired to design an ongoing series of follies for the garden beginning in 1974 and continuing until 1982. At that time 14 had been completed, of which 12 were shown in the drawings.

The first drawing was a small site plan showing the location of all 14 follies on McAlpine's property. Below this drawing was the information panel. To the right of these two drawings was a large drawing for an ionic triumphal arch topped with a wide obelisk on which cartouches reminiscent of spolia were placed. This folly was made to celebrate the election of Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister. On the base of the obelisk was written the dedication: "MCMLXXIX This triumphal arch was erected in honour of the fairer sex & to mark the occasion of the election of the first lady prime minister of Great Britain."

To the right of this drawing were the six remaining drawings, displayed in two bands, one above the other. The top band consisted of a large column bearing what supposed to be a humorous inscription: "This monument was built with a large sum of money which would otherwise have fallen, sooner or later, into the hands of the officials

of the Inland Revenue.” To the right is a drawing for a “lodge on the tumulus of West Green” featured an elevation, a section, a plan, and a site plan. It was an Orientalized wooden, octagonal, structure with a statue in the center, with its outer boundary defined by a low, crisscrossing wooden fence. Beside this is a drawing for an “eyecatcher”. It was a rusticated composition based on a triumphal arch, with decorative finials and a broken, segmented pediment. In the central arch was a forced perspective corridor, at the end of which was a silhouette of the fictional “Ghost of West Green.”

The bottom row contained drawings of a *tromp l’oeil* Nymphaeum, a fountain dedicated to nymphs. It was a flat, arcuated and pilastered composition with finials topping the outer pilasters. The center of the tripartite composition was itself tripartite, with an upper layer composed of baroque scrolls and a bent triangular pediment. Though flat, the central portion was seen to recede, producing the illusion of an undulating wall in the middle of which was the water feature: a green-man with water that poured from his mouth into a basin. To the right of this image was a circular “island gazebo.” Seven columns of a modified Corinthian order sat on a raised cornice. The columns are topped by an entablature upon which sat a roof with semi-circular tiles. An urn with a living palm tree crowned the entire composition. The final work was an elevation of rusticated gate piers with alternating bands of fieldstone and brick capped with a cornice molding, each of which sat on a pyramid of fieldstone capped with a capstone of cut rock.

On the adjacent wall was *Emilio’s Folly: Man is an Island* by Ambasz., who contributed six images and a model. The first image is a retouched picture of the model in elevation. Mainly cut into the landscape, the composition from this perspective was an almost surrealist juxtaposition of steam, a mountain, and a small square pedestal with

three columns and a tree on top. The next image to the right was a retouched aerial photograph of the model where the composition's relationship to the landscape comes into sharper focus. To the right are four pencil drawings arranged in two vertical bands framed in thin black frames. The first band contains two plan views of the project. One is above grade and one is below grade, revealing how the composition looks in the landscape, and how the different parts relate to each other below the landscape. The second band consists of two sections of the drawings, the top one through the side of the work and the bottom through the center of the work. In front of these works is the model, with black sides and a green top on top of a white pedestal the same dimensions as the base of the model

Agrest and Gandelonas's *The Forms of a Legend* was next to Ambasz. Four drawings and four models of four different follies comprised their contribution. The four drawings were square, in square white mats, with thin black frames. Cut into the mats and centered underneath each drawing was a space in which an explanation of each folly was written. The first drawing was an elevation and of *Circular Time*, two circular panoramas of a tropical garden elevated off a central pole equidistant between the two. The two panoramas would rotate individually at equal speed. The result is that the interior composition remained the same, while the exterior changed. The second folly was called *Six Hundred Leagues of Stone*. The drawing contained a front and rear elevation and floor plan showing the interior of the wall. It was a stone wall, with stairs leading upwards from each side to a central pulpit applied to the front of the wall. In the rear of the wall at this point, an oculus was cut. The third folly was *The Rigorous Abolition of History*. The drawing again contained an elevation, a section, and a plan. The folly

consisted, as the catalogue tells it, of “a stone arcade filled up with books sunk in a pool, dividing it in two. A diving board and a fountain spill into it.” The fourth and final folly was *Pascal’s Sphere*. The drawing only consisted of elevations. There was a curious compositional technique used here. In the center of the drawing was the side elevation of the entire composition. Two columns faced away from each other some distance apart. They were linked by an apparatus that turned the left column’s windmill into a winding mechanism for the right column’s clock. To the left of this was a front elevation of the windmill, and the right was the front elevation of the clock. The column the clock was on doubled as a landing site for balloons. Each of these two flanking elevations was drawing as if on a separate sheet of paper. They were framed by thin pencil lines that cut portions of the upper part of both compositions and had corners that turned over to indicate separate sheets of paper. The four models were four dioramas in white boxes, all facing outwards.

Next along this wall was Frank Gehry’s *The Prison*. Gehry’s folly was a jail-like area intended for trespassers caught on the estate. It was a two-part composition, the formal queues for which were a snake and a fish. The snake was where the trespasser would be taken and placed in a cage. The snake “symbolizes hostility and invokes fear.” At the owner’s discretion, a button could be pressed that would release a car that would deliver the cage into the glass fish, symbolizing Jonah trapped inside a whale, where the intruder could be observed from the house. Displayed in one vertical line were five drawings. The top was a sketch; the second a drawing of an aerial view of the folly in the landscape; the third was a section; the fourth was the floor plan; and the fifth was the site plan. The model was placed in front.

Along this same wall was Abraham's *House for Euclid*, which was shown in four drawings and one model. The folly stemmed from a dream that Abraham had in which "a man who strongly resembled James Stirling" described the construction to him. Abraham recorded the dream and turned it into the folly. It consists of a 12 foot by 12-foot platform, one foot high made of concrete. Four cubes of 18 inches by 18 inches with hinged connections supported 12-foot by 12-foot elements of wood and bronze at the corners. In the center was a pedestal with an 18 inch by 18 inch square base, 27 inches high, made of concrete. Each of the corner elements hinged, so that the cube could deform. The first two drawings were small drawings arranged one over the other. The top one was a lead and color pencil drawing of fragments of the composition. The structural elements and their movements, as well as the plan were indicated. Below was an atmospheric sketch of the folly, also showing the elements and their movements, below which was some indication of a plan. To the right, frames as one, was a series of nine images of the model as it deforms. To the right of that was the final drawing that contained an axonometric of the folly, an elevation of one of the elements, and an elevation of the entire folly in the landscape.

The adjacent wall, to the entry of the middle room of the gallery, was taken entirely by Eisenman/Robertson's *Fin d'Ou T Hou S*.<sup>367</sup> The final experiment done in

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<sup>367</sup> Designed for this exhibition, it would again be exhibited at the Architectural Association, London (AA) in 1985 as the fifth in their seminal folio series publications. There is no mention of the Castelli show in the folio text, which was written by Nina Hofer and Jeffrey Kipnis. At the AA, 28 plates were presented, 14 color plates and 14 white on white plates. Perhaps revealingly, the plates in the Castelli show are out of order when compared to the AA folio. Moving from left to right in the Castelli show from one to nine, and matching these with the plates in the AA folio, they are mounted in the following order: 1:2, 2:9, 3:8, 4:5, 5:6, 6:14, 7:13, 8:12, 9:11. The reason for this is not known. Despite this discrepancy, there is logic to the Castelli display. The first six images represent stage four (of four) of the house. The images are of the second level plan, the south elevation, the east elevation, two sections, and the axonometric drawing. Axonometric

Eisenman's series of houses, it relied on the manipulation of an "el" shape given by a cube with a cube one-fourth the volume removed from one corner. As Eisenman states, it was a "decompositional" composition. The display contained 18 works and 4 models. The explanatory text was at the end of display. The 18 works were displayed in two rows. Each drawing was 24 inches by 24 inches inside of a thin white frame. The top row of images consists of what the prices list calls white-on-white drawings. They were actually white stock embossed with the images shown in color below them. Their three-dimensionality was only revealed when light fell on the page, creating shadows. The bottom row was colored drawings. The drawings were all printed on white stock. The background was a medium grey, and the drawings had translucent red, translucent light green, translucent medium green, translucent yellow (resulting in a cream color), black and white elements. Each showed a view of the composition. The models were each the same size, encased in one-eighth inch thick Plexiglas, forming a cube. The four were mounted on the wall below the final four drawings.

To the right of the doorway is Cook's *A Lantern from Secret Blue*. The folly was explained using a narrative of how it might be experienced. The exterior of the folly was defined by a large white concrete drum painted blue ("as Yves Klein") on the inside. The person enters the drum and proceeds up a circular steel and polished granite staircase until at the top reaching a cabin with screens to close off the outside. The four drawing

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drawings of the third stage, the second stage, and the first stage follow these. The models below also progress in descending order of transformations, from four to three to two to one. At the AA they were displayed the opposite way. It would be revealing if the images were hung out of order intentionally, as it would show an interest more in their display than in their content. Showing the drawings out of order, as the axonometric drawings are, surely seems contrary to Eisenman's extreme insistence on transformational process in his house projects. But, perhaps there was a desire to keep all of the fourth stage together, and simply a need to logically put the other drawings in.

were arranged in a square. Each had the same thing white frame. The top right was a colored interior axonometric above a plan of the cabin and a site elevation. The top right drawing is a colored section above the plan. The lower left was the exterior elevation above the plan. And the lower right was a colored section above the roof plan. The model was a section of the folly, placed to the left of the drawings.

The works of Hubert, Graves, Tschumi, and Ryckwert were on the adjacent wall. Hubert's *Cuber(t)* was the first and was only one image—a large photograph. This was because Hubert's folly was only minimally physical. It was a game that forced people to react through the use of joystick. It consisted of a computer screen that cycled images of a narrative that began with a Poussin landscape and progressed through grids to axonometric experiments where the viewer was unable to tell the foreground from the background or what was projecting or receding. At the end, the viewer would have to input his or her own drawing into the machine, which would then be used in the next cycle.

Graves's *Castelli Leone* consisted of three small sketches arranged one next to the other, and a model, displayed in front of them. Graves's folly investigated the relationship between “two diverging forms of habitation,” solid enclosure and porous. They were to be built next to each other as pyramidal sections. The solid one consisting of alternating bands of large and thinner stone, in which was sliced a thin doorway. The porous structure had the same shape and doorway openings, but was simply framed out of wood. The first drawing, framed in a thin black frame as all were, was an aerial view of the landscape and platform, with the pyramidal sections rendered in elevation. The second and third drawings have sketches that illustrate the dichotomy between open and

closed structure. The second drawing contained a sketch of the Via Appia with an open landscape and columns juxtaposed with a closed tomb. Below it was a sketch of Garden Pavilion for Pliny's Villa, as described by Schinkel, next to a closed tent. The third drawing illustrated a primitive hut after Milizia, Virgil's Tomb after Joseph Wright, both of which were solid, a "first building" after Viollet-le-Duc, which was open, and a primitive hut after Chambers, which was closed on the bottom and open at the top.

Tschumi's *Broadway Follies* was one of the series of follies that he had been developing and constructing around the world. In 1979 he initiated the *20<sup>th</sup> Century Follies* series, with works being built in New York (mainly), London, Middleburg, Holland, Kassel, Germany, Toronto, Canada. The folly exhibited here was one of this series. The Broadway Follies, the fifth in the series, were a series of follies meant to be located along Broadway in New York beginning at the Custom House and ending in the Bronx. He created these structures using filmic metaphors—repetition, distortion, superimposition, and fading—to aid his manipulation. The first five drawings were all mounted together one above the other. They were elevations of these follies, mounted on black mats, in black frames. They were mounted so as to be reminiscent of a filmstrip. The final image was a square axonometric on a black ground, in a black frame, evoking one frame of a negative. The model was mounted in front of the drawings, and contains six, siteless versions of the follies.

Ryckwert's *Janus with his Head in the Clouds*, was displayed through seven drawings. The first three were large, finished, colored drawings. Matted in white with silver frames, the drawings consisted of sections, elevations, and floor plans. The final four drawings were similarly mounted but are minute sketches for the project. A model



was also included. Ryckwert's folly, mushroom-like in shape, contained a grotto within its base. A staircase lead one up to the to an observation platform, from which one could look out over the landscape.

The final wall in this room was taken by Aulenti's *Imagined Contexts*. Only two drawings serve to illustrate her project. One contained an elevation and plan, the other, beside it, contained an aerial landscape and a site plan. Imagined Contexts contained two parts. One was a multi-level observation platform roughly pyramidal in shape. Staircases extended out of each of the platform's cardinal axes. This structure sat in a linear landscape of four-foot high bollards. On two sides were terraced seating areas, 21 levels high, higher than the top of the platform. On the other side of this, the seating pattern repeated, at the bottom of which was flat land. Another stair, triangular in section, lead to another part of the folly, which contained the first part—with bollards and observation platform, turned on its side, rotated 45 degrees, and falling 15 degrees into the landscape.

Moving into the second room, the layout was, again moving clockwise, Ricardo Bofill, Hans Hollein, Machado-Silvetti, Isozaki, Paul Rudolph, and Batey & Mack. Bofill and Hollein occupied the first wall. Interspersed with windows, was Bofill's *The Temple-House*. It was Bofill's interpretation of a temple, eight pilasters wide on one side, seven pilasters wide on the other. Most ornament had been stripped. It is austere on the outside, with a functional house on the interior. Bofill envisaged the temple-house as a refabricated building that could be used as a traditional folly or reproduced *ad infinitum* to create temple-house towns. His work, then, directly confronts the call for a folly. To show the work, Bofill sent seven drawings and one model. The model had a removable roof, so that the interior was apparent. The first of Bofill's drawings was a sinuous

landscape in plan. The other drawings consisted of aerial perspectives views of the landscape with the folly. Again, all were matted and framed.

Hollein's project appears to be two square towers, placed in the landscape. Three small drawings in silver frames showed each of the towers, and then the towers in elevation in the landscape.

The adjacent wall, and part of the next well as well, contained twelve drawings and one model for Machado-Silvetti's folly. All of these drawings were mounted in black frames. The first sketch and following four watercolors were also mounted in white mats. Four inked elevation and section drawings formed a vertical column next to the corner of the room. The neighboring drawings were inked floor plans, next to which is the inked axonometric. Machado-Silvetti's contribution was also a house, made from two intersecting cubes and built in brick.

Isozaki's *Thatched Hut Folly* was designed to bring together western and eastern motifs into a teahouse made of industrial materials. Five drawings of the same size illustrated the work. The first was a watercolor rendering of the interior; the second was the sections; the third was the floor plan; the fourth drawing is the elevations; and the fifth drawing was another interior. The second through fifth drawings were all rendered in pencil.

Paul Rudolph finished this wall and began the next. Six drawings in frames without mats were all illustrating Rudolph's "rooftop building facing a river." Rudolph's folly fit onto the side of a building, and floated over a river. The materials—white marble—were chosen to accentuate it. The first of the drawings was a long perspective looking out from the folly onto the river. Below this drawing were mounted three

sketches for the project. On the adjacent wall was another perspective drawing looking out over the river, below which was a perspective looking at the folly from the outside.

Batey & Mack's *The Tent* finished the exhibition. This tent was made out of stone and metal. Stone formed the base, while metal shaped the sides and the roof. Inside the function of the tent became apparent. It is was shelter that shields a platform for wine tasting from the elements. The stone base provided area for the storage of wine barrels. Batey & Mack illustrated their design through seven drawings and one model. The seven drawings were, in order from left to right, a fully rendered landscape containing three tents, a fully rendered section of the tent, and a fully rendered elevation. Besides these were two drawings, one of a perspective of a tent in the landscape, with a procession of people walking towards it, and an interior perspective of the tent, showing four arms with raised glasses. The next drawings were the technical drawings containing a section, plans, and an elevation. The final drawing was a fully rendered elevation of the tent at a 45-degree angle to the picture plane. In the landscape below the tent was the plan of the tent, oriented as it had been rendered. A model was placed in the space in front of the drawings.

As is evident from this detailed description, despite all of the ideas and all of the drawings in this exhibition, there was nothing remarkably different than the exhibitions the Castelli Gallery had mounted previously. Since the format was much the same as the previous, this is not surprising. What is surprising is that the catalogue for this exhibition tried to justify the exhibition through a historicization of the typology. Anthony Vidler was asked to write a short article for the catalogue. Entitled "History of the Folly," he

traced the development of thinking about follies from the Enlightenment—where it became a didactic work in philosophic thinking—through modernity—where the folly projected images—and to the present—where the folly engages fully with individual unconscious.

The catalogue also featured Edgar Allan Poe’s “The Landscape Garden.” This was included, Jakobson writes, as a frontispiece to the exhibition. Addressing “the imposition of order upon nature,” it “is intended as a literary parallel to the task of the architect.” It is, then, supposed to add a prosaic and poetic historical marker for understanding what these contemporary architects were trying to accomplish through their designs. It was not to Jakobson’s advantage that the protagonist of Poe’s work was only able to develop a landscape garden because of his incredible, inherited wealth. That this was also reflected in the exhibition would be one of the more poignant critiques of the exhibition.

The catalogue, then, was concerned with justifying the works in this exhibition. Even the cover was leveraged for this purpose. Printed on a glossy, pink cover, is a large, six-inch-high nude human F. This is taken from a series of engravings done in Frankfurt in 1596 by Johann Theodore and Johann Israel de Bry. It was no doubt chosen for its whimsical qualities—it is more fluid and graceful than other human alphabets. The figure is mid-stride, with arms undulating behind him. In the figure’s left hand is an apple with three leaves still attached. This not only evokes a whimsical walk through a landscape, but recalls one prototypical landscape in particular: the Garden of Eden. Other letters complete the word Follies. Only one and three-eighths inches high, these letters come from a different source. They are an alphabet in which architectural floor plans make up

the letters, taken from Johann David Steingruber's *Architectural Alphabet* of 1773-4. Three eighths of an inch below Follies is written "Architecture for the Late-Twentieth-Century Landscape" in a contemporary serif typeface. Steingruber's alphabet was a serious attempt to design functional buildings in the shapes of letters so that a building could be laid out in ground plan according to the initials of the patron.<sup>368</sup> They are also works on paper by an architect that was known for built works.<sup>369</sup>

Though the early-modern, human alphabet is prior to any mention of historical time in the catalog, it invokes themes of landscape and whimsy, both of which are highlighted in the introduction as elements of follies. The 1773-4 alphabet corresponds precisely to the beginning that Vidler claims for the folly—the Enlightenment. It was a serious intellectual endeavor that reads as a playful experiment, also something that the garden follies in this show encompass. And the contemporary typeface immediately suggests a relation of each of these to the contemporary. It speaks to the postmodern inclination to recall historical themes and motifs in developing contemporary works.

The catalogue is 100 pages long. Only 72 pages are reserved for the 19 follies. The format is less rigid than the prior catalogues. Some architects have one page, while most have four and others have six. There is no standard layout or format for the presentations, except that for most an explanation of the work comes first, followed by drawings or photographs. None of the works are fully illustrated in the catalogue. The last seven pages are dedicated to biographies of the architects, while on the last page, shoved

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<sup>368</sup> See Johann David Steingruber, *Architectural Alphabet*, trans. E. M. Hatt, reprint (New York: George Braziller, 1975). Originally published, Johann David Steingruber, *Architectonisches alphabeth*, self published, 1773-4.

<sup>369</sup> Steingruber was an architect and master builder in Ansprach, Bavaria, and acted for some time as chief architect at the office of works for the principality. See Johann David Steingruber, *Architectural Alphabet*, 11.

into the final column, are the credits for the people who worked on the projects that were not the main architects.

What is conspicuously absent from the catalogue is any mention of the novelty of such an exhibition. These were the points most emphasized in the previous two exhibitions. Indeed, Jakobson is more concerned in this exhibition with justifying the works on display. She continues to do this by tying this exhibition to others of a similar vein. She overtly reveals that exhibitions that contain drawings specifically for exhibition have a developing history in Italy and France. She equates this exhibition with the Venice Biennale, which the architecture world had only been prominently involved in since 1980, and where architects would be asked to design works according to a certain theme.

Jakobson goes even further and distances this exhibition from the trend that she and the Castelli Gallery were integral in developing. This was the understanding of architectural drawings as art in their own right. That is, that some architectural projects were created only as drawings for the market. Denying that this should be the case, she states, “There is, I believe, in some quarters, a wrong-headed notion that architects are engaged in the production of images for the marketplace that have no relationship to the desire to build.”<sup>370</sup> She argues against those that think this way by turning their logic against them. It is not that the architects produce images for the market, she states, but that people who collect the drawings are limiting themselves to this one way of understanding them. This is because the exposure that architectural drawings are getting has changed, not the drawings themselves.

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<sup>370</sup> B.J. Archer, “Introduction,” *Follies: Architecture for the Late-Twentieth-Century Landscape* (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 9.

These points, though, were lost on reviewers. Reviews for this show were scathing. As income inequality grew during Reagan's presidency, the political and social implications in this exhibit came to the fore. *Metropolis* featured a particularly derisive review that focused primarily on the fact that these follies were only buildable by the idle rich and, in fact, do nothing for anyone else. As James Marston Fitch writes in "Neither Reason Nor Follies," "Surely things are not so desperate that American architects have nothing better to do than peddle lap dogs, foot warmers, and tea cozies to the Reaganite nouveau riche."<sup>371</sup> This is not all that he condemns. Accepting that "a good drawing of even of a bad building could have aesthetic or monetary value in its own," he points out that most of the drawings on display are not good enough to be more than conversation pieces. Acknowledging that these drawings are supposed to refer to buildings, he contemptuously states that many of them are unbuildable, and so even fail that goal. It is, he thinks, an exhibit that has lost touch with its time, and in doing so serves only as publicity for the architects themselves.

Most of the reviews continued with similar critiques. Douglas Davis wrote that architects responded to the call for designs with "loud, varied and often predictable quacks."<sup>372</sup> *Artforum's* reviewer condemns the show for emphasizing the "selfish use of art," whereby architecture is only an experiment in the architect's imagination. It further points out the fraught relationship this exhibition reveals between art and privilege, due to the fact that only the very wealthy, with disposable income, could be clients.

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<sup>371</sup> James Marston Fitch, "Neither Reason nor Follies," *Metropolis* (November 1983): 15.

<sup>372</sup> Douglas Davis, "Bringing Back the Follies" *Newsweek* (November 14, 1983), 104.

Paul Goldberger was somewhat more forgiving, describing the follies as a mix of “the brilliantly inventive, the whimsical, the obtuse, and the boring.”<sup>373</sup> Those who were more sympathetic to exhibition espoused the varied approaches the architects took toward their follies, from introspective imaginings to architectural statements.

Conspicuously absent from any of these reviews is mention of the drawings for sale. Perusing the catalogue, and reading many of the reviews, one might easily have thought the drawings in the exhibition were just to advertise the works they represented and may not have even realized they were available to buy individually. There was no mention of the drawings for sale in the catalogue, and there was only one review that passingly mentioned that the drawings and models were for sale.<sup>374</sup> Even the catalogue, which could be purchased for \$19.95, did not mention the drawings. While it was stated in the catalogue that if a client wanted to commission a folly, the gallery would arrange the contact with the architect, there was no guarantee that the client would also get the drawings as was the case in *Houses for Sale*.

Despite this, more drawings were sold from the *Follies* show than *Architecture I* and *Houses for Sale* combined. Nineteen of the 98 drawings were sold. The number sold is not enough to consider the show a commercial success, but it conspicuously had more success than the prior exhibitions. The prices for the works in this exhibition ranged from 400 dollars for an 11 inch X 14 inch drawing by Machado-Silvetti to 5,000 dollars for an 28 1/8 inch by 38 1/2 inch drawing by Rudolf. The average asking price for the drawings

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<sup>373</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Design Notebook,” *New York Times* (November 3, 1983), C10.

<sup>374</sup> See the review D. D. B. “P/A News Report: Conspicuous Consumption: Follies for Sale.” *Progressive Architecture* 12, no. 83 (December 1983): 23–24. The review states, “The economics of folly-building otherwise take a strange twist in the Castelli show: drawings and models, not buildings, are for sale.” This reviewer was apparently unaware that a prospective client could contact the architect through the gallery to have the folly built.



in the exhibition was 1,194 dollars, which is considerably lower than the last exhibition that the Castelli Gallery organized. Of the 98 drawings, 9 were not for sale. These were all seven drawings by Bofill and two by Terry—his site plan and column. Nine of the 12 models were also for sale, for an average of 4,389 dollars. Those who purchased drawings included the art dealer Lee Nordness, who bought two of Isozaki's drawings for 2,000 dollars each, the first watercolor plan, and the last watercolor drawing. A Mr. Paul Walter bought two other Isozaki's sections drawing and the elevations drawing, each for 2,000 dollars, and Terry's drawing of the eyecatcher for 1,500 dollars. The politician, Dr. Gerald Cardinale, purchased Ambasz's model photographs for 750 dollars each. And Barbara Jakobson ended up with two of Hollein's drawings, the two individual elevations of the towers; the first was a gift, and the second was purchased for 750 dollars. Ten of Eisenman/Robertson's drawings were also sold, though to whom was not recorded.<sup>375</sup> The exhibition netted only 11,750 dollars—not commercially successful by any means.

Nor did it have as much cultural success as the previous exhibitions, which may in some part be explained by the criticism in the press. The exhibition did travel to Madrid, but this was organized through Jakobson and Castelli's connections, rather than through a request. There is, perhaps, another reason for its lack of cultural success. By this time, the Castelli Gallery was not the only gallery in the game, so to speak. This will be addressed in detail in the following chapter. But, by this time the market for architectural drawings was in full swing, and debates about the future of architectural representations were being played out in other venues. No longer was the issue merely

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<sup>375</sup> The fourth model in this series is now at MoMA, gifted there by Frederieke Taylor and accessioned in 1992. Since Taylor's acquisition is not mentioned in the archive, it is left to understand that she acquired this model by another means. Perhaps she did so at a later date. In any case, it was in her possession before she opened her gallery, The Frederieke Taylor Gallery in New York in 1993.

about the relationship of the drawings to the buildings, or the drawings and a building to art, but discourses about contemporary architectural drawings were being pulled into debates about historical drawings as well. Not only were they objects for architecture, but as Foster, in 1981, thought might happen, they were becoming seen as important historical objects as well.

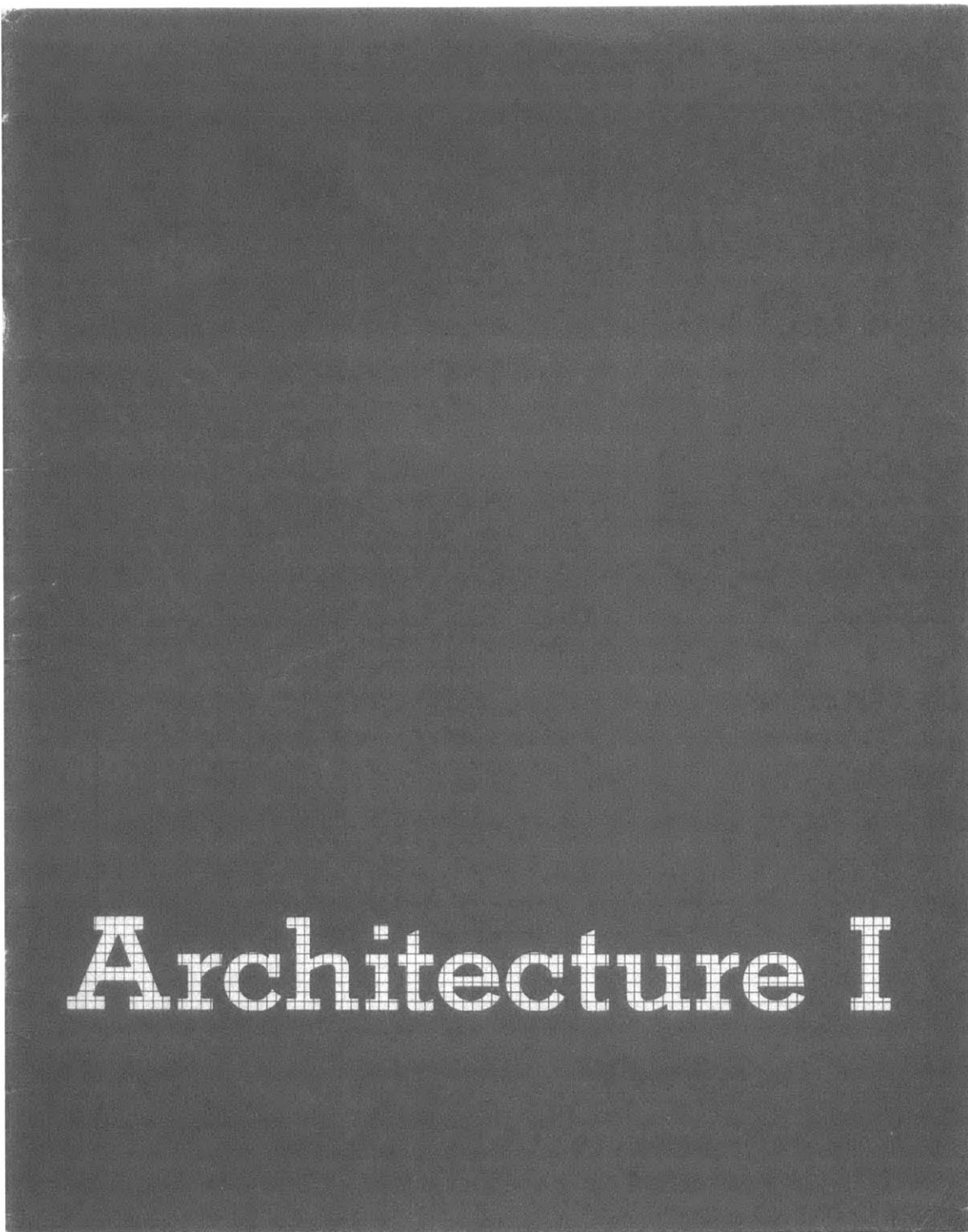
## **CONCLUSION**

The three exhibitions held at the Castelli Gallery, beginning in 1977 and ending in 1983, were integral to the changing perception of architectural drawings during this time. That the Castelli Gallery was a known trendsetter and tastemaker in the art world meant that these shows would receive scrutiny they would not have otherwise received. This was even more intensified since the showing of contemporary architectural drawings was not only a first for Castelli, but it was also a first for any venue typically reserved for fine arts such as painting and sculpture.

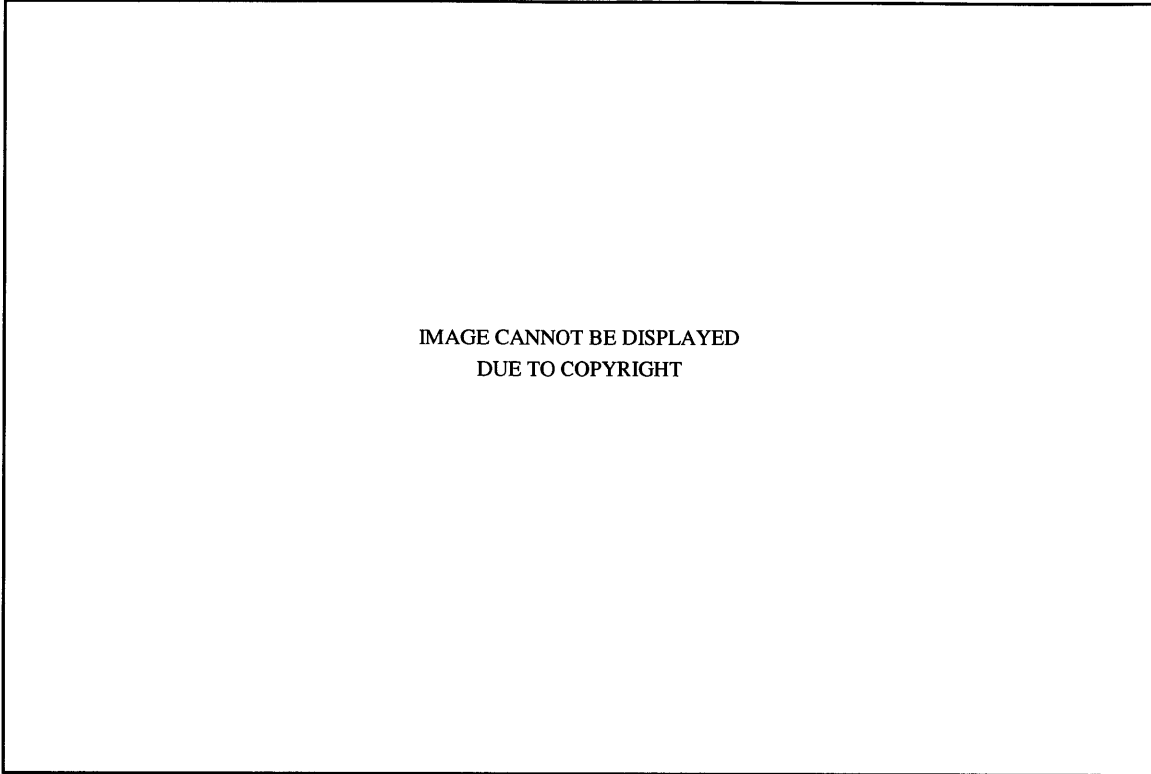
While the final exhibition was met with much criticism, bordering on derision for the supposed out-of-touch nature of its theme, the previous two exhibitions were integral to forcing a reconsideration of the nature and role of architectural drawings. Their receptions gave rise to a new notion of architectural drawings as aesthetic objects, which resulted in deep questioning about architecture. Doubts arose about what architecture was and where it was located, as it was no longer certain that buildings were its center. These shows then, which were held at the world's premier modern and contemporary art gallery, had ontological repercussions for both architectural drawings and architecture, wherein their entire conception was reexamined.

IMAGES

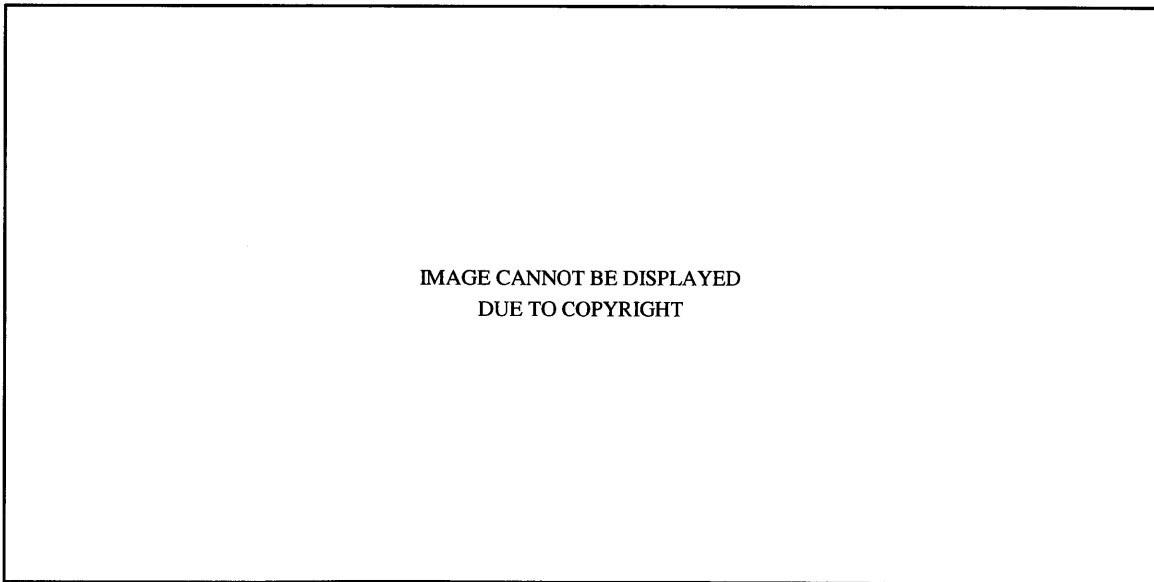
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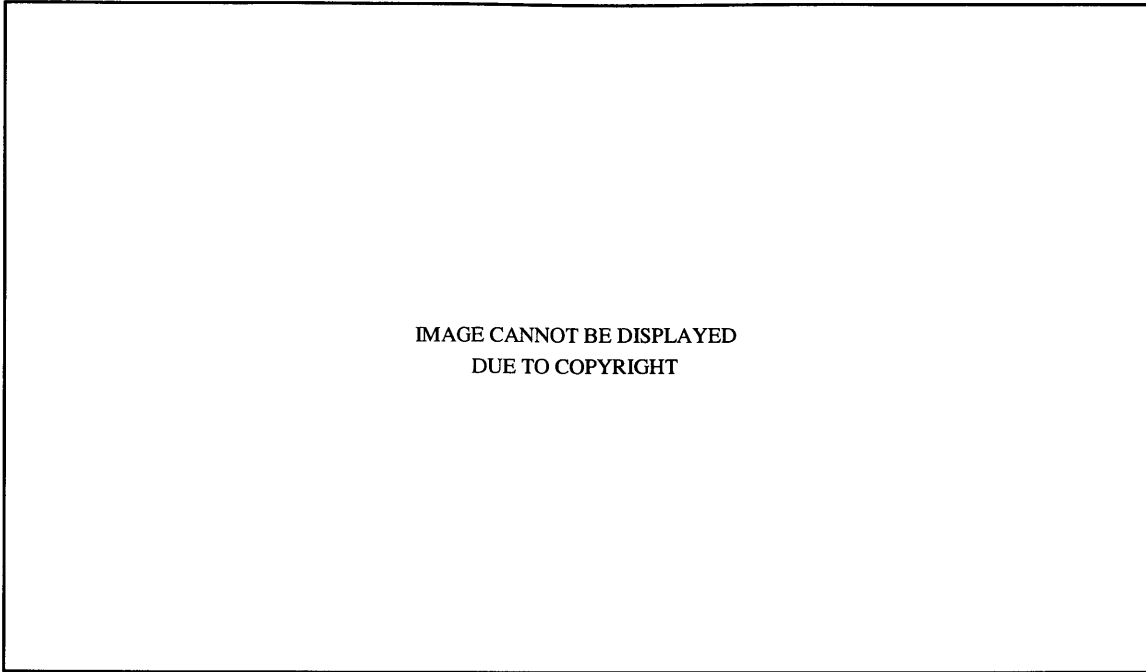
*Architecture I*, The Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977. Catalogue.



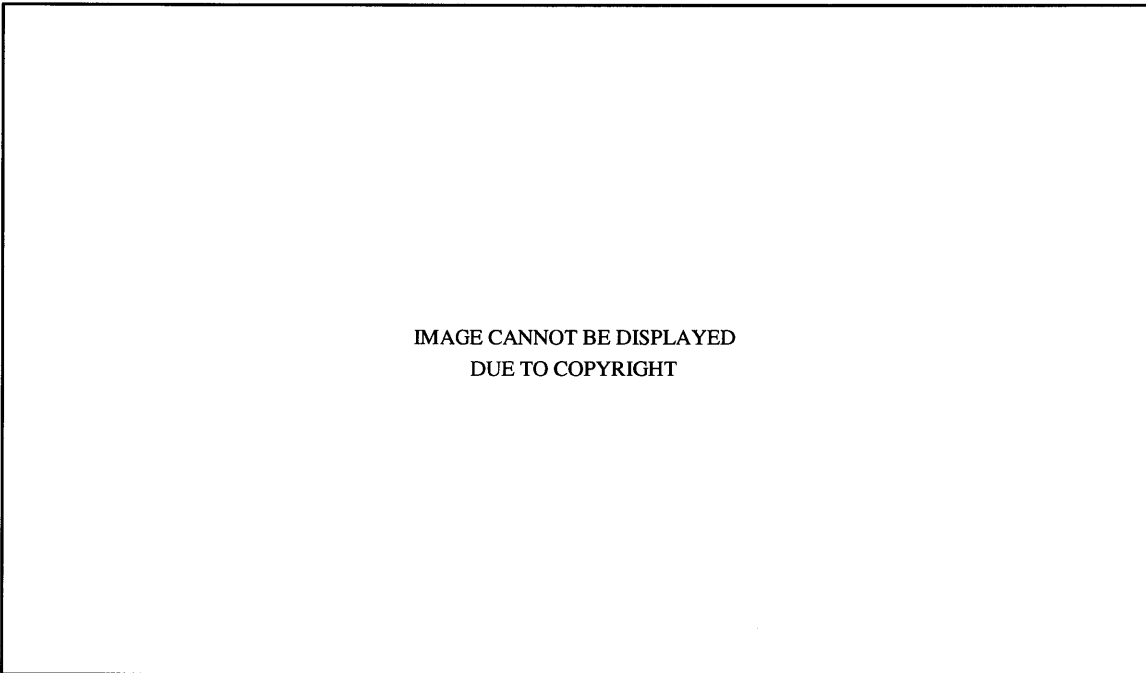
***Architecture I*, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977. Richard Meier and Aldo Rossi. Installation.**  
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Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.



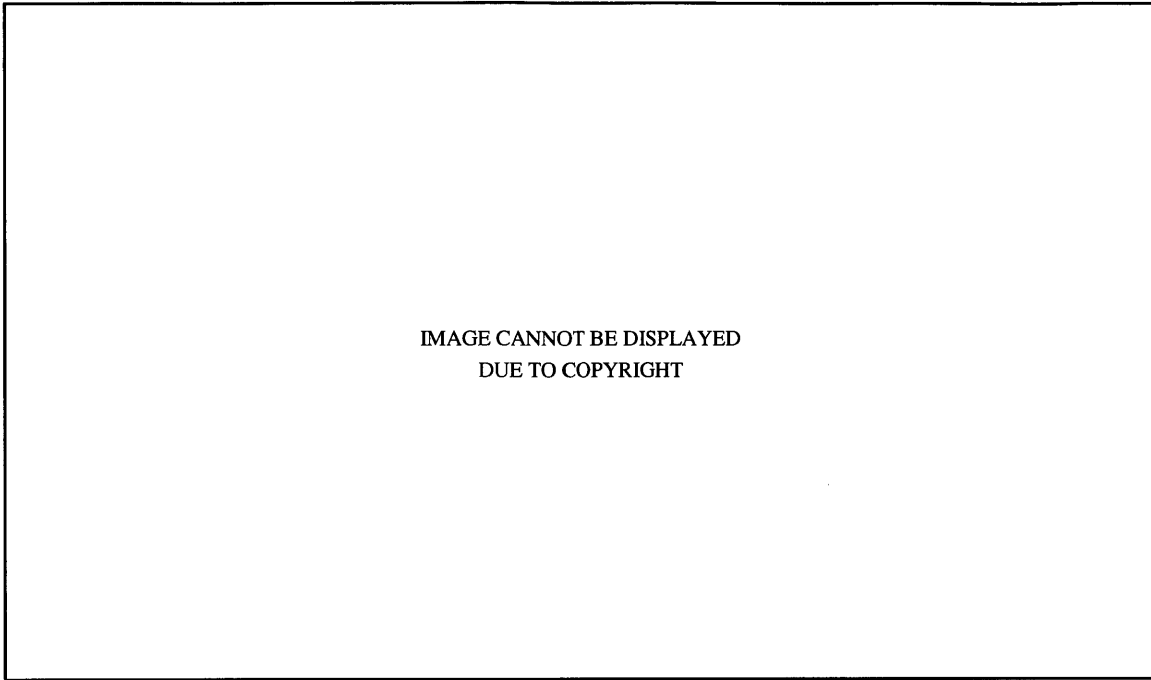
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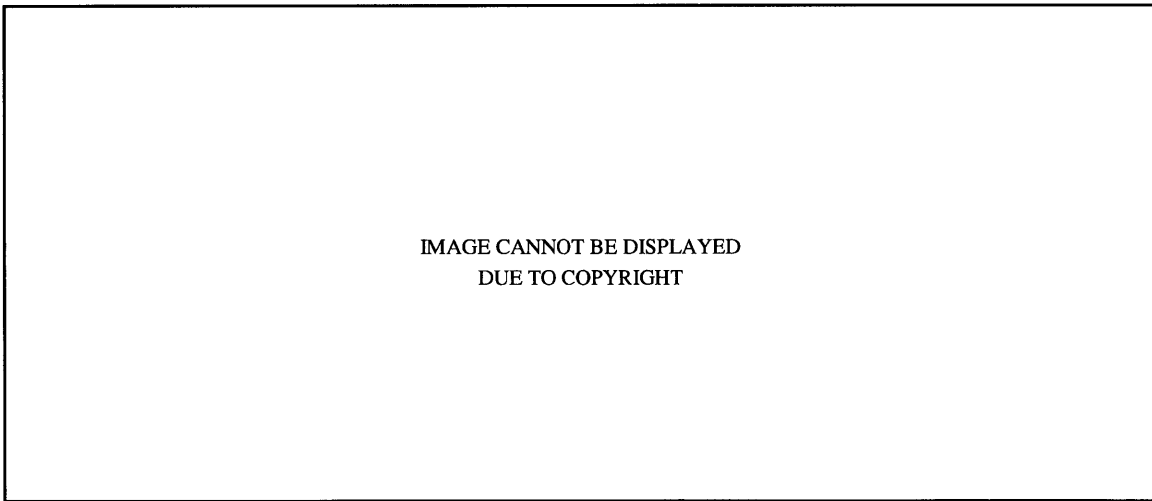
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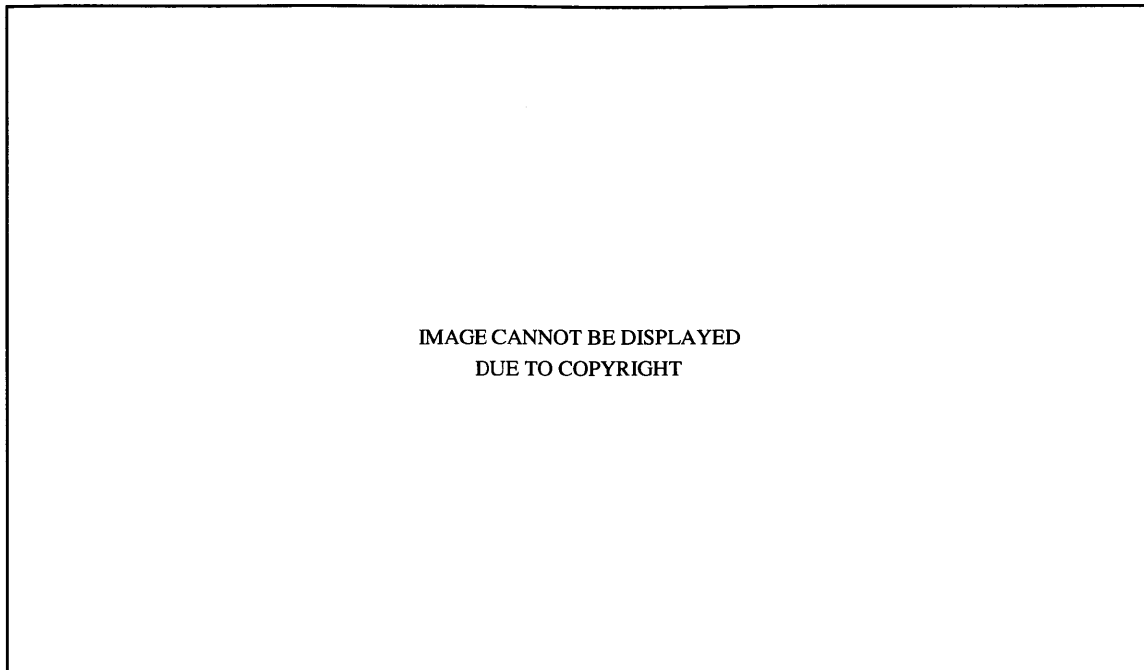
***Architecture I, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977. James Stirling. Installation.***  
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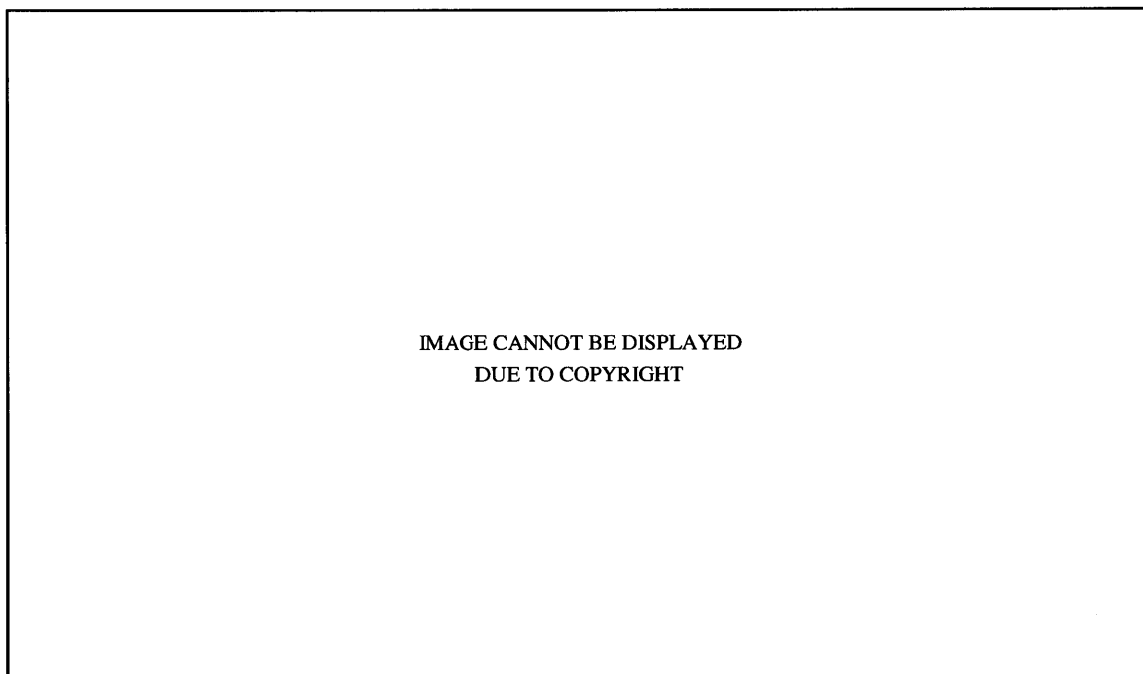
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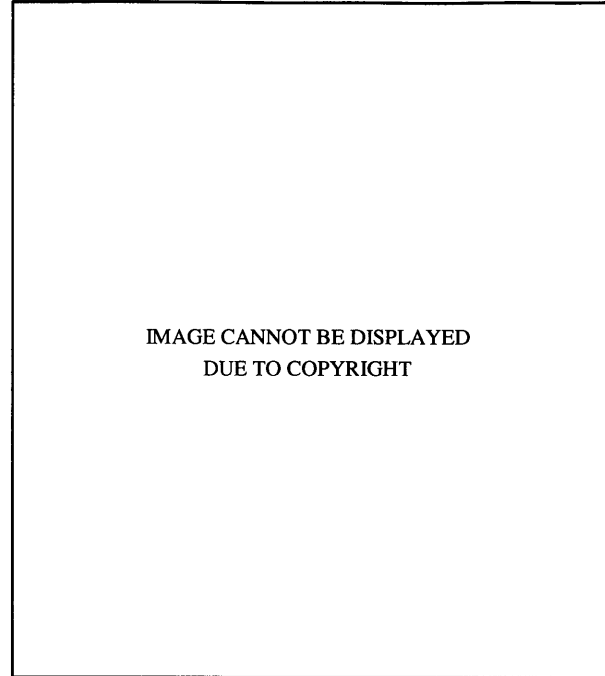
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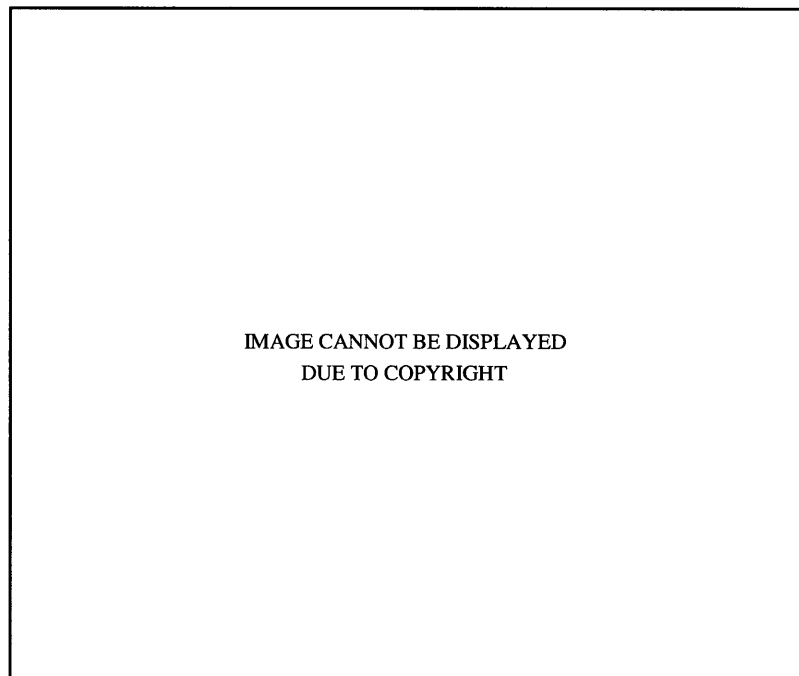
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***Architecture I*, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977. Venturi and Rauch and Emilio Ambasz. Installation.**  
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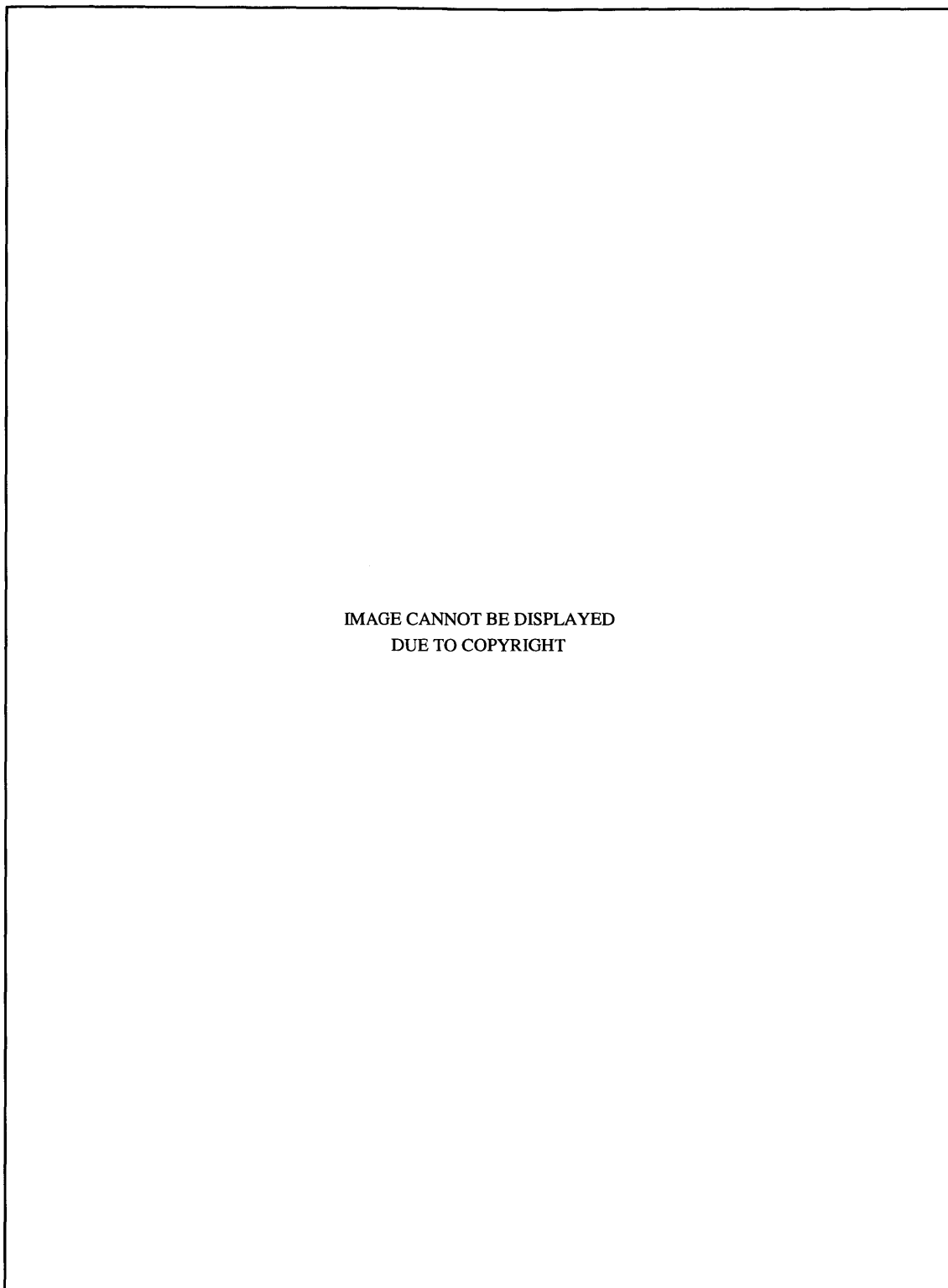


***Architecture I, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977. Barbara Jakobson at Opening.***  
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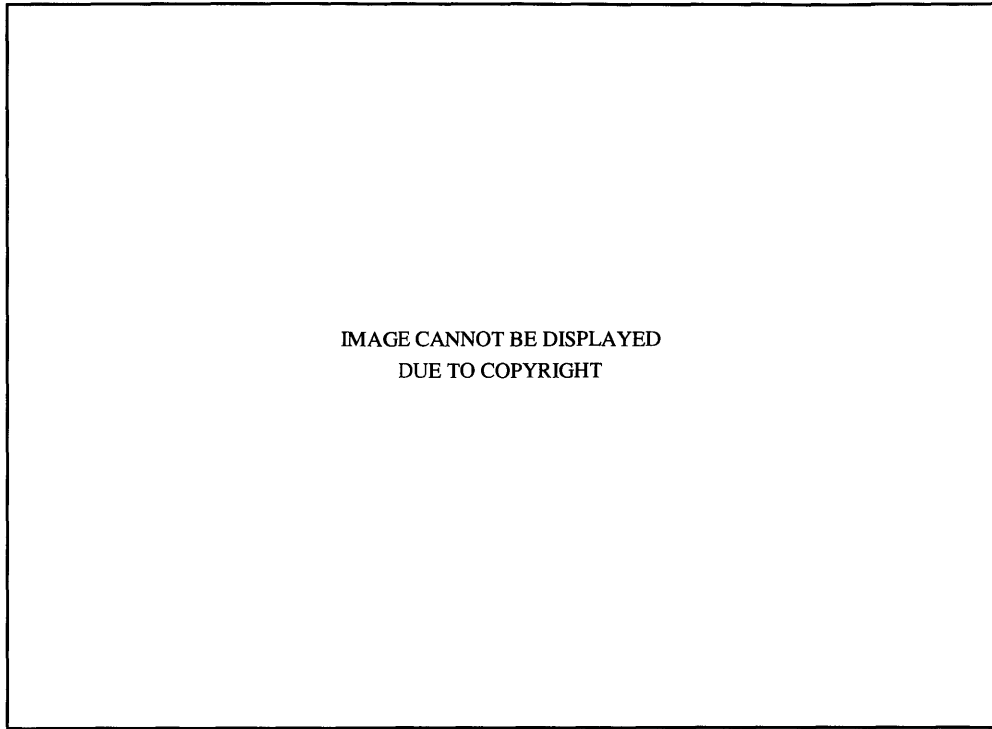


***Architecture I, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977. Richard Meier and Raimund Abraham at Opening.***  
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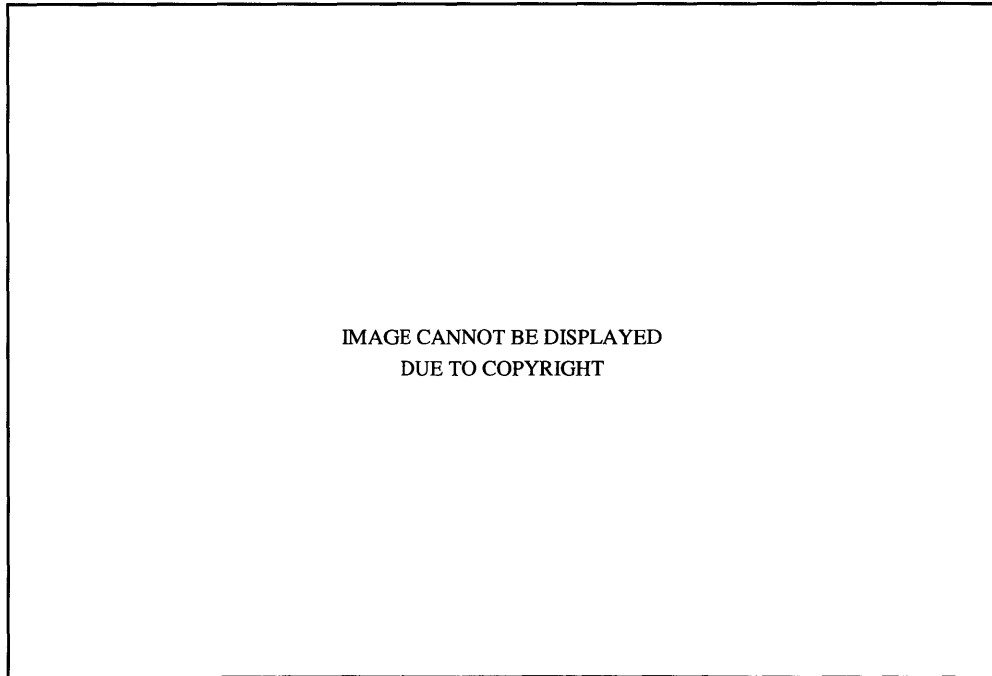




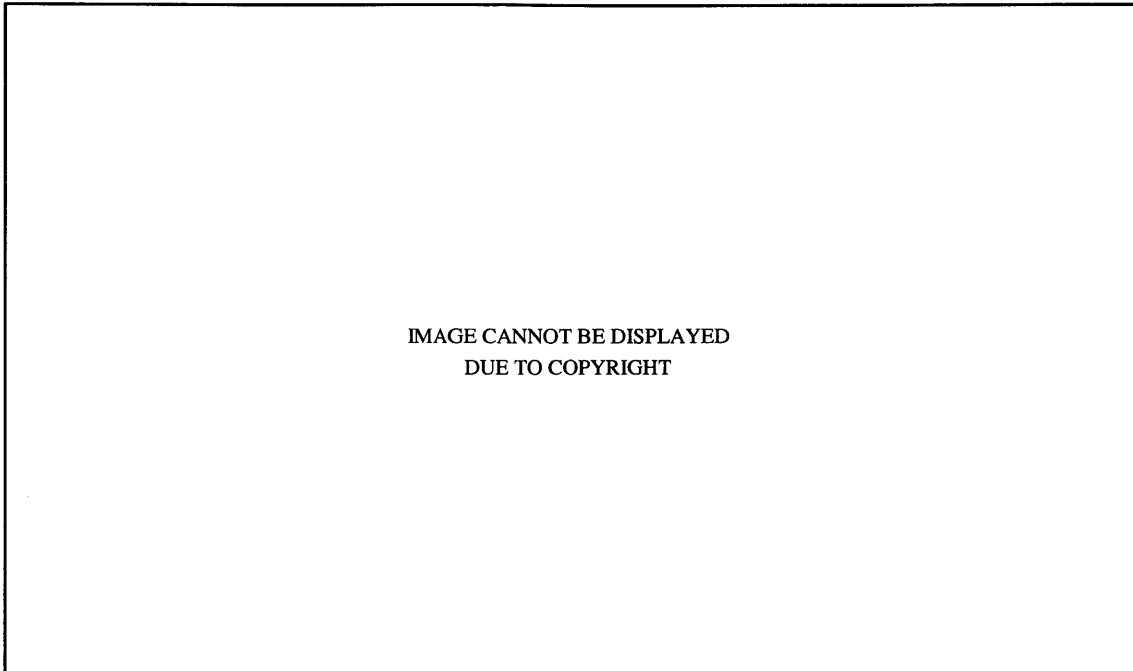
***Architecture: Seven Architects, ICA, University of Pennsylvania, 1977-1978. Poster.***  
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***Architecture: Seven Architects, ICA, University of Pennsylvania, 1977-1978.***  
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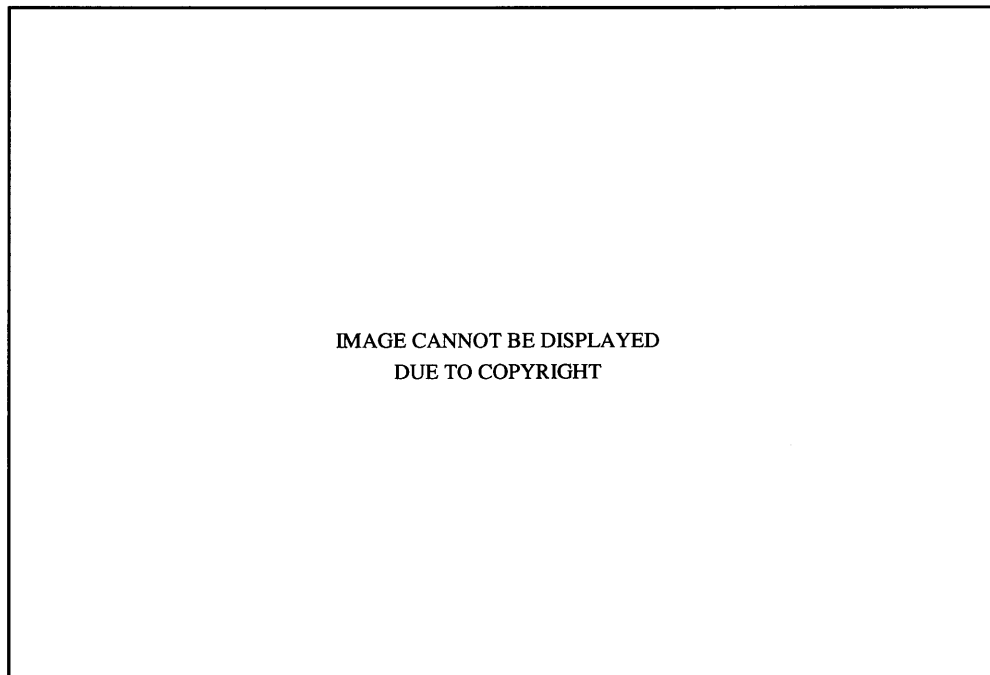


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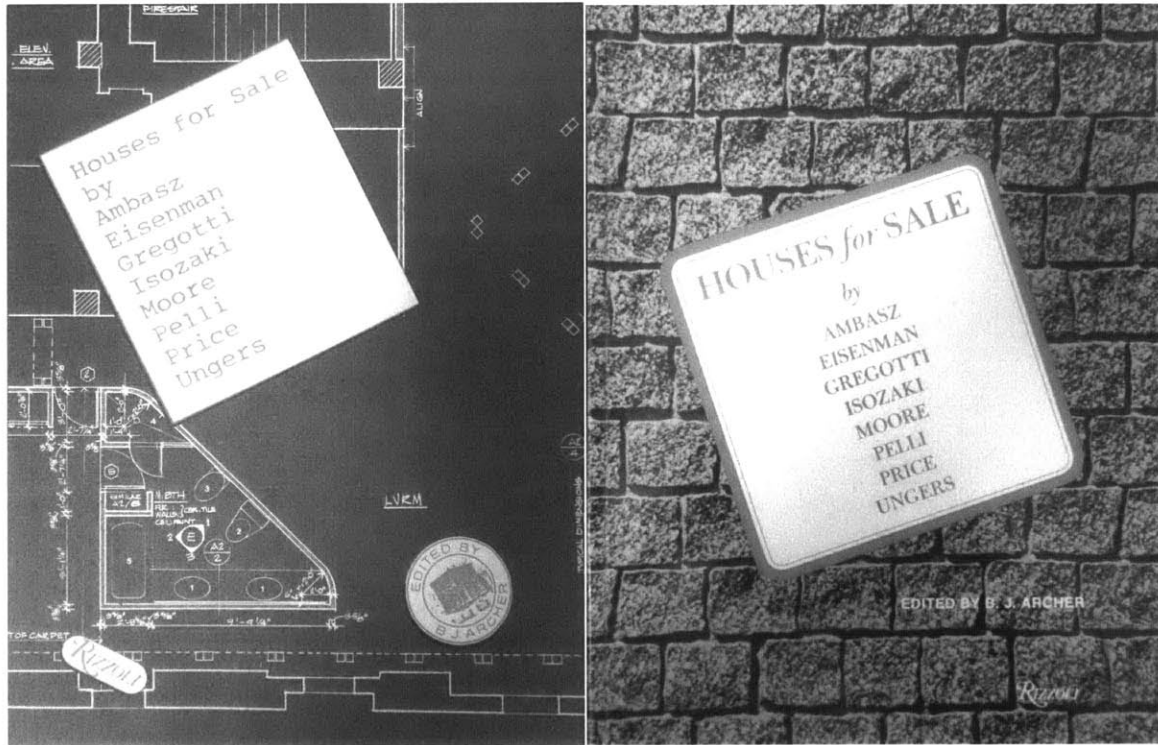
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**From under James Stirling model.**

Courtesy of the Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania

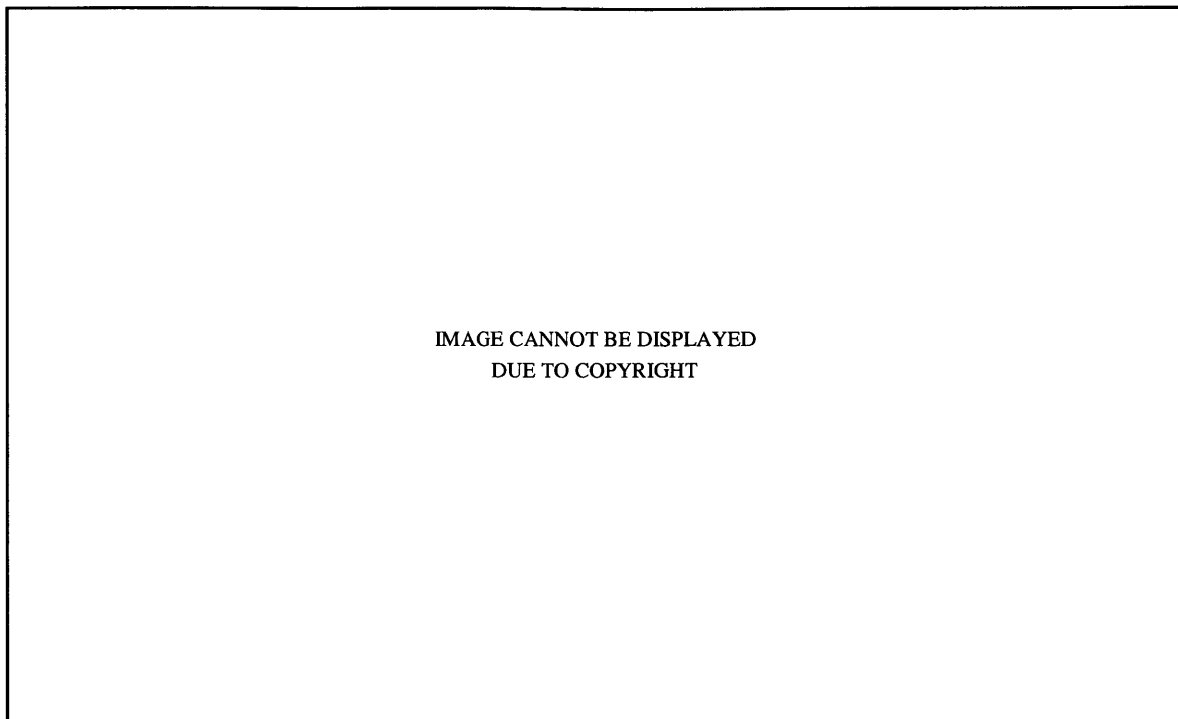


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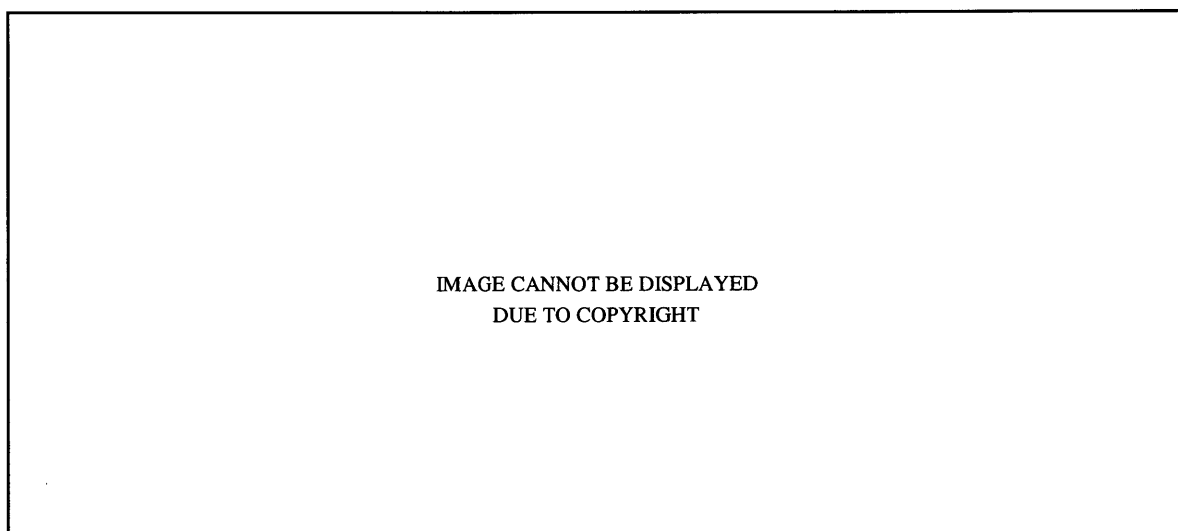
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*Architecture II: Houses for Sale*, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1980. Catalogs.



***Architecture II: Houses for Sale, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1980. Arata Isozaki. Installation.***  
Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Box 51, Folder 82.  
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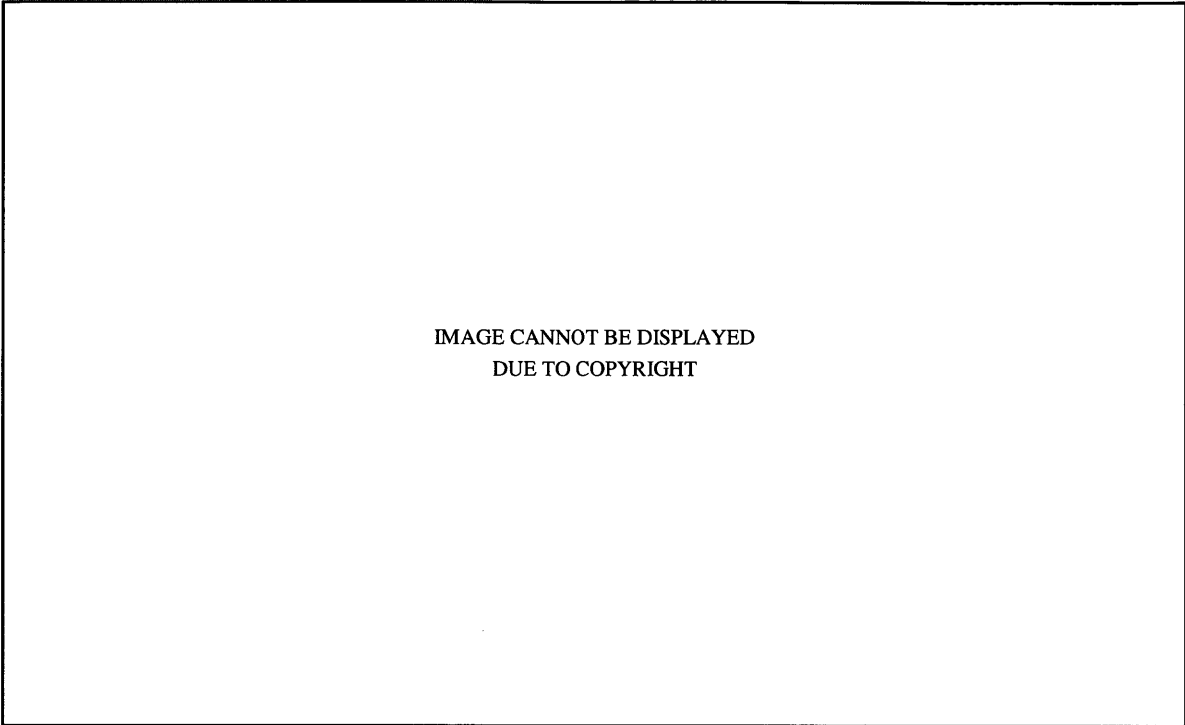


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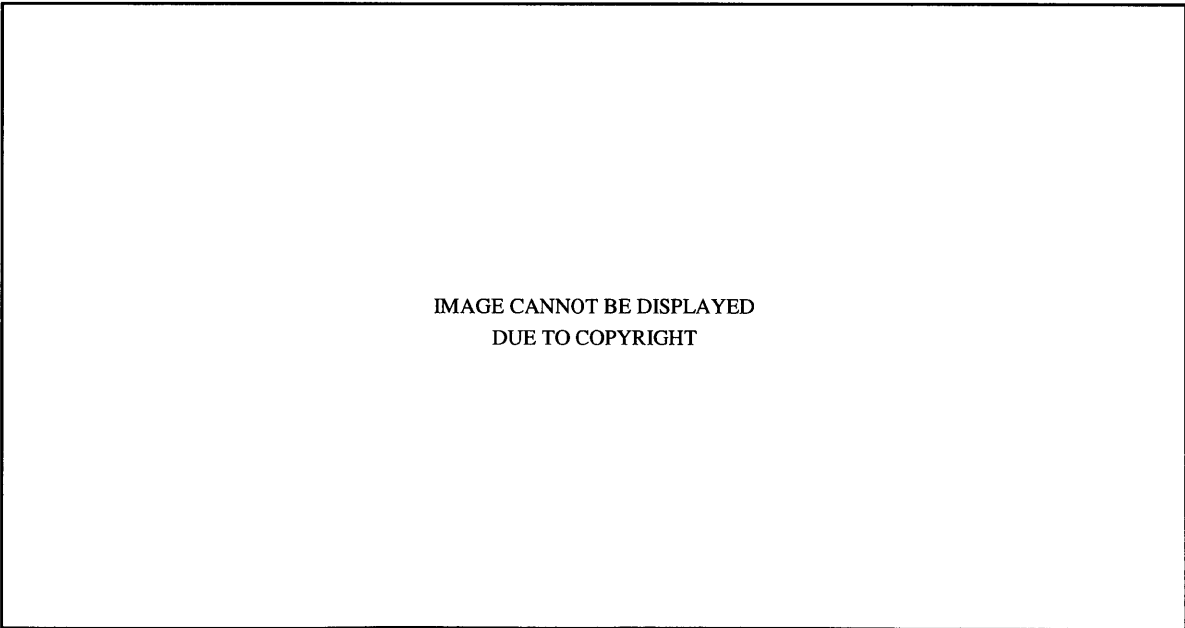
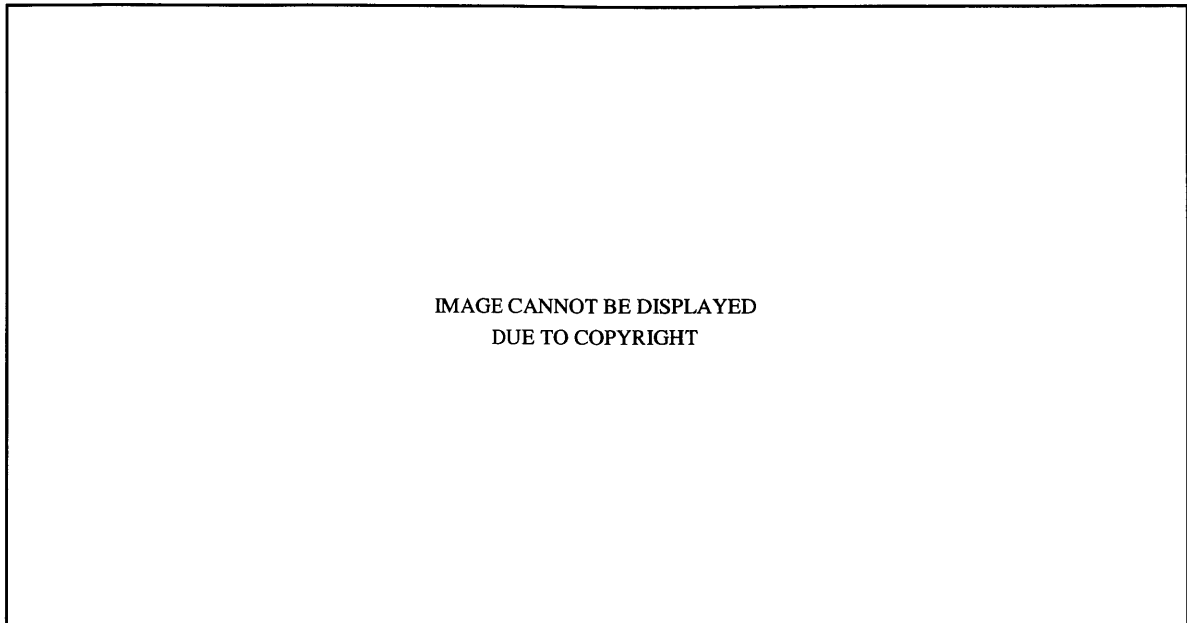
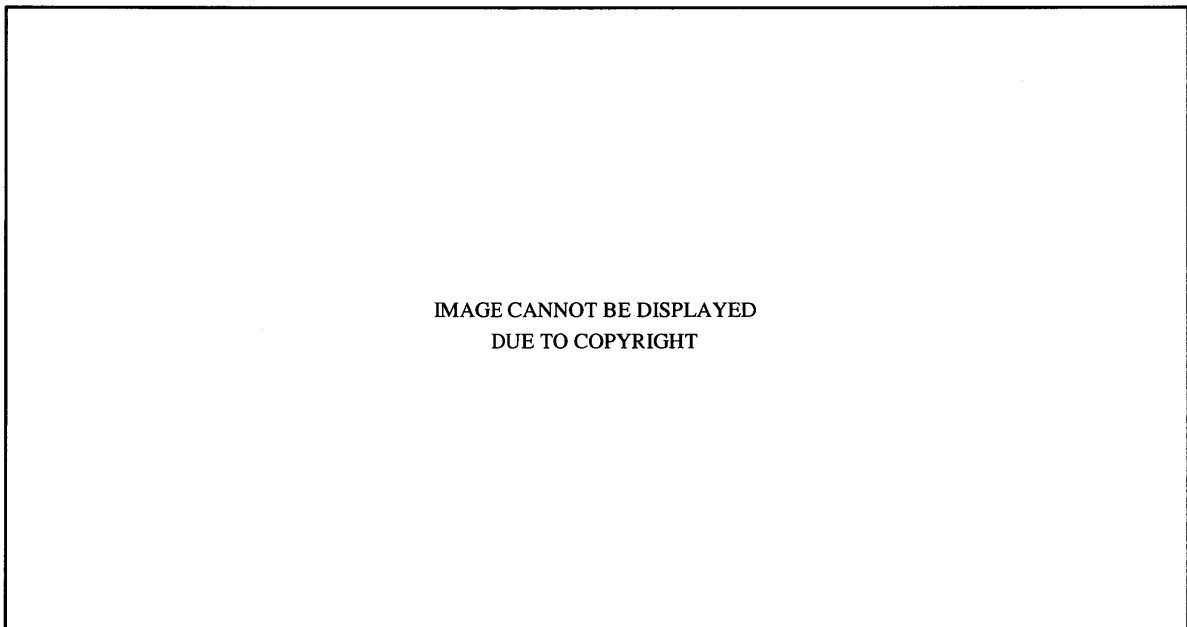


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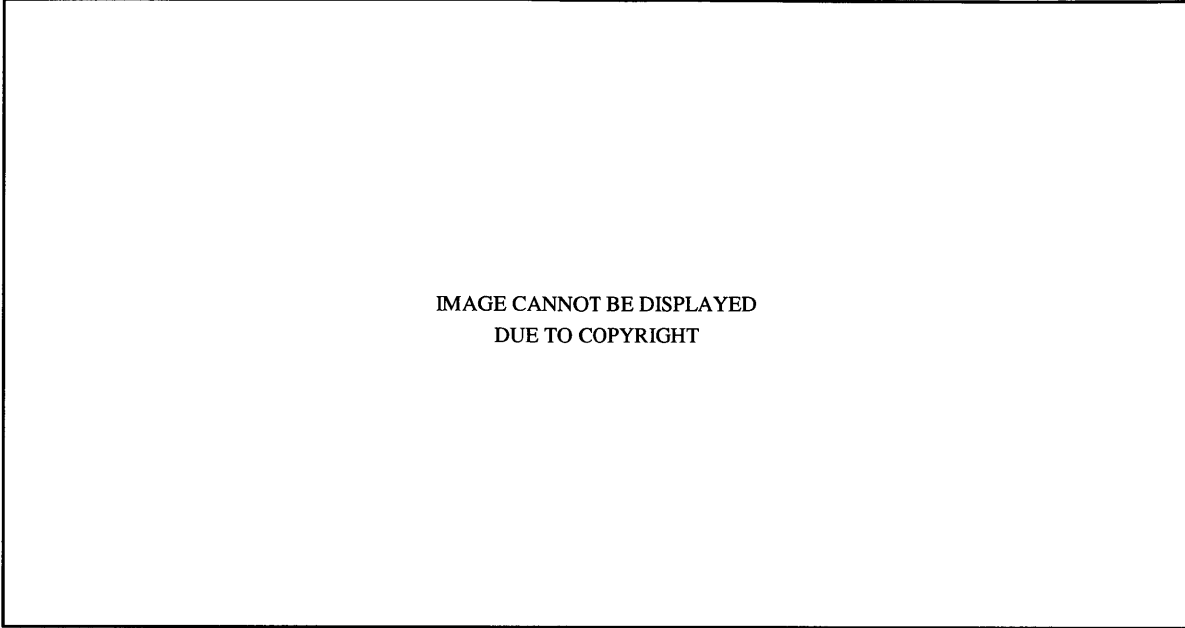
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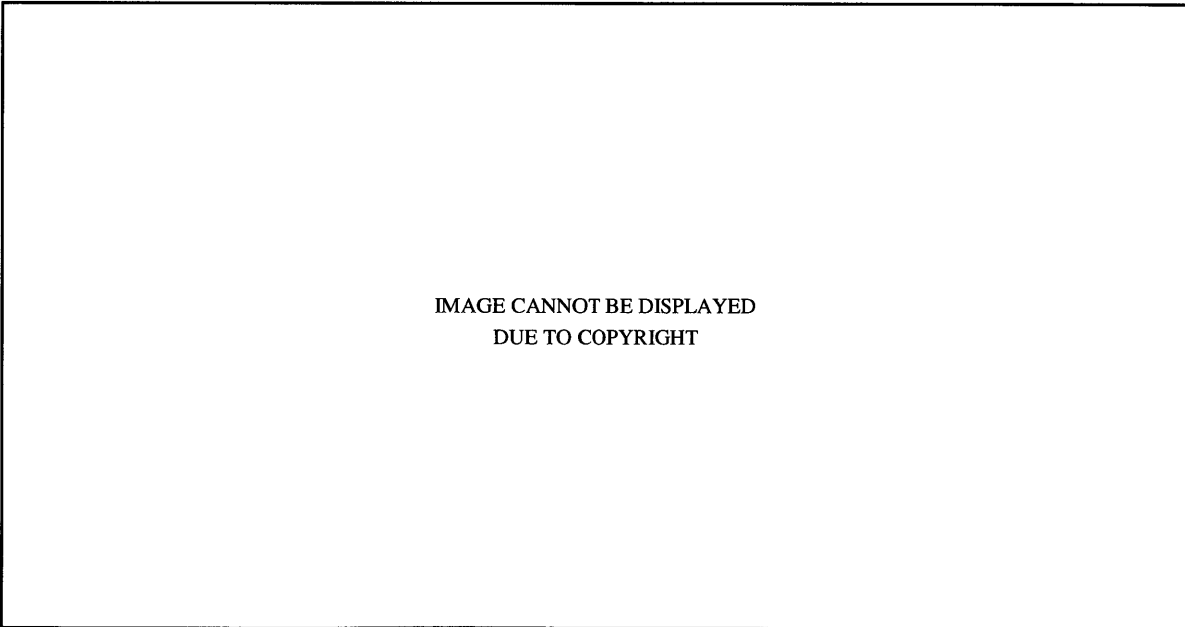
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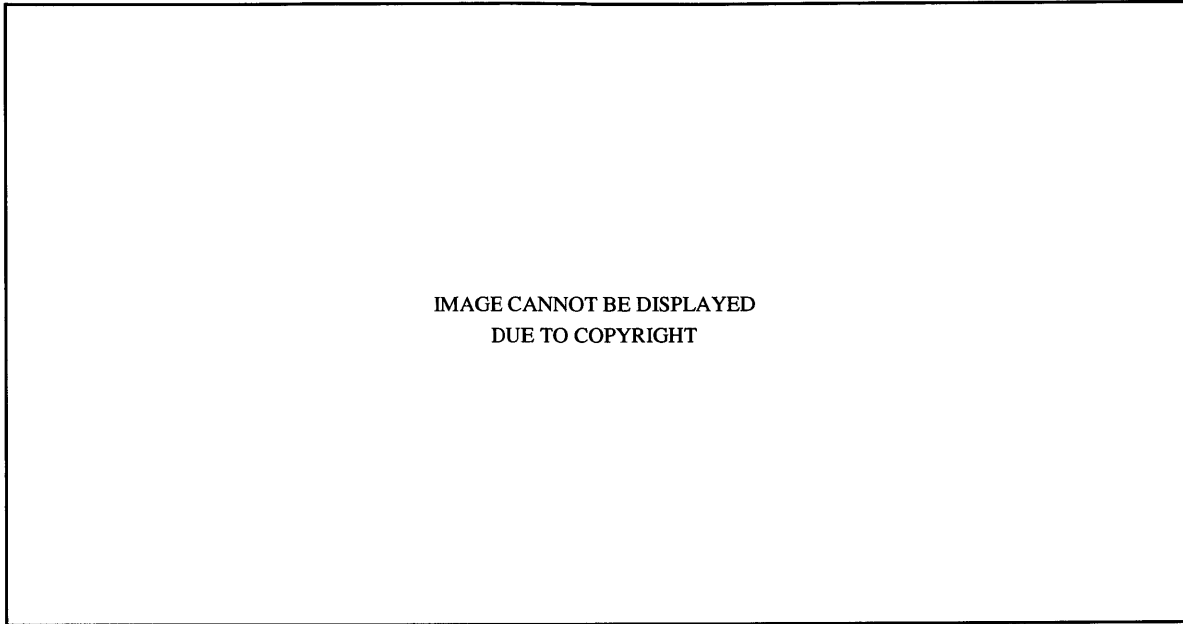


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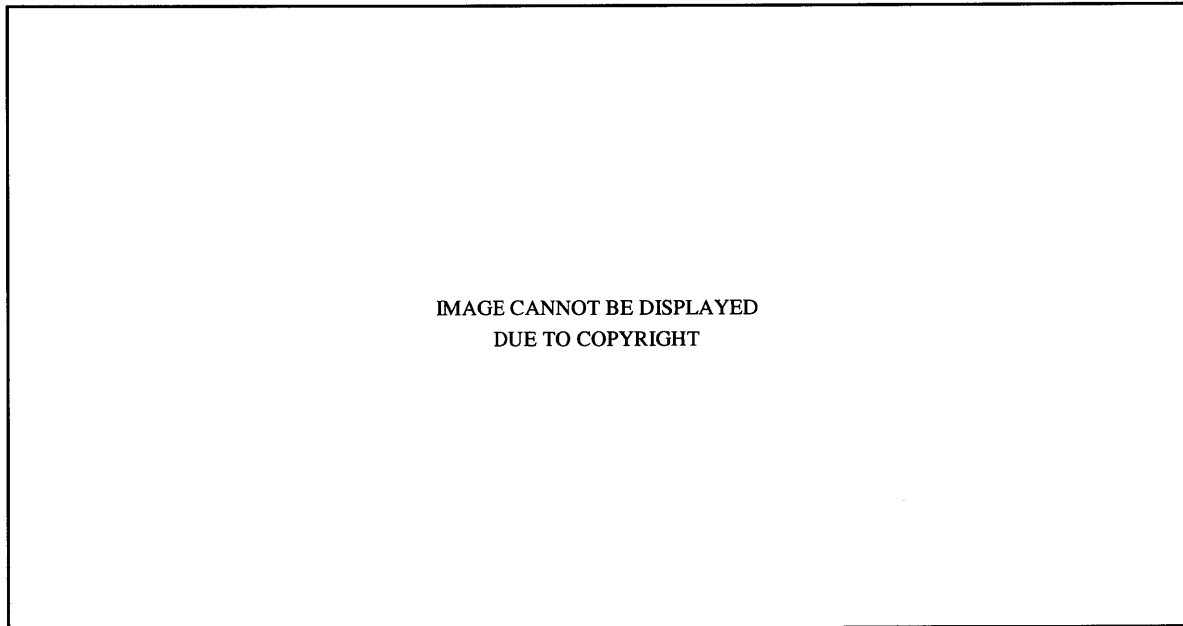


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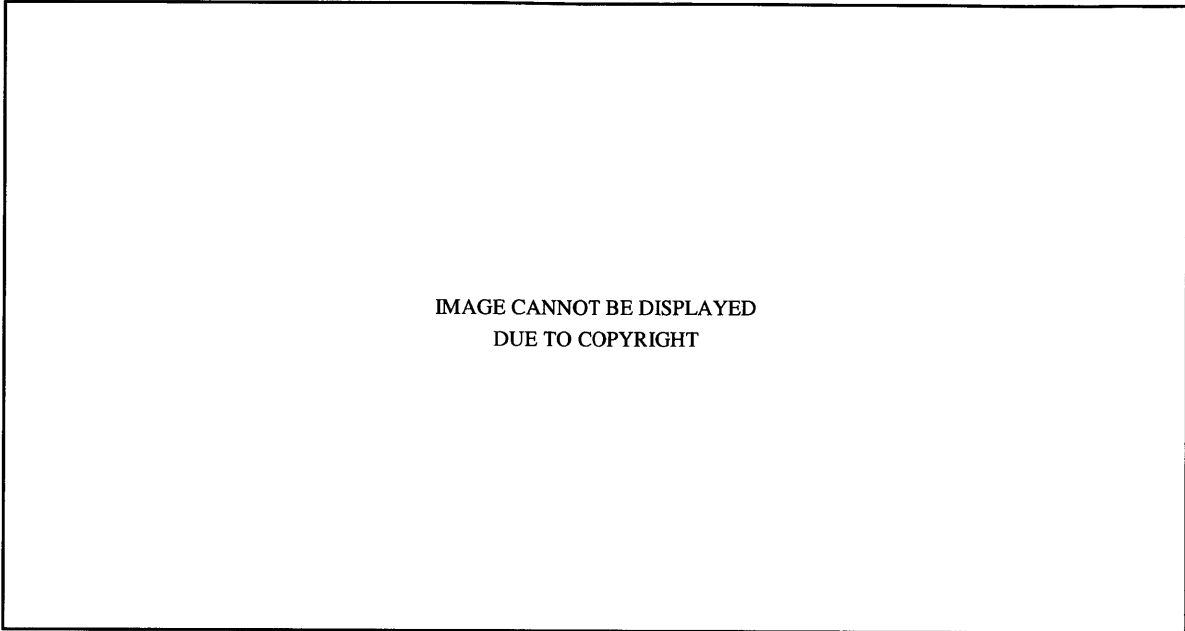




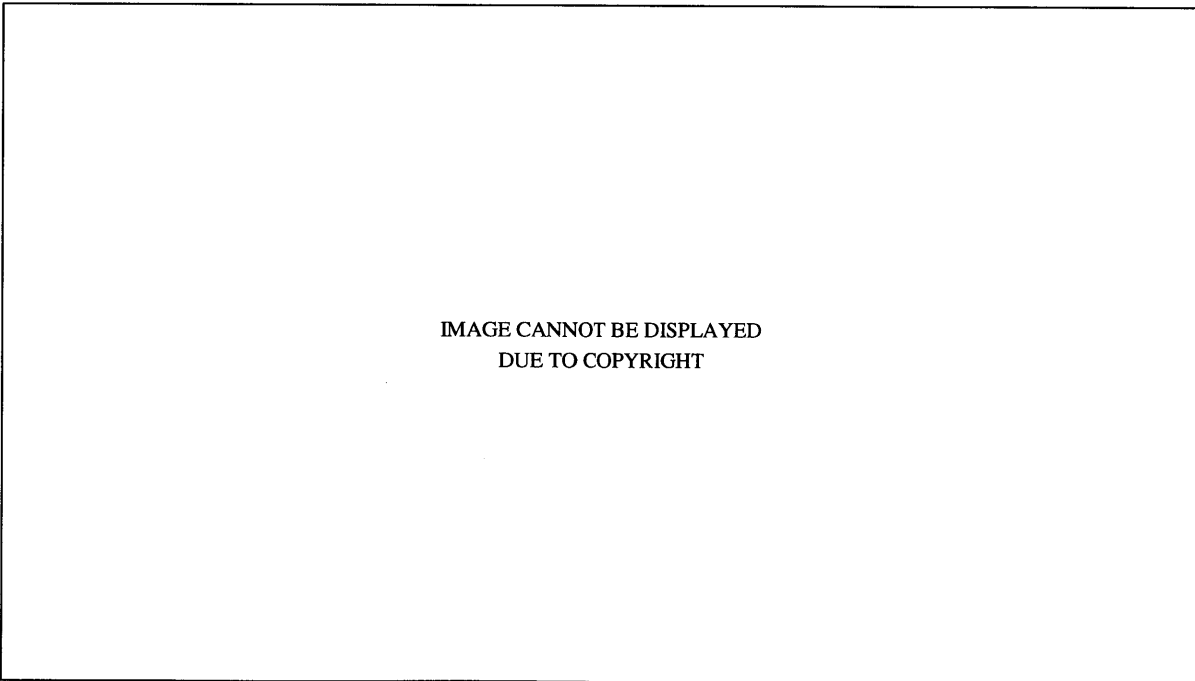
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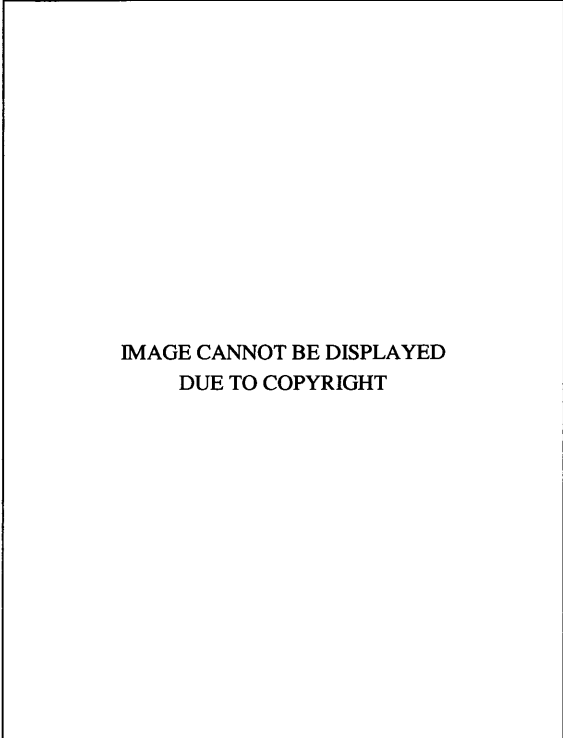
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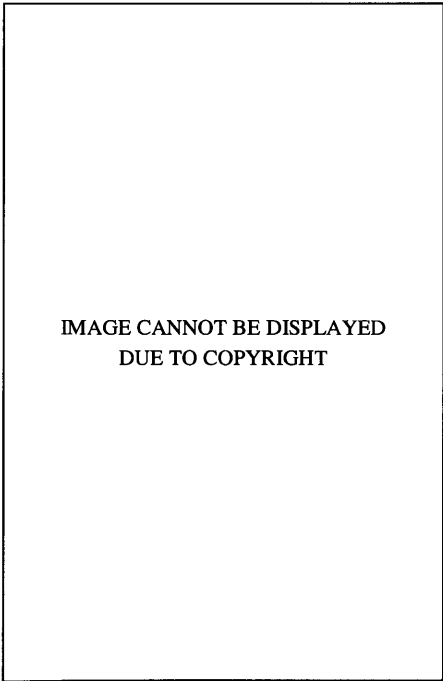
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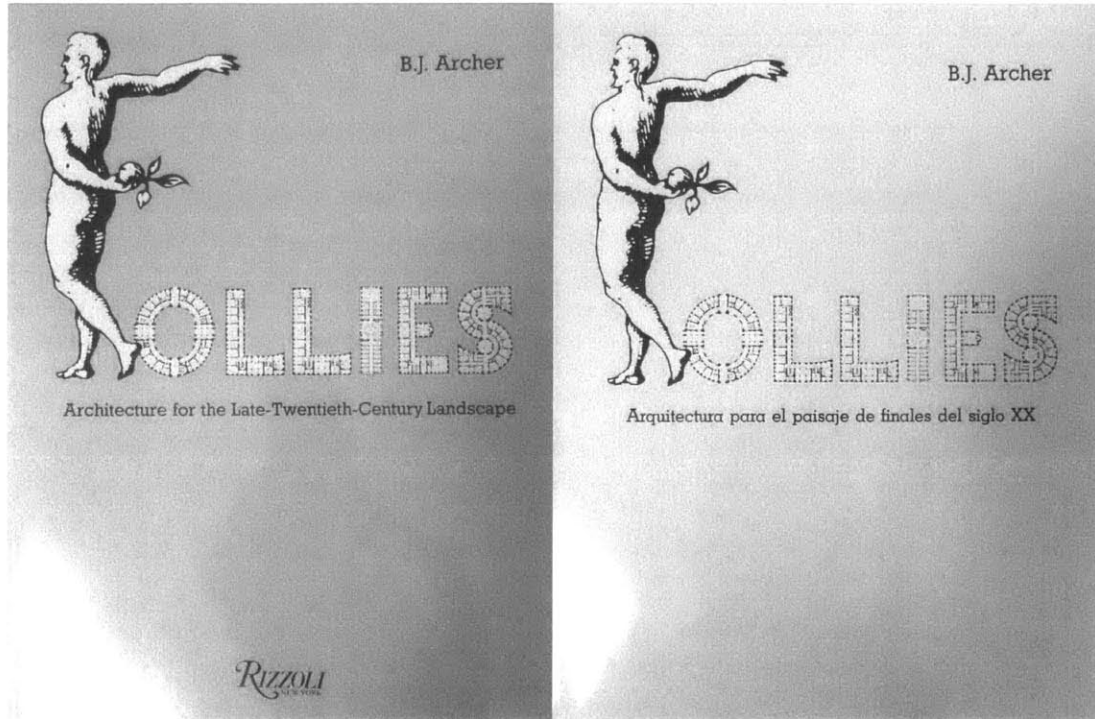
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***Architecture / Houses for Sale. James Corcoran Gallery, 1981. Advertisement.***  
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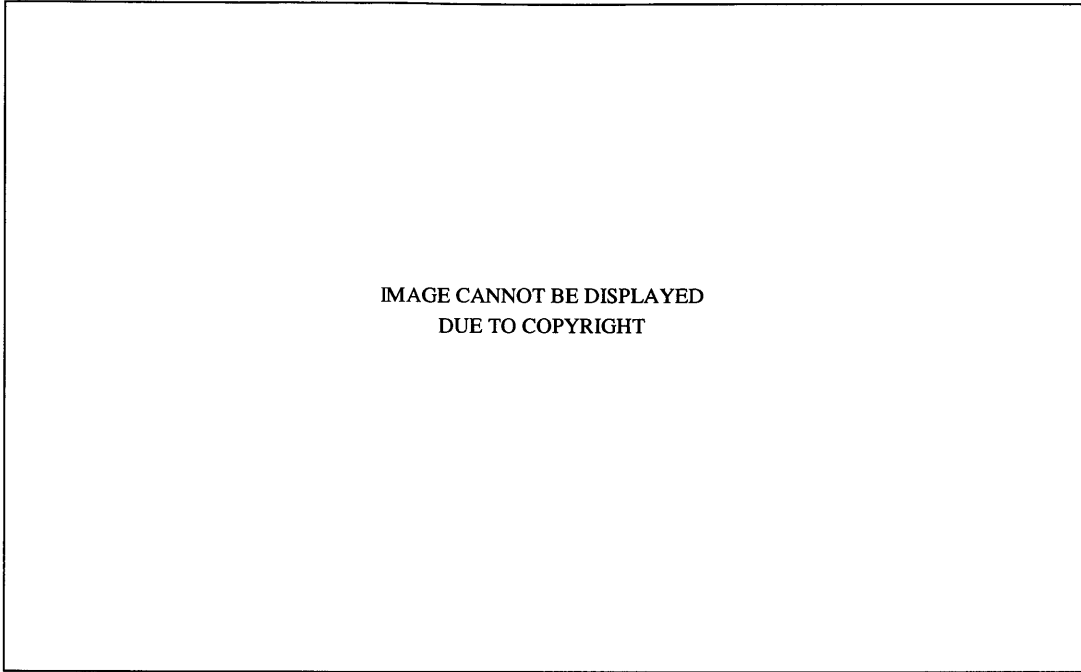
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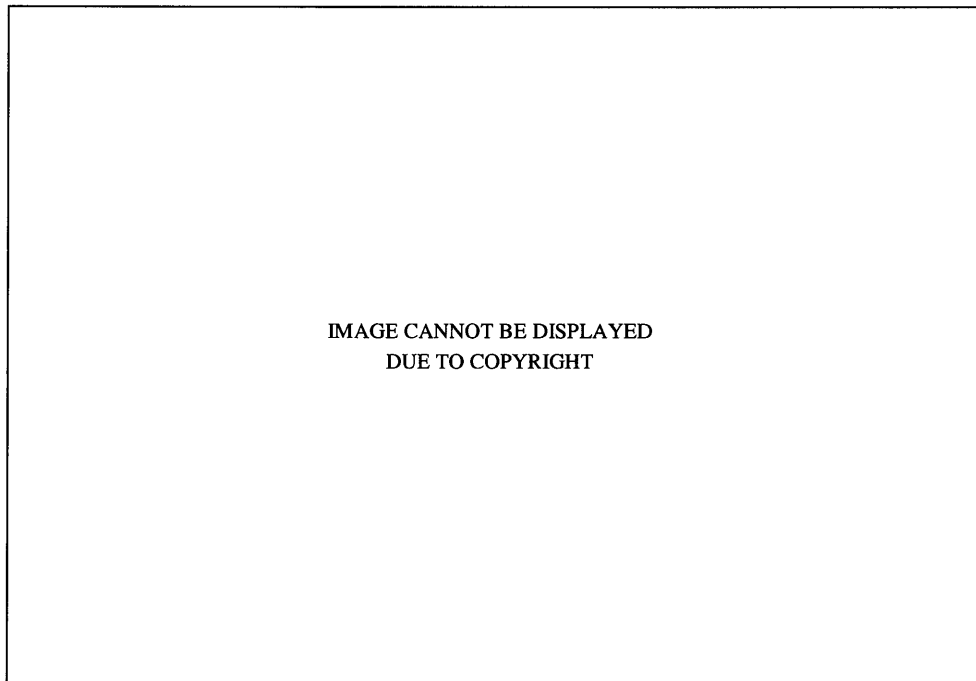
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*Architecture III: Follies, The Leo Castelli Gallery, 1983. Advertisement.*  
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***Architecture III: Follies, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1983. Quinlan Terry and Emilio Ambasz. Installation.***  
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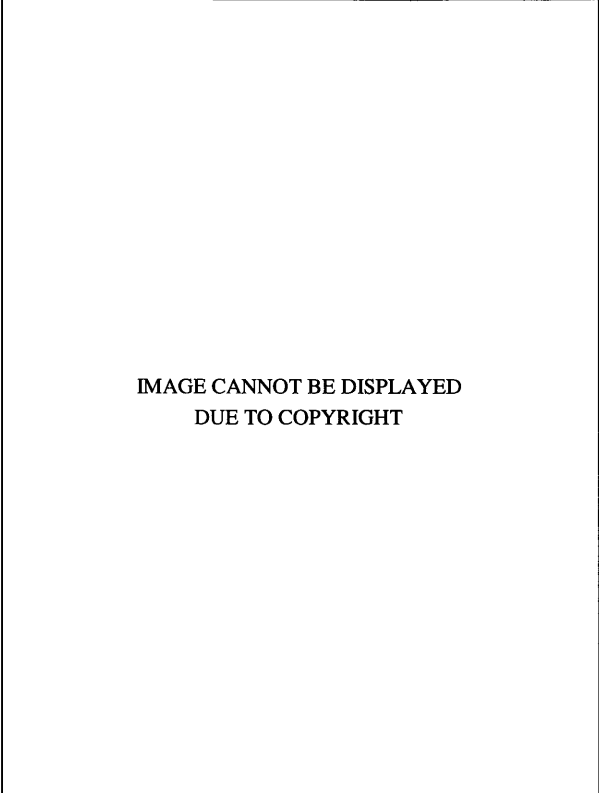


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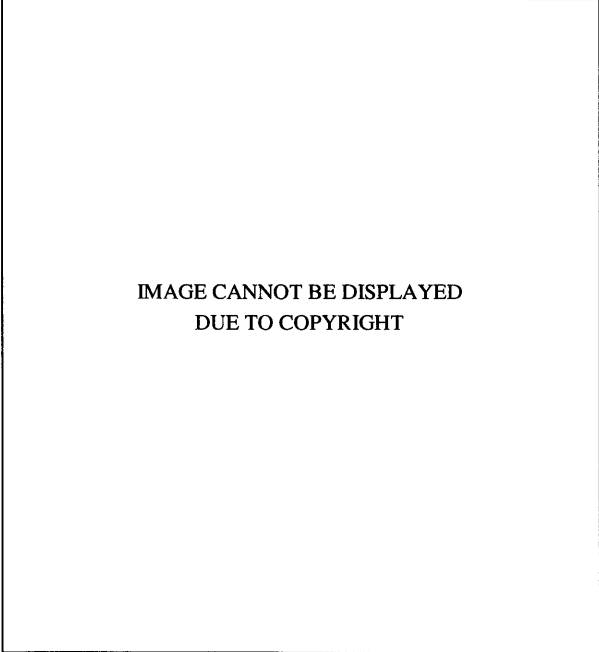
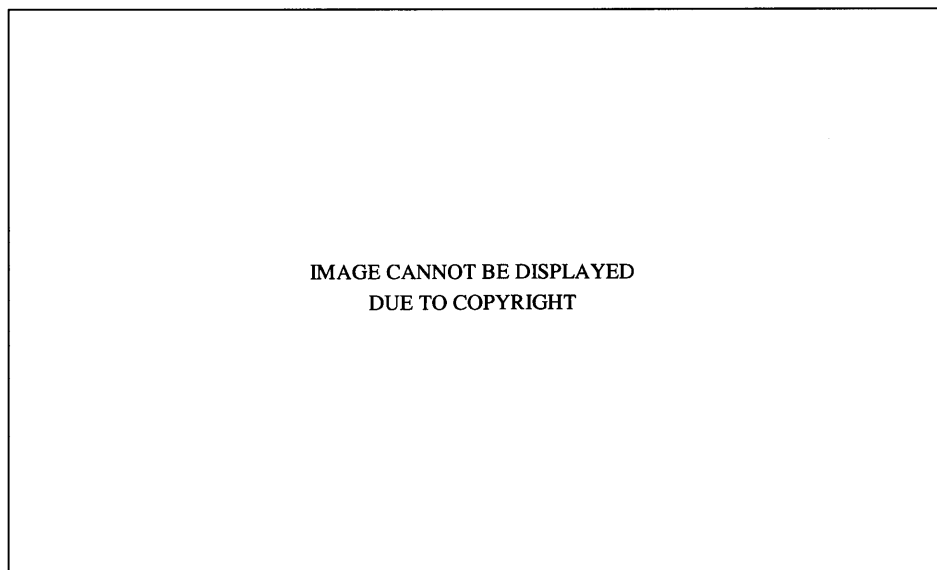


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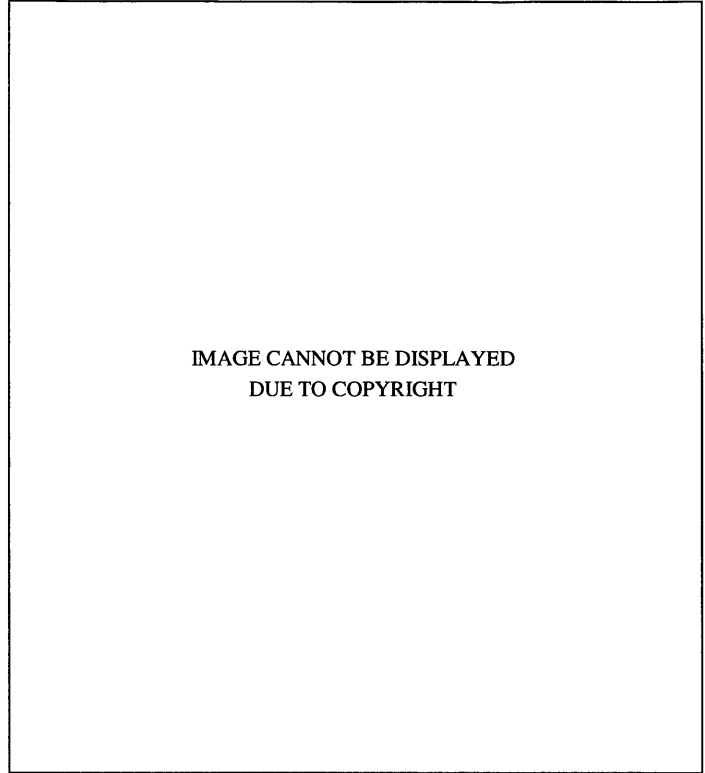
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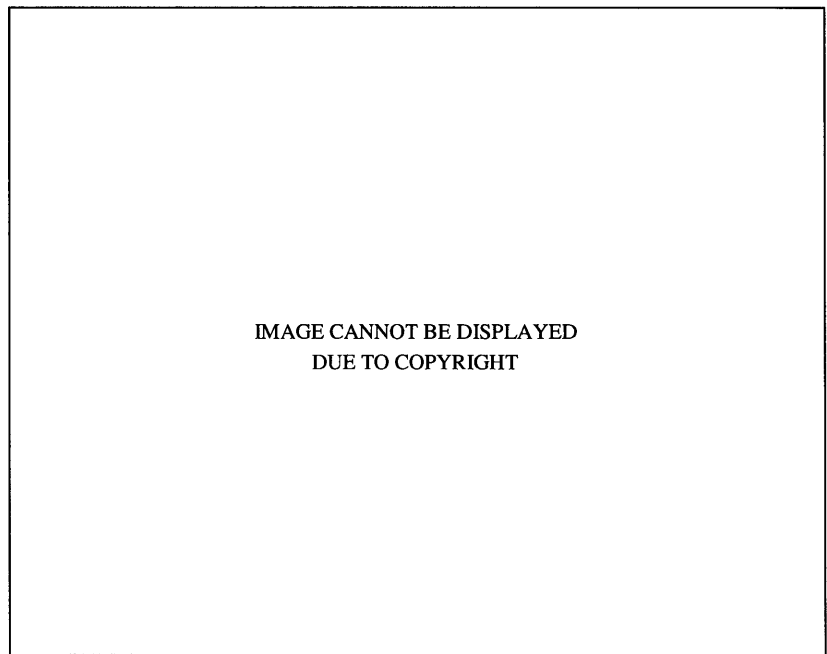
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***Architecture III: Follies, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1983. Eisenman-Robertson. Installation.***  
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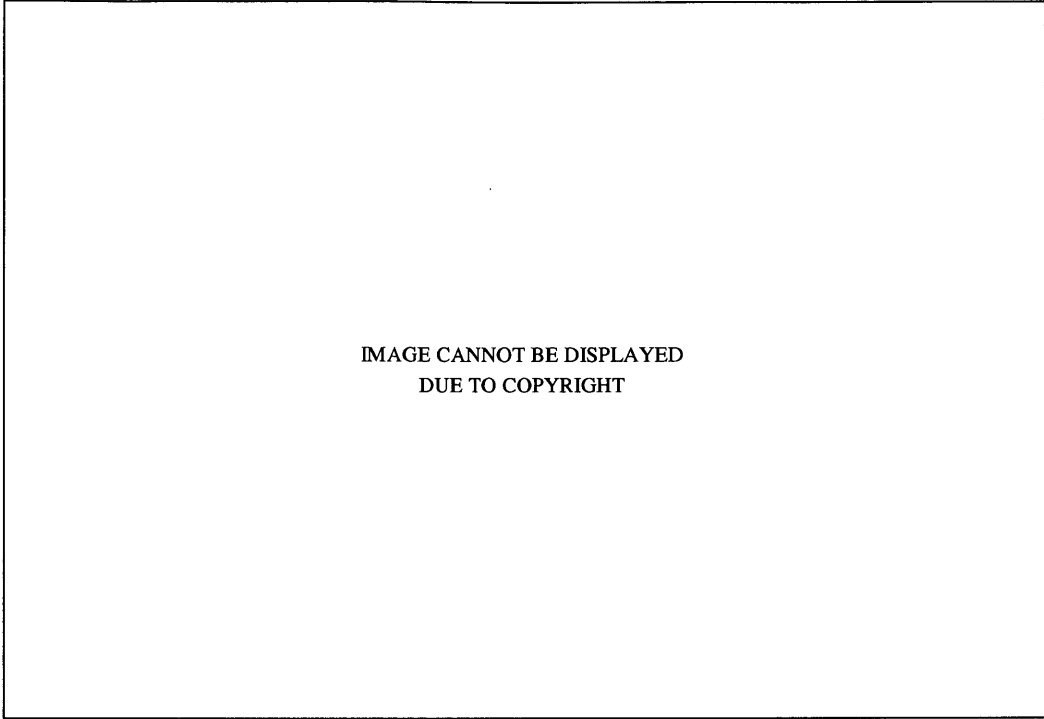


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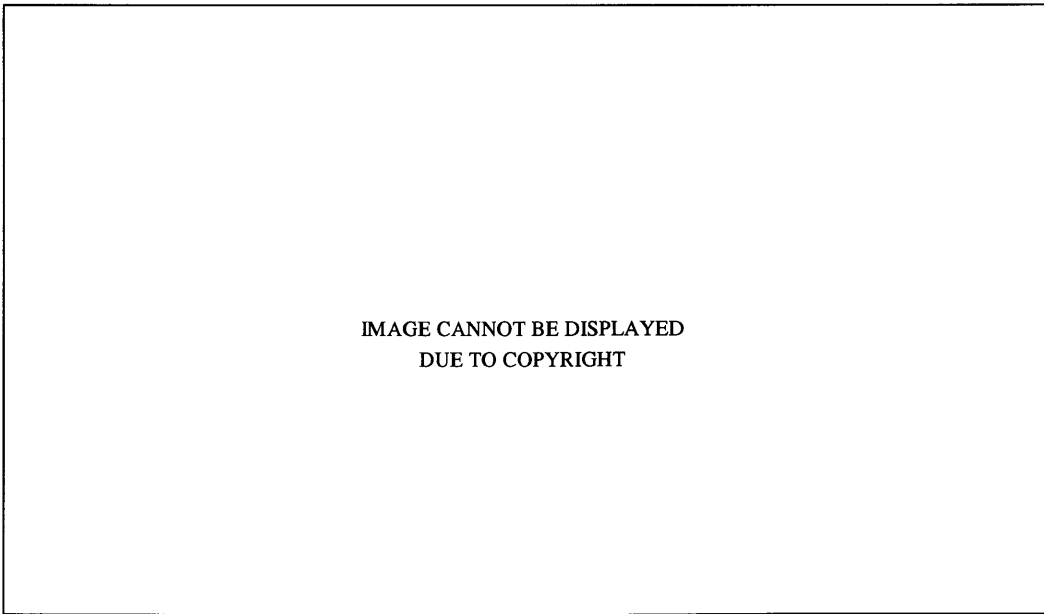


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***Christian Hubert and Michael Graves. Installation.***  
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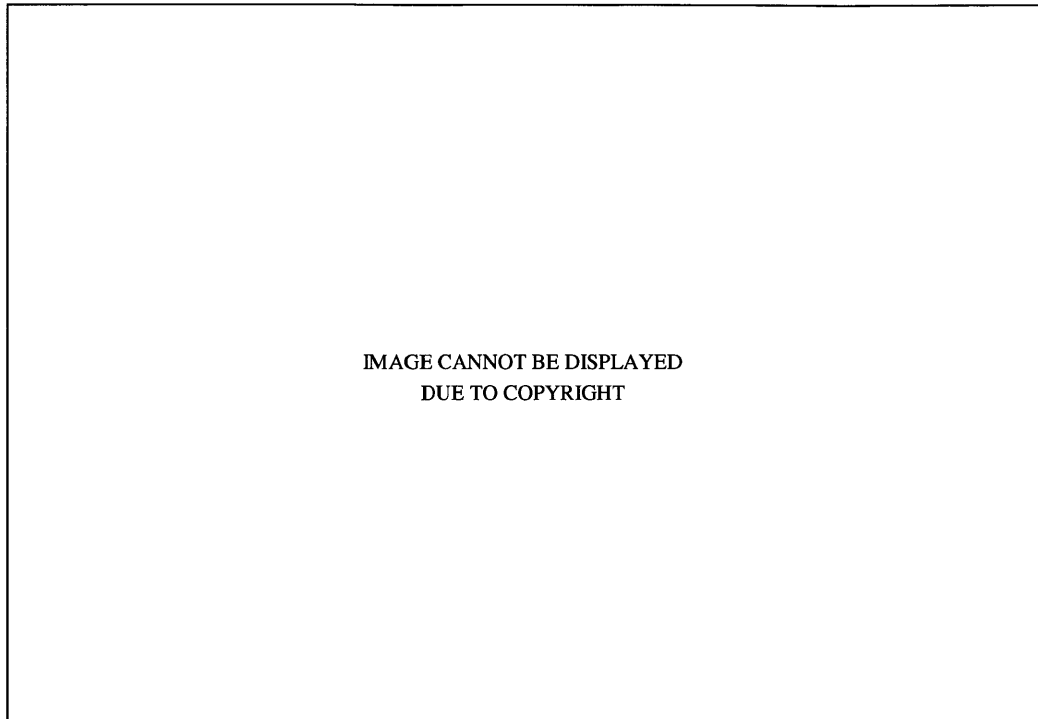




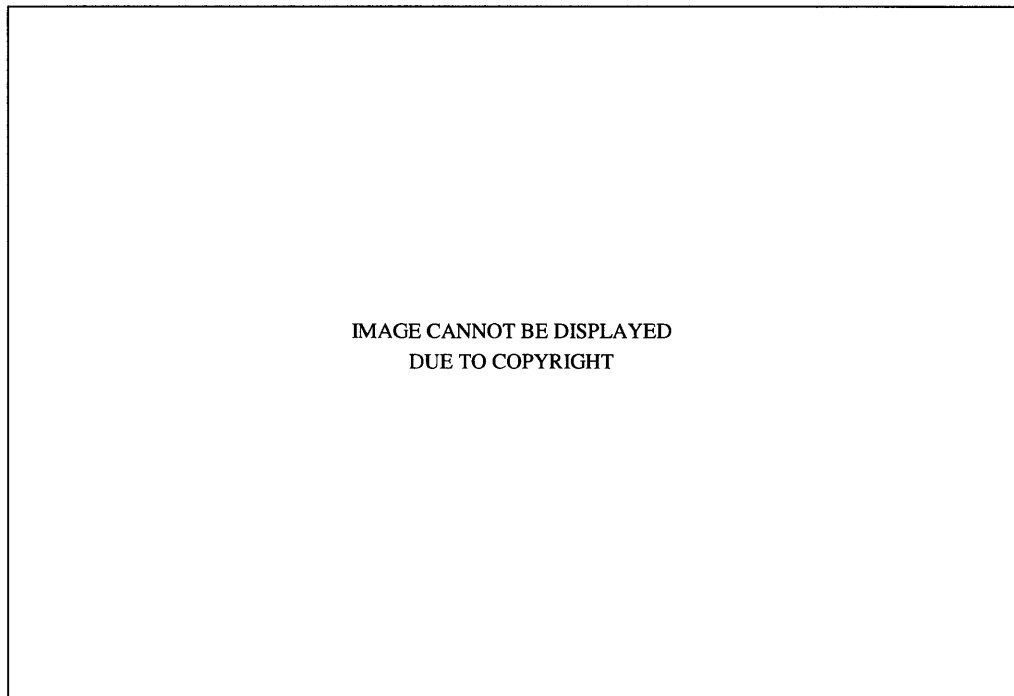
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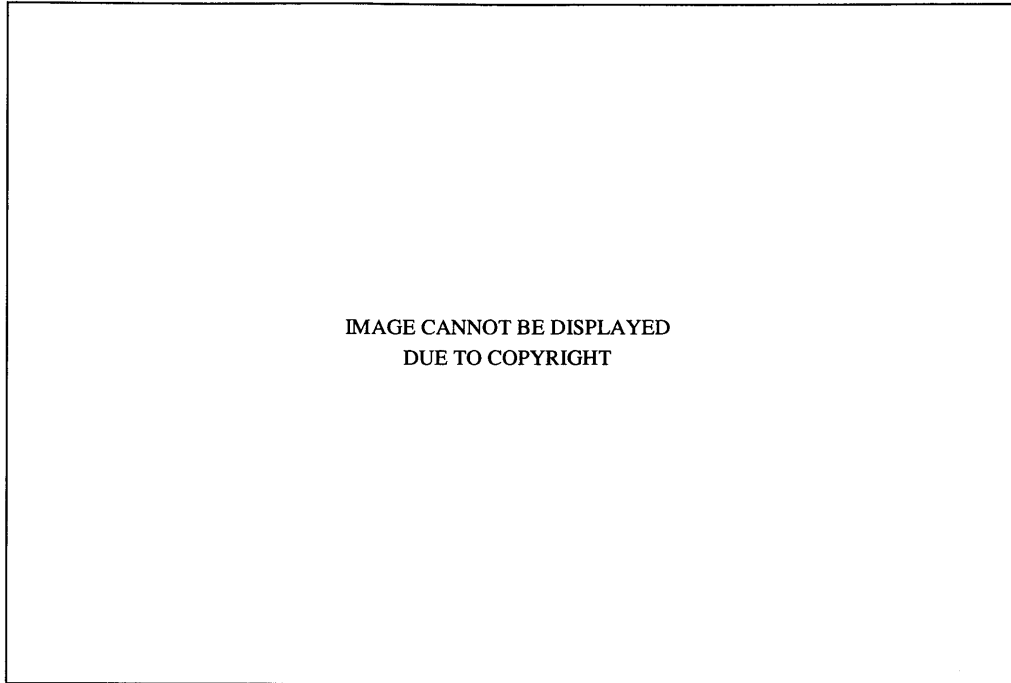
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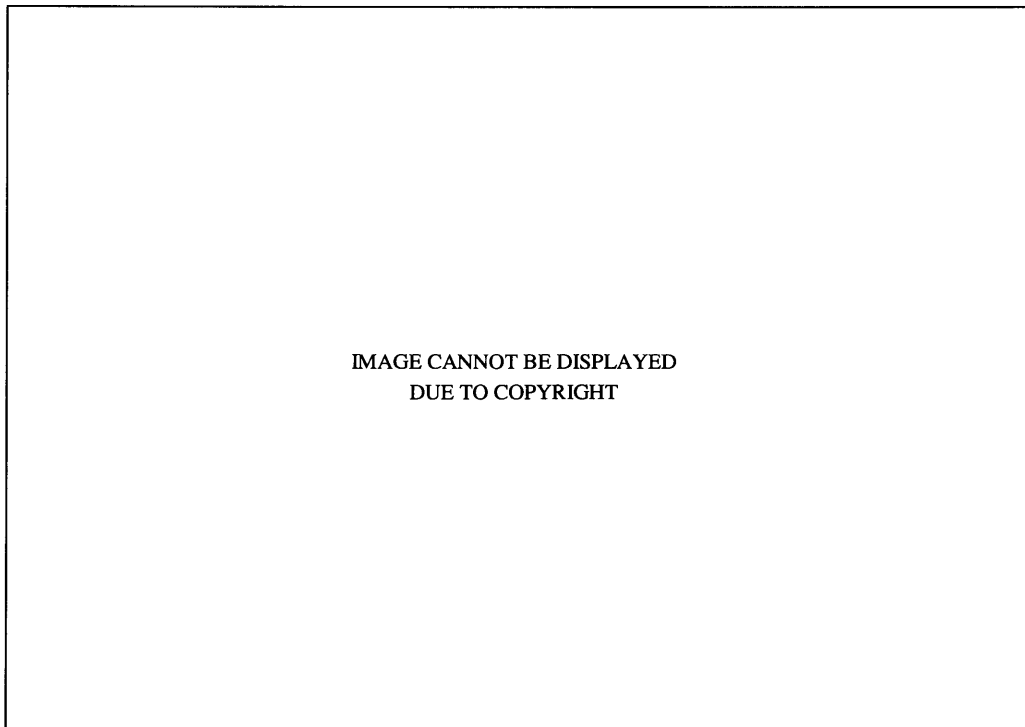
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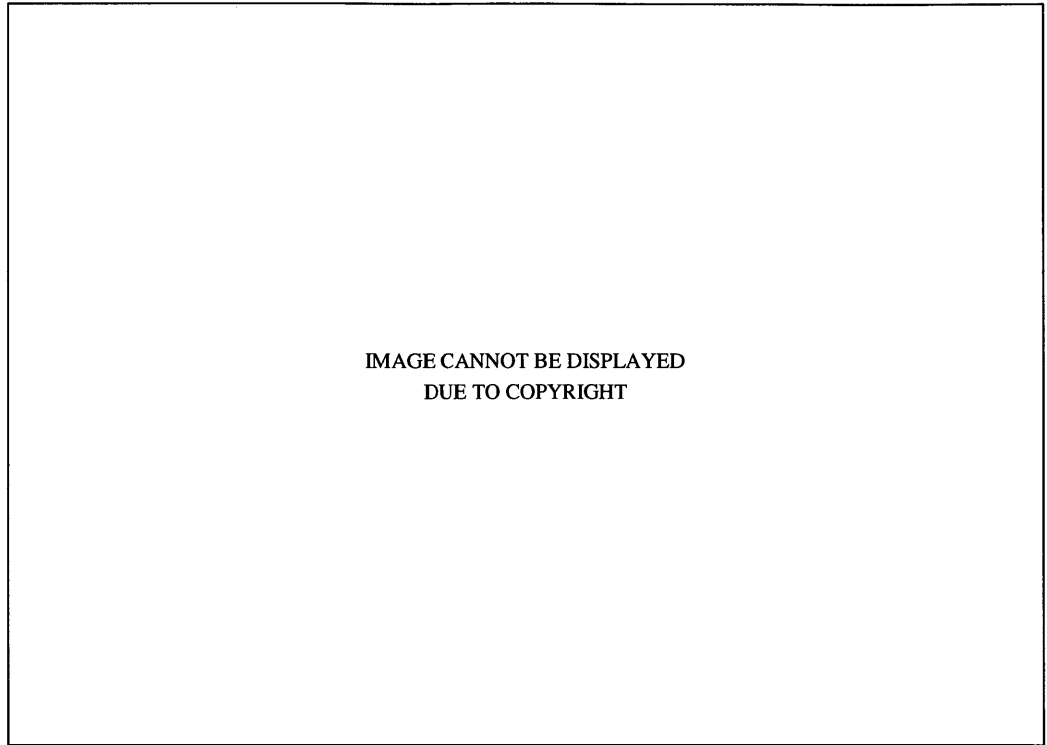
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***Architecture III: Follies, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1983. Machado Silvetti. Installation.***  
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***Architecture III: Follies, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1983. Arata Isozaki and Paul Rudolph. Installation.***  
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***Architecture III: Follies, Leo Castelli Gallery, 1983. Paul Rudolph and Batey & Mack. Installation.***  
Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999. Box 52, Folder 30.  
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## CHAPTER 4

### NORMALIZED PRACTICE: ARCHITECTURE IN THE GALLERIES

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“[Architecture] is in a time of development, not a time of building.”<sup>376</sup>  
—Max Protetch, *New York Times*

“The tendency to view architectural drawings as art objects . . . seems to become ever stronger.”<sup>377</sup>  
—Paul Goldberger, *New York Times*

On the heels of the first Castelli Gallery show, *Architecture I*, art galleries around the world began selling contemporary architectural drawings. In New York, the John Nichols Gallery,<sup>378</sup> the Florence Duhl Gallery, the Rosa Esman Gallery, the Ettinger Gallery, the Prakapas Gallery, the Michael Ingbar Gallery, the Ronald Feldman Gallery, and the Urban Architecture gallery, all held shows that included contemporary architectural drawings. In Chicago, the Richard Gray Gallery, the Ruth Volid Gallery, the Young-Hoffman Gallery, and the Frunkin & Struve Gallery showed them as well. Others included the Marcus Krakow Gallery in Boston, the Moos Art Gallery in Miami, the Carolyn Schneebeck Gallery in Cincinnati, Vesti Fine Arts Gallery and the Zeppelin

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<sup>376</sup> As quoted in John Dreyfuss, “Architecture in Search of a Style,” *Los Angeles Times* (May 7, 1982), H1.

<sup>377</sup> Paul Goldberger, “Architecture: Three Bright Spots,” *New York Times* (February 22, 1985), C24.

<sup>378</sup> John Nichols worked with many architects producing and selling silkscreens. One exhibition held after the Castelli show, mounted at the Architectural Association, was *Moving Arrows and Other Eros: An Architecture of Absence*, Peter Eisenman. Other shows included *Bausman-Gill*, *Reiser/Umemoto*, and *UKZ*. Prints included works by Michael Graves, Richard Meier, Steven Holl, and Frank Gehry, among others.

Gallery in Denver, the Form and Function Gallery in Atlanta, the Philippe Bonnafont Gallery in San Francisco, the Mattingly Baker Gallery and the N. No O Gallery in Dallas. Overseas, the Archivolto Gallery and Gallery Nina Dausset, both in Paris, the Rudolph Kicken Gallery in Cologne, Germany, Galleria Solferino and Galleria Schubert in Milan, the Galleria Apollodoro in Rome, Galerie Jamileh Weber in Zürich, Galerie Kalb in Vienna, the Minami Gallery, the Gato-do Gallery, Gallery Ueda and the GA Gallery in Tokyo,<sup>379</sup> and the Artium Art Gallery in Fukuoka, Japan also held shows.<sup>380</sup> This long list is not exhaustive, but it does demonstrate the considerable interest that the art world was taking in architectural drawings.

Although these galleries showed architectural drawings, many of their exhibitions also included other forms of art or non-architectural drawings. This ever widening practice of side by side presentation reinforced the idea that architectural drawings and the other arts were, indeed, becoming ever closer. While some galleries did have shows that featured only architectural drawings, the number was limited, often to only one or two per venue, interspersed between shows of the art they typically exhibited.

In addition to these, a smaller number of galleries opened to deal solely in contemporary architectural drawings. For example, the Kristen Kiser Gallery opened in Los Angeles, though it proved untenable. The John Nichols Gallery opened in New York and sold silkscreens of drawings for a time.<sup>381</sup> The Manspace Gallery opened in London,

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<sup>379</sup> Isozaki's exhibition with works from 1982-1979 was a limited edition series of silk screens, etchings, mixed media pieces, photographs, and lead reliefs.

<sup>380</sup> This list is not exhaustive. It was compiled by searching through architects' biographies, as well by looking through gallery exhibition lists and individual catalogues, scanning newspaper and magazine events lists, and gathering information from archives.

<sup>381</sup> Attempts to learn about these galleries were initially fruitful. John Nichols's wife, Karen Nichols, is a principal at Michael Graves & Associates. Correspondence was begun in November 2012, though multiple attempts to reestablish contact have failed. Initial contact with Kiser was

but this also proved untenable.<sup>382</sup> Despite the failure that the majority of the galleries encountered in sustaining the sale of these drawings, there were some that were more successful.<sup>383</sup>

This chapter examines the four most successful galleries that opened specifically to show architectural drawings; it has two objectives. The first is to illustrate the tensions that impacted architectural drawings during this period. Architectural drawings fell between and among aesthetic, artistic, architectural, commercial, conceptual, and cultural understandings, and each means of perceiving architectural drawings imparted different outlooks and concerns. The second is to illuminate the diverse trajectories that resulted from each gallery's initial involvement with architectural drawings as art.

The galleries discussed here are the Max Protetch Gallery in New York City, the Galleria Antonia Jannone in Milan, the Aedes: Galerie für Architektur und Raum in

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made in April 2014. The speed at which these correspondences have progressed and the reluctance of Kiser to discuss her gallery in detail makes further description of this gallery unfeasible at this time.

<sup>382</sup> There is a dearth of information on this gallery. It was founded in 1981 by Mary Hawkes. Two exhibitions were held in conjunction with the Building Centre, London and another organized by them was held at the Seven Dials Gallery in Covent Garden. There is an advertisement for it in the Institute for Contemporary Arts, London Archive at the Tate Britain. The exhibitions titled *Between the Lines* and *Yesterday and Tomorrow* were held at this gallery in 1981 and May 1982, respectively. There is also mention in the archives of Sir Ove Arup. Churchill Archives Center, Arup, The Papers of Sir Ove Arup, General and Official Correspondence, ARUP 2, 10q and in the article "Architects Drawing in the Money" *Building* 6 (March 1981): 26.

<sup>383</sup> Another gallery, the 9H Gallery, opened in London in 1985 and displayed the work of contemporary architects through drawings. This gallery was founded by Wilfried Wang, the former director of the Deutsches Architekturmuseum and now a practicing architect in Berlin, and Ricky Burdett, now professor at the London School of Economics, in a space in David Chipperfield's office. Wang and Nadir Tharani, an architect now based in Tanzania, began a magazine titled *9H* in 1979. The gallery was primarily Burdett's idea and was formed as an extension of the magazine. It held roughly five exhibitions of architectural drawings per year. Burdett wanted to sell the drawings to fund the gallery, but Wang was opposed to this. Wang thought it "should be a cultural institution not a commercial institution." Wang insisted that because the gallery was started to present the thought behind a project, "it was anathema . . . to allow a body of work that was constituted by a series of drawings to be taken apart." Wilfried Wang interview with author, June 20, 2012. This gallery became the Architecture Foundation in London, which remains a major cultural and educational institution today.

Berlin, and the Galerie Luce van Rooy in Amsterdam. One parlayed its involvement in architectural drawings into the most successful architectural drawings gallery in the world; one became a cultural institution; two also sold art—one from inception and the other after seven years of sales; and one remained a commercial gallery for architectural drawings until its closure.

### **THE MAX PROTETCH GALLERY**

In 1978, after the Castelli Gallery's first exhibition of architectural drawings but before its second, Max Protetch opened the Max Protetch Gallery in New York, which would become one of the most well known galleries in the world to sell architectural drawings. Within architectural discourse, this is when Protetch's story typically begins because this is when he seriously engaged architects to show in his gallery. But his eponymous gallery only came about after a successful run in Washington, DC. Even then, though, Protetch showed works of artists that focused on architectural themes.

Protetch's first gallery was founded in 1969 when he was studying political science in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.<sup>384</sup> He and fellow graduate student, Harold Rivkin, each raised 1,000 dollars to start it. They did so, Protetch relates, simply because they were bored with their education. However, they were tyros in the art world. They simply knew what kind of art they liked, which was

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<sup>384</sup> The information contained in this section derives from an interview that the author conducted with Max Protetch on February 18, 2013, as well as subsequent extended correspondence. Three other interviews with Max Protetch have previously been published, one by Donna Goodman in 1984 and another by Ned Cramer in 1999, that also cover some of the material discussed here, though some dates in those interviews do not correspond to the actual time of events. An article was written by Janet Abrams in 1985 that includes quotations from Protetch. See Donna Goodman, "Max Protetch," *Interview* 14, no. 4 (1977): 89–92; Ned Cramer, "The Art in Architecture, (Max Protetch Gallery)," *Architecture* 88, no. 11 (November 1, 1999); Janet Abrams, "The Max Factor," *Building Design* (January 18, 1985): 16-18.



minimal and conceptual art, and decided to pursue showing it. Their gallery, the Protetch-Rivkin Gallery, opened at 1034 33rd Street and was one of the first galleries in Washington to show these types of art.

New York City, though, was the established center for the market in minimal and conceptual art. Therefore, to educate themselves about the artists and to develop their connections, Protetch and Rivkin would travel to New York to see shows many times a year. Protetch found it fairly easy to make contacts as, he recalls, “everyone in New York was very generous to a couple of kids in the [then] artistic backwater of DC.”<sup>385</sup> It was through the connections developed in New York that he would build his gallery’s roster. Among the more notable of their exhibitors in this gallery were Andy Warhol, Sol LeWitt, Dan Graham, Joseph Kosuth, and Dan Flavin. They also gave Vito Acconci his first solo show.<sup>386</sup>

This gallery lasted until 1972 when Protetch and Rivkin decided to pursue their own ventures. Protetch opened a new gallery at 2151 P Street, immediately placing himself in the middle of the DC art scene. The gallery was located on the same block as a number of other notable galleries, including Jane Haslem, The Pyramid, The Jefferson Place, The Sign of Jonah, and The Corcoran Workshop. At the time, an assessment of the art scene noted “. . . that one block stretch of P Street between 21st and 22d Streets NW [is]. . . the center of the Washington commercial art scene.”<sup>387</sup> In the six years he was at this location, Protetch developed and cultivated an international reputation in the art world.

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<sup>385</sup> Protetch interview with author, February 18, 2013.

<sup>386</sup> Protetch’s and Rivkin’s political interests influenced the shows. Protetch states that they were interested in emphasizing the political underpinnings in the works of the artists that they showed.

<sup>387</sup> Paul Richard, “Artistic Changes on P Street,” *The Washington Post, Times Herald* (September 23, 1972): B7

Upon deciding it was then time to expand, he launched his first foray into the New York market in the mid 1970s. He opened a small branch of the Max Protetch Gallery at 157 Spring Street in SoHo.<sup>388</sup> Spending this year between Washington and New York proved too much to manage alone, so in 1977 Protetch partnered with Nancy McIntosh, who had been the manager of his DC gallery the year prior.<sup>389</sup> The name of the gallery was then changed to the Protetch-McIntosh Gallery. It was here that Protetch, along with McIntosh, would have his first show that contained architecture.

In January 1979, the Protetch-McIntosh Gallery opened the group show *Art and Architecture: Space and Structure*.<sup>390</sup> No written material survives other than an announcement card. Participants identified in the announcement included Siah Armajani, Alice Aycock, Mel Charney, Peter Eisenman, Jackie Ferrara, Richard Fleischner, Michael Graves, Nancy Holt, Will Insley, Roelof Louw, Mary Miss, Martin Puryear, Massimo Scolari, George Trakas, and Bernard Tschumi.<sup>391</sup> Out of the 15 participants in this exhibition, only five—Charney, Eisenman, Graves, Scolari, and Tschumi—were trained architects. But, all of the contributors produced architectonic objects, which had long been their interest, and many of them would remain on the Protetch Gallery roster for its duration. The result was a transgression of boundaries that normatively separated

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<sup>388</sup> Although Protetch claims not to remember the date of this gallery opening, the first mention of it that this author was able to find is in *Avalanche* 10 (December, 1974). It is not mentioned again in any publication until 1976. See *The Village Voice* (March 15, 1976): 132 or Jo Ann Lewis, “Galleries” *The Washington Post* (November 2, 1976): C5.

<sup>389</sup> Jo Ann Lewis, “Galleries,” *The Washington Post* (July 30 1977): B4.

<sup>390</sup> This show was mounted from January to February 1979.

<sup>391</sup> This information is listed on an announcement card for the exhibition found in the Nancy Drysdale Gallery Records, 1971-1996. Box 1. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The announcement lists Mel Cherney [sic] as a participant. This was actually the Canadian artist and architect, Melvin Charney. Nancy Drysdale’s maiden name was Nancy McIntosh, Protetch’s partner in the Protetch-McIntosh Gallery. When Protetch left the gallery, the gallery changed first to the McIntosh/Drysdale Gallery, and then later to the Nancy Drysdale Gallery.

art and architecture into different realms. This occurred through the display of architecture as art of a more traditional medium (paintings and drawings), while the art that was shown expanded into architecture's realm. The exploration of the ground between art and architecture, where each impinges on the other, is a theme that would influence Protetch for the rest of his career.

The idea to show architecture came to Protetch years earlier through contact with a client, Peter Brant. Brant's successful career as a publishing mogul and developer afforded him the ability to collect art. Though only a novice collector when Protetch first met him, Brant eventually amassed a large collection of over 15,000 works that now form the collection at The Brant Foundation Art Study Center in Greenwich, CT.<sup>392</sup> Among the works Protetch recalls he sold to Brant were a Warhol, a Rauschenberg, and a Reinhardt. When the purchases were made, Protetch hand-delivered them to Brant's house in his old Cadillac hearse.<sup>393</sup>

At the time, Brant was building a house in Greenwich that was designed by Robert Venturi. When Protetch arrived to deliver the works, he vividly remembers the impression the house made on him. He was, he says, completely overwhelmed. This, then, was the defining moment when Protetch's previous passing interest in architecture became more focused. Seeing this building being constructed caused him to reflect on the fact that the architects with whom he was most familiar were not building. Those who

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<sup>392</sup> This center was founded in 2009, and its establishment secures cultural significance for the works in the collection.

<sup>393</sup> Max Protetch's chosen method of transport was an infamous, old 1948 Cadillac hearse named Pearl. With a large hood, oversized grill, and pronounced headlight housings, it exuded taste as much as it signaled irony. It was practical enough to transport art and ironic enough to be fun. Not many art dealers would have dared pronounce the death of their art while transporting it to be shown and sold, often for the first time. This is also the car he would use to transport art from New York to Washington.

came to mind were younger architects. That younger architects did not build was something he only later realized was endemic within architectural practice. Although he would not have the opportunity to show architectural drawings until 1979, Protetch is emphatic that this event in 1972 was his inspiration to do so.<sup>394</sup> It was, for him, a moment of architectural and artistic clarity.

There were, undoubtedly, additional influences that steered Protetch in this direction. For example, he had more than a passing familiarity with Leo Castelli. Protetch's oldest half brother had a medical practice on East 77 Street, next door to the Castelli Gallery. Once Protetch's gallery in Washington, DC was established, he frequently attended Castelli's shows when he was in New York. This was, he relates, sometimes as often as every two weeks, depending on the exhibition rotation. They eventually developed a working relationship. Castelli would loan Protetch individual works of his artists to show in DC; sometimes he would lend Protetch entire shows. Given the nature of connection, Protetch certainly would have been familiar with the first architecture show that Castelli mounted in 1977.<sup>395</sup>

It was within one year after *Architecture I* that Protetch left his gallery in Washington and moved to New York to concentrate full time on his gallery there and, he

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<sup>394</sup> Protetch interview with author.

<sup>395</sup> Protetch was also likely at the second Castelli show of architectural drawings. The handwritten list of Leo Castelli's personal guests to *Architecture II* still survives. The list is written on six pages of four-inch by eight-inch notebook paper. The first entry on the "Leo's Comps" list of those given free admission reads, "1 – Max Protetch", with the number indicating how many people were in the party. See Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, circa 1880-2000, bulk 1957-1999, Box 41 Folder 56 "Architecture II – Administrative Paperwork." Protetch also knew Frederieke Taylor, (see Chapter 2) who at the time was working for Eisenman at the IAUS, and who also had a connection with MoMA. Taylor today owns a gallery devoted to architectural representations. Although Taylor's gallery did not open until well after Protetch's was established, it is likely that she got the idea from Protetch.

says, “to enter the big time.”<sup>396</sup> He decided to open a new gallery, one that was expressly committed to showing both architecture and art.

Before opening this gallery, though, he spent more than a full year meeting every Monday with Peter Eisenman, then executive director of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), and John Hejduk, then professor of architecture and recently appointed Dean of the School of Architecture at Cooper Union. The focus of these meetings was to resolve two issues. The first was simply to determine what to show. The second was to decide what a gallery that showed architectural drawings could and should be. Hejduk and Eisenman were both very encouraging and willingly offered their advice. They suggested that Protetch “create a center for intellectual discourse, like the Institute [for Architecture and Urban Studies], but commercial.”<sup>397</sup> The idea was to create a setting where critical discourses could take place, which could also serve as a venue for the sale of works.

After having exhaustively discussed the issues with Eisenman and Hejduk, Protetch opened his new gallery at 37 West 57 Street in 1978. The inaugural show featured the works of Michael Graves. Eisenman and Hejduk were understandably surprised and disappointed, but it proved to be a smart decision by Protetch since almost everything in the show sold. Works that were displayed included drawings for the Kalko House, the Plocek House, a façade for a townhouse at 17 East 65 Street owned by French & Company, a house in Aspen, CO, the Fargo-Moorhead Cultural Center—a bridge intended to span between Fargo, ND and Moorhead, MN—as well as furniture and rug

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<sup>396</sup> Protetch interview with author.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*

designs.<sup>398</sup> The exhibition was reviewed in the *New York Times*, once again by Ada Louise Huxtable and Paul Goldberger. While Goldberger's review principally recounted the works in the exhibition,<sup>399</sup> Huxtable's commentary was more insightful.<sup>400</sup> For her, the exhibition represented a breakthrough by showing a hybrid art and pushing new frontiers that engaged simultaneously with architecture and art. She said that Graves' architectural drawings and his art formed a field where architecture and the visual arts met. She also emphasized Graves' use of color.<sup>401</sup> She concluded with a statement that revealed her developing understanding of architectural drawings as autonomous art objects. She expressed that "[t]he drawings are elegant artifacts in themselves", and continued by underscoring the difference between drawings and buildings. "But something happens in the translation of the picture plane to the real world, and there are executed works that simply do not read the same way as they do on paper; the refined intelligence can turn into something fussy and obscure."<sup>402</sup>

Though Protetch neglected to include Eisenman and Hejduk in his first exhibition, he would represent both of them. Eisenman, though, has the dubious honor of being the only person that Protetch kicked off of his roster.<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> This list is compiled from the review written by Paul Goldberger, "Architecture: Works of Michael Graves," *The New York Times* (May 11, 1979): C20.

<sup>399</sup> In the review, he makes a number of important assertions. He posits that this exhibition marks the end of Graves's involvement in the New York Five group of architects, as this exhibition makes evident that his project has changed from an architecture of abstraction to one of accessibility. The exhibition has also, he states, made Graves an architect of major stature.

<sup>400</sup> Ada Louise Huxtable, "A Unified New Language of Design," *The New York Times* (May 27, 1979): D25, D37.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.* She states that even his early white houses were not meant to be left unpainted.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>403</sup> Max Protetch described his relationship with Eisenman in his interview with the author: "I actually supported Peter—I gave him a stipend, which is ridiculous. And then we ended up beginning to sell his drawings to Phyllis [Lambert, of the Canadian Centre for Architecture]. I ended up kicking him out of the gallery, because he was such a pain in the ass. He was completely impossible. Not in his business practices. . . . Peter is, as you know, very funny and

In 1987, Protetch moved to his second and last main gallery located at 560 Broadway.<sup>404</sup> It was situated in a former sweatshop that had become a fashionable building for art dealers at the time. Protetch bought 6,000 square feet of space in the building, and along with his assistant, Elias Moser, renovated the space. The gallery had sufficient area to mount more than one exhibition at a time. It opened with two; one was devoted to the art of Scott Burton, while the other was devoted to architecture of James Wines.<sup>405</sup> Through their content, these exhibitions re-expressed the commitment of the gallery to both art and architecture. When one entered the gallery in the middle of the display spaces, to the right were the art and sculpture pieces, and to the left were the architectural works.

The renovations also included a private viewing room specifically for architectural drawings. As Michael Kimmelman described it during his visit, “The most elaborate and interesting part of Mr. Protetch’s place is the private architectural drawing room, with its inset lights, wood shelves and viewing stands, all modeled roughly after Frank Lloyd Wright’s design for the Spaulding Gallery in Boston. The stained wood

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extremely bright. And he would always call up the gallery and pretend that he was someone with these weird accents. Then one day one of my employees said—Hey Max, there’s some real jerk with a thick accent on the phone. I think it’s Peter doing his number again. And I had my Frank Lloyd Wright show up. And he said ‘Hello, Mr. Protetch—I want to buy Frank Lloyd Wright and Mies van der Rohe and if you have Corbusier, Corbusier. I have my plane here and I can be over shortly.’ I said, ‘Well why don’t you just take your plane and stick it up your ass.’ Because I thought it was Peter. And a little later in the day, I called his office, and they said, ‘Oh. He’s in Japan.’ And he wouldn’t have been calling at that hour because of the time difference. I never forgave him.”

<sup>404</sup> By 1988, Protetch had also opened a branch called the Max Protetch Gallery Warehouse at 124 Lafayette Street. There was an exhibit at this location coinciding with the 1988 AIA convention titled *New York Architecture*. Another architectural exhibition was held at this location in 1988 entitled *Grand Projet: Paris 1979-1989*. Other galleries that also held shows coinciding with the AIA convention were the Arsenal Gallery, the Paine Webber Art Gallery, the Twining Gallery, the Hoya Crystal Gallery, and the New York Space of Frederick Gallery. It is not known whether the works these galleries showed were for sale.

<sup>405</sup> In 1988, Protetch also mounted exhibitions of the work of Charles Moore and Jackie Ferrara at the same time.

panels and shelves go up halfway toward the high ceiling. The upper part of the walls is painted white and illuminated through the interior windows by a gentle, natural light. The feeling is of standing in a spacious yet intimate space.”<sup>406</sup> The addition of this room, as well as the care put into its design, emphasizes the singular importance of architectural drawing for this gallery. Protetch created a room for architectural drawings reminiscent of the rare book rooms of the most accomplished booksellers,<sup>407</sup> only here the significant artifacts were architectural drawings.

Protetch held over 100 exhibitions of architectural drawings during the tenure of his New York galleries.<sup>408</sup> He averaged five exhibitions per year through 1989, held two in 1990, and then averaged one per year until he sold the gallery—the entire gallery—to Edwin Meulenstein in 2009. During this time, Protetch had ties to MoMA.<sup>409</sup> He also held exhibitions coordinated with the IAUS on Aldo Rossi (1979) and John Hejduk (1980). *Aldo Rossi: Architectural Projects* was held at the same time as the IAUS’ *Aldo Rossi in America*; Protetch’s exhibition, *The Works of John Hejduk*, dealing with Hejduk’s work in the 1960s and 70s, occurred at the same time as *John Hejduk: Seven Houses*, which was about projects between 1954-1962. Another exhibition on Massimo Scolari in 1980, and one on OMA in 1982, was loaned to the IAUS after its tenure at Protetch’s gallery. By the early 1980s, Protetch had already made a name for himself where architectural drawings were concerned. Nicholas Olsberg, founding head of the Archives of the History of Art at the Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities,

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<sup>406</sup>Michael Kimmelman, “Architecture: Protetch’s New Look,” *The New York Times* (October 2, 1987), C32.

<sup>407</sup> See, for instance, the Addendum and Ben Weinreb Architectural Books.

<sup>408</sup> See Appendix for a list of Protetch’s exhibitions.

<sup>409</sup> For example, Arthur Drexler wrote the introduction to Max Protetch’s catalogue for Ezra Stoller Photographs in 1979.



believed that what was happening at the Max Protetch Gallery was a phenomenon of possible historical significance. He asked for and was granted funds to document some of the shows. The results are archives at the Getty Research Institute that document the works on display (not installation photographs) at shows of Wright in 1985, Bofill, Tschumi, and Isozaki in 1986, Zaha Hadid and Buckminster Fuller in 1987, and Hejduk in 1988.

Protetch is best remembered in architecture circles for his promotion of architecture, but, even at their most frequent occurrences, architectural shows comprised only about 50 percent of his exhibitions. He is also often thought to have promoted architecture as art, though Protetch states that his intent was never to promote architecture as such.<sup>410</sup> Although he sold drawings, he states that this was because important architects at the time were drawing and writing, not building. For him, it was fortunate that he could show the drawings and sell them. But, he never thought of the architectural drawings as art. To him, their value resided in the ideas they represented. His interest was to have art and architecture communicate, not to have architecture become perceived as art. As he describes it now,

“I thought it was very important that they speak to one another. And I couldn’t understand how my art clients could live in such architecturally horrible surroundings and be so bright and have such great collections. They were just completely oblivious. The two worlds were just completely oblivious of each other. And I began—the question was always what were the similarities, the differences, and the questions that you were asking and the answer for me was very clear that they were coming out of two very different histories and structures. And they were both speaking to that history. Artists were trying to advance their positions in terms of art history and the architects were trying to in terms of architectural history.”<sup>411</sup>

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<sup>410</sup> Protetch interview with author.

<sup>411</sup> Protetch interview with author.

Nor did he see commercializing architecture through the creation of a retail store to be his goal. “I had a lot of pressure to go with my success in architecture or even to do a Murray Moss—commercialize it—and I thought it was very important that I not become an architecture gallery, but that I show art and bring the two communities together. I thought that was my purpose in doing this. And I hope that that was my legacy.”<sup>412</sup>

But Protetch’s shows did, in fact, lead to architectural drawings being perceived as art. He too recognizes this and believes that they became seen as art in everyone else’s mind because they became collectible. While Protetch places the emphasis on other’s perceptions of the works, a number of his own decisions influenced this trend. First, when he moved into the realm of showing architectural drawings, he was already known as an art dealer. Although his intent might have been to expand into another area, the decision to incorporate architectural drawings into his shows could be easily construed as an attempt to draw architectural drawings into the realm of art. Since much of the art he displayed was architectonic—such as the works of Scott Burton, Siah Armajani, and Alice Aycock, each of whom had multiple shows at his gallery—the lines between the two were already blurred even before architectural drawings appeared in his gallery. His means of display were also significant in terms of influencing perception. Architectural drawings were always shown framed, matted and behind glass. They were invested, through the techniques of framing, with art status from the outset.<sup>413</sup>

Another indication of this shift in understanding architectural drawings as art can be seen in the way architects thought about the work they were going to show. At the beginning, Protetch observed that architects primarily viewed a show as a means to

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<sup>412</sup> Protetch interview with author.

<sup>413</sup> It is ironic that the art of which he was interested was art that was not able to be shown using this normative means of display.

disseminate their ideas about architecture. Interestingly, Protetch still remembers these early shows as being his best exhibitions. Typically retrospective in character, they gave the architects an opportunity to present work that had already been completed. As time progressed, though, he found that architects began “speaking like artists and insisting on doing a show,” by which Protetch meant that the architects began to prepare works specifically for show. “It was every one, right from Graves, through Isozaki, Zaha, and Rem.”<sup>414</sup> They would formulate and curate their work while they produced it. For shows, they would often take pages straight from their notebooks. The architects were beginning to think of their productions as art.

Although he initially showed only contemporary drawings, he quickly moved to include more historical works. Protetch believed that selling architectural drawings that were already imbued with historical meaning was the only way to ensure that his venture was profitable. He maintains that he made no profit showing contemporary works, and that more revenue was generated from works of the more famous Modern architects. This was, presumably, because their place in history had already been established. He quickly attained holdings of Louis Kahn, Buckminster Fuller, and Mies van der Rohe. He also came to represent the estates of Frank Lloyd Wright and Erik Gunner Asplund<sup>415</sup> and brokered the sales of the entire estates of Luis Barragán and Aldo Rossi. His clients

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<sup>414</sup> Protetch interview with author.

<sup>415</sup> The story of this acquisition was discussed with Ned Cramer in his interview with Protetch, “The Art in Architecture”. As Protetch relates in that interview, “One day I got a call from a man named Hans Asplund. I got on the phone and said, ‘You aren’t by chance related to Erik Gunnar Asplund?’ ‘I’m his son. I was wondering if you were interested in any of my father’s work.’ ‘Very interested.’ ‘Maybe we can sell some of the drawings.’ And I said, ‘Great. But I thought they were in the collection of the Swedish Architecture museum.’ ‘They are, but they are not owned by them.’”

ranged from individuals with a passing interest in architectural drawings to museums and institutions.

Protetch's largest, and most controversial, foray into historical architectural drawings and archives was his involvement with the estate of Frank Lloyd Wright. At the time he initially got involved with Wright's work, Protetch was only beginning to parlay his successes in showing contemporary architects into representing other important, earlier architects. Wright was the first non-living architect he represented. Prior to securing the estate, he had heard a story from one of the artists on his roster, David Reed, about Reed's uncle, Oral Philius (O.P.) Reed, relating to the Wright family.

O.P. Reed was an expressionist dealer in Los Angeles who had sold works to the Rivkin Collection and to the art dealer Felix Landau. As David Reed told the story to Protetch, when O.P. Reed and his (O.P.'s) brother were young, they rented a car and drove from Los Angeles to Taliesin for one of their sixteenth birthdays. When they arrived, Wes Peters, Wright's son-in-law, stopped them at the gate and denied them access. Luckily, Wright himself was walking past just at this moment and told Peters to let them in. They spent the afternoon together, and ended up becoming life-long friends. O.P. Reed's brother eventually studied architecture with Wright, and designed a house for O.P. Reed in the Malibu hills. O.P. Reed, having later become an art dealer, sold some of Wright's collection of Japanese prints after he died to raise money for Mrs. Wright.

Armed with this story, and the hope it would help open a dialogue with Mrs. Wright, Protetch planned to approach her at Taliesin about selling some of her late husband's work. Protetch also knew that Taliesin had ongoing issues with funding, and

that they needed money to maintain the archive and the buildings. So, in 1981, he called Taliesin and spoke with the treasurer, Dick Carney, about the possibility of selling some of Wright's drawings in order to raise the necessary funds. Carney was open to the idea, but needed to speak with Mrs. Wright.

Carney called Protetch back and informed him Mrs. Wright agreed to a meeting. After receiving this call, in his excitement, he informed one of his employees, a young Swiss man named Elias Mozer, that he was traveling to Taliesin and might get the Wright estate. The exchange, as Protetch relates it, went like this:

Protetch: *Excited* Elias!

Mozer: What are you so happy about?

P: I'm going out to Taliesin. I might get the Frank Lloyd Wright estate!

M: Oh – if you go, say hello to Olgivanna for me.

P: *Incredulous* Where in the hell do you get off calling her by her first name?! People who have been there for 30 years call her Mrs. Wright.

M: *A bit shocked, but with indifference* Well, I always called her Olgivanna when they stayed with us in Zürich. My father was born at Taliesin and Frank Lloyd Wright was his godfather. I've known her all my life.

Protetch would later discover that Mozer was a fourth generation architect whose grandfather also had worked for Wright and Mies van der Rohe.

Protetch arrived at Taliesin, prepared to share the story about O.P. Reed with Mrs. Wright. He said he was extremely nervous, having heard that she was very hard-of-hearing and could no longer see very well. He had a bad feeling she was going to be able to sense his tension and react negatively.

When he was shown to her quarters, though, he felt an instant calmness. "It smelled like my old Russian Aunt Yeda's house," he said.<sup>416</sup> Now more composed, he thought that a more personal connection would be more effective than his shaky link to

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<sup>416</sup> Interview with author. Also stated in his interview with Cramer.

Reed and simply told her that his friend, Elias Mozer, asked him to say hello. Her demeanor brightened as she replied, “Oh! – How is little Elias!” [Pronounced “Eeeelias,” Protetch imitated] To which Protetch quipped, “Well, he’s not so little anymore!” Immediately, the two felt at ease with each other. It was at that moment, Protetch thinks, that the estate was his. During their meeting, it was agreed that Protetch would have exclusive rights to sell the drawings from the archive for five years.<sup>417</sup>

The first exhibition of Wright’s works was mounted in 1983. From September 16 to October 16, 113 works from the collection were shown in the exhibition titled *Frank Lloyd Wright: Drawings, 1893-1959*. It was one of the few exhibitions held at the Max Protetch Gallery to have a catalogue. Although it was produced without illustrations, the catalogue did provide extensive descriptions of each work. It also illuminated the exhibition’s significance by noting:

Nearly a quarter century has gone by since the last major exhibition of original drawings from the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. There have been some lesser exhibitions in museums and galleries, often pursuant to the sale of drawings. Since none of the drawings in those exhibitions of sales have been authenticated by the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, there is, unfortunately, no way of accurately determining their value or quality.

The exhibition at the Max Protetch Gallery contains material drawn exclusively from the archives of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation. The purpose of this exhibition is to sell a limited number of drawings in order to establish an endowment fund for the Frank Lloyd Wright School of Architecture and for the preservation of Taliesin, at Spring Green, Wisconsin. . . . The sale of these drawings is a sacrifice that we of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation are willing to make in order that this unique monument in architecture may be preserved forever and that his principles may continue to be taught.

There are two categories of drawings in this exhibition: conceptual studies, sometimes called preliminary studies, and presentation drawings, those dramatic and lovely colored renderings which were prepared for his clients. . . .

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<sup>417</sup> Related in Ellen Posner, “Selling Frank Lloyd Wright, the Wrong Way,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 1985.

Inks, graphite, colored pencil, China ink, and watercolor, on trace paper, tan paper, and art paper, were included.<sup>418</sup> Preliminary sketches and presentation drawings were also incorporated. Drawings with Wright's red square insignia were featured, as were drawings with notes on the reverse side written by Henry Russell Hitchcock.<sup>419</sup> The catalogue was highly detailed, with an introduction about Wright, as well as descriptions of the drawings and the works they represented. Prices began at 4,500 dollars. One of the Frank Lloyd Wright drawings sold from this show broke all records at the time for architectural drawings—it sold for 200,000 dollars.

It was this exhibition and sale, more than any other, which exposed many of the tensions that could arise from having a gallery sale of architectural drawings with historical significance, when a largely intact archive still exists. According to some, the exhibition was a great success, while for others it was a tragic outcome illustrative of the

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<sup>418</sup> These included drawings from many projects: William H. Winslow Stables, 1893 (1 drawing); Wolf Lake Amusement Park, 1895 (6 drawings); Isadore Heller House, 1896 (1 drawing); The House Beautiful, 1896 (1 drawing); Cheltenham Beach Resort, 1899 (1 drawing); Victor Metzger House, 1901 (2 drawings); Larkin Company Administration Building, 1903 (18 drawings); H. J. Ullman House, 1904 (1 drawing); Thomas Hardy House, 1905 (6 drawings); Cinema San Diego, 1905 (1 drawing); Peter A. Beach House, 1906 (2 drawings); Remodeled House for C. Thaxter Shaw, 1906 (2 drawings); Unity Temple, 1904 (2 drawings); Frederick C. Robie House, 1907 (1 drawing); Press Building, San Francisco, CA, 1912 (2 drawings); Midway Gardens, 1913 (1 drawing); Imperial Hotel, 1913-22 (26 drawings); The Little Dipper, Kindergarten for Aline Barnsdall, 1921 (3 drawings); Gordon Strong Automobile Objective and Planetarium, 1924 (1 drawing); Kindersymphonies, Playhouses for the Oak Park Playground Association, 1926 (3 drawings); St. Mark's Tower, New York, 1929 (3 drawings); George Sturges House, 1939 (4 drawings); John Nesbitt House, 1940 (2 drawings); The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1943-59 (11 drawings); Laboratory Research Tower for the S.C. Johnson & Son Company, 1944 (4 drawings); V. C. Morris House, 1945 (1 drawing); The Rogers Lacey Hotel, 1946 (2 drawings); John Gillan House, 1950 (1 drawing); Masieri Memorial, 1953 (1 drawing); Taliesin Living Room Rug, originally designed for Max Hoffman, Rye, NY, 1957 (1 drawing); The Living City, 1958 (1 drawing); Marin County Fair Pavilion, 1959 (1 drawing).

<sup>419</sup> One of these was the drawing for the William H. Winslow Stables, on the reverse of which was written the title with the initials 'HRH.' How these notes came to be on the drawings is explained in the catalogue. After the 1940 exhibition of Wright's work at MoMA, Henry Russell Hitchcock went to Taliesin to research the publication of a catalogue of Wright's work, which was published as *In the Nature of Materials*. During the research for this show, Hitchcock took notes on the backs of the drawings, especially on ones that were untitled.

disregard for completeness being manifested in this new market for architectural drawings. Among those who considered it a success were, of course, the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation and Max Protetch. As of April 1984, with some works still unsold, the show had already generated over 2 million dollars for the foundation.<sup>420</sup>

Museum officials and architectural historians, however, were incensed at the breakup of the archive of perhaps America's greatest twentieth-century architect. They saw the Foundation as failing in its mission to preserve these works. The Foundation tried to assuage the critics by disclosing that the only drawings sold were works with close copies of other works in the archives. Detractors fired back that no two drawings are precisely alike, and that all drawings have the potential to reveal something new. Protetch contended that he documented all his drawings in quadruplicate, and the Foundation argued that most scholars who visited the archives were only allowed to look at photographs of the drawings anyway.

Prior to this sale, the Foundation had been very protective of the Wright works and reputation and this, coupled with a general distrust of academics whose work they could not control, led to a curtailing of access to the archive. Some, like an unnamed professor who was speaking with Michael Kimmelman,<sup>421</sup> saw the Foundation as negatively affecting the reputation of Frank Lloyd Wright by keeping the archive so inaccessible. At the time, the Foundation charged an exorbitant price of 250 dollars per day just to look at drawings and 350 dollars per day to look at letters. If the Foundation's

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<sup>420</sup> Stated in Vivien Raynor, "Art: Wright Drawings again Offered to Public," *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, January 25, 1985. Also stated in Ellen Posner, "Selling Frank Lloyd Wright, the Wrong Way," *Wall Street Journal*, February 5, 1985.

<sup>421</sup> This professor stated, "If it weren't for Taliesin, Wright might well have been widely recognized as the greatest artist of this century." Michael Kimmelman, "The Frank Lloyd Wright Estate Controversy," *Art News* 83 (April 1984); 102.



attitude toward the archive was changing, as it appeared to be, especially after the Protetch gallery show, then many academics, museum officials, and researchers wanted it to be more accessible, not less.

Museums were particularly enraged for this reason. To them, Frank Lloyd Wright's work was of utmost cultural importance and should, they argued, be preserved for public viewing. A gallery allows individuals and institutions the opportunity to purchase readily any work they liked, regardless of its significance to other works in an architect's oeuvre. But, museums are often restricted in acquiring works by lengthy fundraising processes. This effectively meant that museums were shut out of the market, and almost insured that most of the drawings would end up in private hands.

Both Arthur Drexler and Elaine Dee, curators of drawings at the Cooper-Hewitt, were outspoken against this sale. Drexler asked Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, the director of the Taliesin archives, under the pretext of preserving the archive, to allow museums the opportunity to buy works before they went to the open market. In response, Pfeiffer rebuffed Drexler, stating that he was trying to bypass Protetch and that he (Drexler) would not have a problem with the sale if the archive were broken up for MoMA, rather than for individuals.

Several galleries were unhappy that Protetch was chosen to sell the works. Gallery director Scott Elliot, of the Kemscott Gallery in Chicago, relayed that he had been selling material by Wright for the previous five years, albeit work whose provenance was not certain.<sup>422</sup> He was disappointed that, at the recommendation of O.P. Reed, Pfeiffer chose Protetch to sell Wright's works instead of him. He was also shocked

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<sup>422</sup> Only works that went through the Taliesin archives were concretely attributed to Wright. It was the firm attribution of the works that made them so valuable to collectors and connoisseurs.

that Protetch could charge such high prices, where he could only get a fraction of what Protetch could achieve. For instance, Protetch sold one work, drawn by one of Wright's assistants for the C. Thaxter Shaw House, for 30,000 dollars. Elliot claims to have sold similar works for only 3,500 dollars. This may be because Elliot, unlike Protetch, lacked the backing of Taliesin; only with Taliesin's backing could a work officially be attributed to Frank Lloyd Wright.

In the end, Mrs. Wright reminded all parties that this was a private collection that she was under no obligation to submit to anyone else's desires. She reiterated that Wright told her that he was giving her his archive so that she could sell some when she needed money. She informed everyone that ". . . [B]eyond these 100, there will be more drawings sold as time goes on."<sup>423</sup> So, the drawings were sold at the Max Protetch Gallery.<sup>424</sup>

In 1985, Protetch held another exhibition of Frank Lloyd Wright drawings. Thirty eight drawings were hung, and others were kept on shelves in a room where Murray Grigor's film *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright* was screened twice daily. Works included three color studies for Fallingwater, the sale of which had to be approved by the board. Drawings for Unity Temple, a proposed State Capitol for Arizona, a house for Stanley Marcus in Dallas, a suspension bridge intended for Pittsburgh, a 1924 Chicago Skyscraper, and the Cudney House, were also part of this show.<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> As stated in Michael Kimmelman, "The Frank Lloyd Wright Estate Controversy," *Art News* 83 (April 1984); 105.

<sup>424</sup> Following the success of the Protetch shows, Christie's tried to auction two Wright drawings, both of which failed to sell. Taliesin did not verify the authenticity of these drawings, which is the likely reason for this failure. The drawings were two lots within a series of auctions that Christie's conducted with Frank Lloyd Wright's works.

<sup>425</sup> Only one article in reviewing the work on display recognized that not all of the works were in Wright's hand. It states, "Sometimes it is unclear whether a drawing was worked on by Wright or

The critiques of this show were similar. As Ellen Posner related in her review, it seemed unfathomable that Taliesin would continue to sell Wright's drawings. The first exhibition, she remarked, did not live up to its promise.<sup>426</sup> No money had yet been spent to restore Taliesin. Paul Goldberger agreed with the critical assessments of the show, but offered further insight.<sup>427</sup> Although he did mention the controversy in selling Wright's works, he focused more on an assessment of the show itself. Goldberger took note of the means of display. In Protetch's exhibition, he noted, more than in others that were mounted at that time, ". . . drawings are actively presented, not to say marketed, as art objects, not as indicators of the process of design."<sup>428</sup> One concurrent exhibition Goldberger was referencing was at the Italian Cultural Institute on the work of Carlo Scarpa. Another was at International Contract Furnishings, Inc., a designer furniture source, and featured Mario Botta as its subject. Scarpa's drawings, being at a cultural venue, were displayed as evidence of his process. Although he was undecided about the Botta drawings—he saw them as both art and process—Goldberger was emphatic that, more than the others, Protetch's exhibition presented the drawings fully as art objects, as objects in themselves.<sup>429</sup>

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his apprentices, but esthetically it is unimportant, for the skill and delicacy is uniform, especially in the use of closely packed ruled lines in colored pencil to denote mass. One of these was a drawing for the Cheltenham Beach Resort that contains the name of the delineator: Charles Corwin in the lower right corner." That the writer of this review decided that this was unimportant because it was aesthetically close to Wright's work indicates that in these sales, sometimes aesthetic concerns overtake others. See Vivien Raynor, "Art: Wright Drawings again Offered to Public," *New York Times* (January 25, 1985).

<sup>426</sup> See Ellen Posner, "Selling Frank Lloyd Wright, the Wrong Way," *Wall Street Journal* (February 5, 1985).

<sup>427</sup> Paul Goldberger, "Architecture: Three Bright Spots," *The New York Times* (February 22, 1985).

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>429</sup> This review could provide other insight as well. The review points to the fact that architectural drawings at this time are always already placed between opposing poles of process and art.

In 1988, Protetch was still selling Wright drawings. In an assessment by Joseph Giovannini of the market for Frank Lloyd Wright goods written in 1988 in *The New York Times*, the Max Protetch Gallery was one of the sale venues listed among the many that were either selling original or licensed goods. Protetch was offering the drawings still in his possession for between 35,000 and 125,000 dollars and the prints for between 600 and 1200 dollars.<sup>430</sup>

Now, approximately 30 years after the initial sales occurred, the bulk of Wright's remaining archive has been sold, intact, jointly to the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library at Columbia University and MoMA. Sean Malone, the Foundation's president and chief executive at that time, did not share either Mrs. Wright's or Pfeiffer's protectionist attitude toward the archive, choosing instead to partner with other institutions in order to preserve the archive and make it accessible for research. The Foundation did not have the facilities, nor did they have the capital to keep and preserve the collection as Columbia and MoMA could. The remaining collection still included over 23,000 drawings, close to 40 models, many of which were made for MoMA's 1940 Wright retrospective *Frank Lloyd Wright: American Architect*, approximately 44,000 photographs, 600 manuscripts, and some 300,000 pieces of correspondence. The models are housed at MoMA, while all papers are kept at Avery Library. Furniture and Wright's collection of art were to remain at the Foundation. Together, the three institutions formed an advisory board to oversee exhibitions, symposiums, events, and publications.

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<sup>430</sup> See Joseph Giovannini, "Marketing Frank Lloyd Wright," *The New York Times* (March 24, 1988), C1, C6. As Giovannini makes clear, when Olgivanna Wright died in 1985, the Frank Lloyd Wright foundation became more open. They permitted the Getty to duplicate almost all of Wright's 22,000 drawings kept at Taliesin. They also began to license to companies designs to produce plates, carpets, and furniture. A legal battle also clarified that the Wright Foundation has no right to prohibit other companies from producing Wright-inspired products.

One of the more remarkable ventures that Protetch embarked upon was his involvement with architectural archives. His first undertaking was the archive of Luis Barragán. He became involved in this through a chance phone call. One day, a man claiming to be Barragán called, asking if Protetch would appraise his archive. Protetch now suspects the caller was not Barragán, but his partner, Raul Ferrera. This is because he later discovered that Barragán had actually tried to burn the drawings toward the end of his career and it was Ferrera who had rescued them.

After the initial call, Protetch tried to reach Barragán multiple times without success. Almost a full year passed before Protetch learned that Barragán had died. Protetch then began negotiations with Ferrara, who had inherited the estate after Barragán's death. Discussions, Protetch said, moved well, but slowly. Then a day came when Ferrara stopped returning his calls. Protetch was not discouraged, though, since their previous conversations had been positive, so he continued to try to connect. Six months later he called and a woman answered the phone. When Protetch asked for Ferrara, she informed him that Ferrara had died. The woman was Ferrara's widow. Protetch, mentioned to her that he had been speaking with Ferrara about selling Barragán's estate.

During their conversation, she eventually consented to Protetch's request to inspect the archive and agreed to continue negotiations that he and her husband had begun. Not wanting to risk any further delays, Protetch boarded a plane to Mexico the next day. He kept this confidential, telling no one of his plan except one close friend, Enrique Norton. Protetch was justifiably concerned about potential jealousy within the

architecture community, and he was afraid of the protectionism that might inhibit the transport of the archive outside of Mexico if word got out.

When he arrived, he found that Ferrera's widow and some assistants had already begun to catalogue the estate. He spent two weeks in Mexico inspecting and continuing to catalogue the archives. He assumed he would need to return repeatedly to Mexico to continue this work.

However, the day after he returned to New York, he received a surprising phone call. It was Ferrera's widow, informing Protetch that the entire estate was going to be delivered to his gallery in the morning. Shocked, Protetch could only blurt out, "What?" Her response was measured and confident, "Yes," she said, "I put it on a truck last night and it's driving overnight from Mexico City."<sup>431</sup>

Once in his possession, Protetch did reveal his acquisition to Alexander von Vegesack, then director of the Vitra Design Museum, a private museum in Germany devoted to design, who in turn mentioned it to Rolf Fehlbaum, chairman emeritus and board member of the museum and whose former private collection constitutes Vitra's permanent collection. Fehlbaum approached Protetch and asked him not to sell any items. This was contrary to Protetch's typical strategy, where he would retain one or two works of the people he showed for his own collection and sell the rest. Fehlbaum ended up buying the entire archive as a wedding gift for his fiancée, Federica Zanco, and housed it

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<sup>431</sup> On Sunday morning, a full moving truck arrived at the gallery. Remembering in the middle of that night that the back room was above the cheese counter of a Dean and DeLuca's, Protetch woke up panicked. He had had the archive unloaded into the back room of the gallery next to a Scott Burton Rock Chair. He realized that having an entire estate of drawings next to a one-ton sculpture might prove disastrous, as the load put on the floor might not be sustainable. At 6AM, he called his entire staff and they spent the next day, Monday, spreading out all the drawings to evenly distribute the load across more support until his engineer could arrive to assess whether it was safe to store the archive there.

at the Vitra headquarters in Basel.<sup>432</sup> Although he is bound by contract to not divulge the purchase price, Protetch states that at the time it was largest amount spent on architectural material in history.<sup>433</sup>

Besides his involvement with drawings, exhibitions, and archives, Protetch also conducted a number of silent auctions. These were all sponsored by and were in support of the Architects for Social Responsibility, which was founded in 1981 to disseminate information about the consequences and costs of military spending at the expense of domestic support and to promote nuclear disarmament. It still exists as Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility and has been, since 1990, focused on ecological and socially responsible development.<sup>434</sup> In 1985, an exhibition and silent auction consisted of 216 drawings by 180 different contemporary architects from 18 countries. All the drawings were donated. They reflected a myriad of styles of architecture, including Modern, Postmodern, Constructivist, Expressionist and de Stijl-inspired architecture, and were made with wide-ranging materials from pencil on trace to marker on Xeroxed sheets, to computer generated photographs on aluminum, to China

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<sup>432</sup> This story was related to the author in an interview. See also Randy Kennedy, "Tug of War Stretches Architect's Legacy: Luis Barragán's Homage Tweaks Vitra, the Copyright Owners," *The New York Times* (November 3, 2013).

<sup>433</sup> The archive was in Vitra's possession by 1994. See Randy Kennedy, "Tug of War Stretches Architect's Legacy." Today the archive contains 13,500 drawings, 7,500 photographic prints, 82 photographic panels, 3,500 negatives, 7,800 transparencies and slides, 290 publications about Barragán, 54 publications collected by Barragán, 7 files of news clippings relating to Barragán's work, 7 models, and several files of written notes, manuscripts, correspondence and lists. This list was taken from the Barragán Archive's website. [http://www.barragan-foundation.org/flash\\_english/1menu.html](http://www.barragan-foundation.org/flash_english/1menu.html) (accessed May 19, 2014). Much of this material was bought through Protetch.

<sup>434</sup> It was honored by the American Institute of Architects for its work, which informs the public and the profession about the consequences of nuclear war, the need for disarmament, and the promise of protecting our natural environment through socially responsible development. A strong, resounding voice for social and political justice, the organization provides a unique vehicle for discourse and plays a critical role in shaping a brighter, more productive existence for future generations. (from AIA certificate given in 1993, see [http://www.adpsr.org/home/about\\_us](http://www.adpsr.org/home/about_us)).

ink and pastels on cardboard. Although the show had political intentions, few of the drawings were openly politically charged. One was, though. Oscar Niemeyer donated a sketch of Brasilia that showed leaders on a tribune addressing an open, outdoor assembly. Written on the drawing was the following: “When I drew this tribune my intention was that our Presidents would use it to say good words to the people. Until now nothing was heard from them.”<sup>435</sup>

By virtue of his longevity in the market and his varied experiences with architectural drawings, Protetch became recognized as the foremost authority on the value of architectural drawings. In this regard, he was actively sought out to value collections of drawings. He completed an appraisal of the Gilman Collection, which he submitted on December 14, 1988.<sup>436</sup> The Architectural Association also hired him to conduct a valuation of their holdings.<sup>437</sup>

Around 1990, Protetch’s architecture shows became less frequent. There were many reasons for this, but one was due to his shift to showing Chinese contemporary art. Protetch states that one of the reasons for this change was because as he got older, he decided he needed to make more money and this genre afforded him that opportunity. His architecture shows also tapered because the architects whose works he had been showing, began to get more and more commissions for buildings, and their interest in selling

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<sup>435</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Joseph Giovannini, “Exhibition of Drawings by 180 Architects,” *New York Times* (June 3, 1985).

<sup>436</sup> He was again asked to value the collection on the occasion of its donation to MoMA. But, he would have nothing to do with it. Apraxine interview with author.

<sup>437</sup> Pierre Apraxine relates that the Gilman Collection contacted Protetch to evaluate the works. Apraxine interview with author. For the valuation of the Architectural Association holdings, a letter exists in the Architectural Association Archives between Alvin Boyarsky, then chairman, and Max Protetch regarding this.



drawings waned. Although he kept his holdings and held scattered exhibitions, he minimized his activity within in the architectural drawings market.

### **GALLERIA ANTONIA JANNONE: DISEGNI DI ARCHITETTURA**

In 1979, in Milan, Italy, another gallery for architectural drawings, Galleria Antonia Jannone: Disegni di architettura, was opened. This was the first private gallery to specialize in the sale of architectural drawings in Europe.<sup>438</sup>

The idea to promote architectural drawings came to Antonia Jannone after visiting an exhibition in Vienna that contained works by Walter Pichler. She was accompanied to the show by Massimo Scolari, who undoubtedly helped frame her understanding of Pichler's works. Prior to this experience, Jannone had mainly been interested in art, producing prints by contemporary sculptors and painters such as Andrea Cascella, Mario Ceroli, Pietro Consagra, Fausto Melotti, Valerio Adami, Gilles Aillaud, Lucio Del Pezzo, and Jean-Michel Folon, and others.

Jannone's first foray into architectural exhibitions came in 1977, after visiting the Pichler show. She mounted an exhibition in Milan at a gallery space located at Via Lanzzone 39. The exhibition contained the works of Raimund Abraham, Carlo Aymonino, Emilio Battisti, Gianni Braghieri, Arduino Cantafora, Giorgio Grassi, Michael Graves, Vittorio Gregotti, Carlo Guenzi, Rob Krier, Alessandro Mendini, Franco Purini, Franco Raggi, Aldo Rossi, Massimo Scolari, James Stirling, Superstudio, and Mathias Ungers. Around this time, she also leveraged prior experience and produced a portfolio of lithographs, silkscreens, and etchings by Abraham, Carlo Aymonino, Graves, Robert

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<sup>438</sup> Much of the information about Jannone's gallery was gathered from her correspondence with the author on March 4, 2013, April 29, 2013, and May 6, 2013.

Krier, Rossi, and Massimo Scolari with the title *Grafica 80: Disegni per un'architettura*. Jannone's second architectural exhibition was in May 1978. This exhibition contained works by Ettore Sottsass produced between 1957 and 1974 and was entitled *Disegni di passaggio di Ettore Sottsass*.

Eventually, in 1979, intending to focus more of her efforts on architectural drawings, she moved to a larger space at Via Del Carmine 5 in the center of the Brera district in Milan. The Brera district is well known as the home of the Accademia de Belle Arti di Brera (Brera Academy of Fine Arts) and its teaching gallery, the internationally renowned Pinoteca di Brera (Brera Art Gallery). Although at one time the Brera Academy had a school of architecture (from 1891-1931), by the time Jannone had opened her gallery, the school of architecture had long been moved to the Polytechnic. The area was also known for its smaller private art galleries. The move to this location illustrates how she viewed architectural drawings. For her, their value was derived as salable artifacts. Jannone's approach helped enable architectural drawings to participate in the Italian art world.<sup>439</sup>

The catalogues for her shows did not break any new ground. Although there was no standard size, they largely followed the same organization. First was a short essay about the theme or the architect, followed by images of the works. As an example, one of her early catalogues, the catalogue for her 1979 exhibit, *Assonometria*, was only 12 pages long. The first six pages were devoted to a short history of axonometric representation written by Manlio Brusatin, a guest contributor to the catalogue. The following six pages were black and white reproductions of some of the drawings on display. All were, of

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<sup>439</sup> By 1991, Jannone had moved to her current location at corso Giuseppe Garibaldi 125. Information about the location of her galleries was gathered by comparing the changes of address listed in surviving catalogues.

course, axonometric drawings. Included were drawings by Raimund Abraham featuring *House with Curtains*, *House with Two Horizons*, and *House with Flower Walls*, a drawing for Peter Eisenman's House X, a drawing for one of John Hejduk's Diamond Houses, a drawing by Alberto Sartoris for Notre-Dame-du-Phare Cathedral, a worms-eye axonometric drawing by James Stirling for the Dusseldorf Museum of Art, and a drawing by Ungers for Marburg Housing. No prices were included in the catalogues, and often, no other information aside from a reproduction of the drawing, the title, and perhaps the size was included.

For her shows, she created lithographs that were also for sale in addition to the drawings. She claims that she never did become rich, and that she only did what she loved and never thought of making much money from it.<sup>440</sup>

She held 43 exhibitions of architectural drawings before including other arts in her schedule in 1986. She found, it seems, that architectural drawings could not support her entire enterprise. Her longstanding involvement with other arts moved her to reintroduce these components to the gallery roster.

#### **AEDES: GALERIE FÜR ARCHITEKTUR UND RAUM**

Just over one year after the Max Protetch Gallery opened in New York, conversations between two colleagues resulted in the opening of a gallery in Berlin devoted to architecture. Helga Retzer and Kristin Feireiss began to discuss their interests in architecture in the late 1970s, though neither had backgrounds in architecture. Feireiss' education was in art history and philosophy, and she was working as a journalist, while Retzer was at the time the head of the Berlin Artists Program at the Deutscher

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<sup>440</sup> Antonia Jannone, correspondence with author, May 6, 2013.

Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD). They were, nonetheless, both keenly interested in their architectural surroundings and in what was occurring in Berlin in this regard. Further, they were aware of a developing general interest in architecture and architectural culture. As a result, in 1980, they opened Aedes: Galerie für Architektur und Raum (Aedes: Gallery for Architecture and Space). The gallery began as an attempt to merge their various interests in architecture. These consisted of aesthetic, cultural, and conceptual interests in architectural production. Ultimately, it was not successful in merging the three. But, the success that they would attain in promoting two of these—the cultural and the conceptual aspects of architectural production—led to the creation of one of the most active architecture centers in the world.

When asked whether there was a central concept that drove the founding of the gallery, Feireiss was emphatic that it was very simple: they were only interested in understanding their surroundings and saw an opportunity to open a gallery to help drive public interest and awareness. They wanted to communicate architecture to a wider audience. She reveals a bit more in her autobiography when she states,

“What fascinated me was the use value and the aesthetic - and how it (the use value and the aesthetic) can affect people. And when I had started, to refer to it from my own subjective position, I thought that it would be really something wonderful when you also could inspire others to develop an awareness of it.”<sup>441</sup>

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<sup>441</sup> As stated on Feireiss’s profile on Deutschland Radio Kultur [http://www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/den-eigenen-weg-gehen.1153.de.html?dram:article\\_id=182700](http://www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/den-eigenen-weg-gehen.1153.de.html?dram:article_id=182700) (accessed May 5, 2014). Was mich fasziniert hat, ist der Gebrauchswert und die Ästhetik—und wie es Menschen beeinflussen kann. Und als ich dann begonnen habe, für mich selber subjektiv dazu Stellung zu beziehen, habe ich mir gedacht, das wäre eigentlich was Wunderbares, wenn man auch andere dazu anregen könnte, da ein Bewusstsein zu entwickeln. See Kristin Feireiss, *Wie ein Haus aus Karten. Die Neckermanns – meine Familiengeschichte*. (Berlin: Ullsteinhaus, 2012). This was also related in the author’s interview with Kristin Feireiss, April 11, 2014.

This confluence of use and aesthetic is something that is heard time and again when interest in architectural drawings is expressed. People were fascinated by what the drawings showed and how they showed it. It was an interest both in their surface and in their depth.

These concomitant interests influenced the exhibitions of the gallery. When the gallery opened, Feireiss and Retzer tried to capitalize on this dual interest by designing exhibitions that presented the ideas of architectural projects and at the same time selling the drawings to raise capital to fund the gallery. The gallery did not make any explicit claims as to the aesthetic value of the works in contradistinction to their usefulness, but their sale nonetheless implicitly signified, for a gallery, the understanding that they can be collected as individual pieces, removed from their process. This did not mean, though, that they were devoid of the ideas present within them. Even so, the drawings' aesthetic qualities were integral to the success or failure of the gallery. If the drawings could not sell, then the gallery would have to either close or search elsewhere for funding and change its exhibition plans.

The circumstances that led to the gallery's first exhibition in 1980 centered on the tragic fate of the original Kongreßhalle in Berlin. The original building was designed in 1957 for the Internationale Bauausstellung (IBA, International Building Exhibition), Berlin by Hugh Stubbins. On May 21, 1980, one half of the roof, one of its defining features, collapsed, killing one person and injuring others. The resulting dilemma of what to do with the building led to Feireiss' and Retzer's first idea for an exhibition. They wrote to a number of architects with whom they were familiar and asked for design proposals for the building to be exhibited at a new gallery. Thirty-five of the architects

wrote back and agreed to participate in the exhibition. They were Raimund Abraham, Peter Cook, Günter Feuerstein, Brukhard Grashorn, Dietmar Grötzebach, Georg Heinrichs, Ron Herron, Friedensreich Hundertwasser, Christine Jachmann, Eva Jiricna, Heidi Korbmann, Mattias Koeppel, Michael McDonough, Gernot Nalbach, Gerd Neumann, Güter Plessow, Cedric Price, Jan Rave, Rolf Rave, Paul van Rafelghem, Peter Rumpf, Barna von Sartory, Hans Dieter Shaal, Manfred Schiedhelm, Tomas Schmit, Bernhard Schneider, Alison and Peter Smithson, Peter Stürzebecher, Adolfo Natalini and Robert Barni of Superstudio, Giovanni Chicco de Carolis of Superstudio, Volker Theissen, Bernd Wendland, and Christian Wontroba. Twenty-four of the architects were from Germany: 22 were from Berlin, and two were from Dortmund and Stuttgart. Others were from London, New York City, Florence, Vienna, and Brussels.

The exhibition of drawings (it included one model by Barbara Dietich for Peter Stürzebecher) was held in Aedes' first gallery space in an old store at Grolmanstraße 51, Berlin. The storefront consisted only of a door, a window, and 40 square meters of space. This small venue, branded Aedes, is often considered the first private gallery devoted to architecture in Europe.<sup>442</sup> Because of its timeliness in displaying proposals for the Kongreßhalle, the gallery gained instant notoriety.

Feireiss and Retzer continued to exhibit. Their early series was so successful partly because of the new Internationale Bauausstellung initiated in 1979. This IBA was planned, managed and promoted by the Berlin Architectural Exhibition Company, which was set up in 1979 with funding from the State of Berlin and the Federal Republic of

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<sup>442</sup> Charles Hind, "Scholars and Decorators," in Monika Platzer ed., *ICAMprint 2* (Rotterdam: Netherlands Architecture Institute, 2007): 20-29.

Germany.<sup>443</sup> It addressed the pressing need to revitalize neglected areas of Berlin. Focus was in the areas of Kreuzberg, Tegel, Prager Platz, Southern Friedrichstadt, Southern Tiergarten, and Luisenstadt. The theme was the Inner City as a Place to Live. Josef Paul Kleihues, architect and professor at the University of Dortmund, was chosen to head the building department. Kleihues initiated international competitions for the housing projects to be built. In the end, more than 5,000 residential units were built by many of the known practicing architects of the day, such as Gottfried Böhm, Rob Krier, Gustav Peichl, Charles Moore, Arata Isozaki, Leon Krier, James Stirling, Mario Botta, Vittorio Gregotti, OMA, Hans Kolhoff, Peter Eisenman, Kisho Kurakawa, Aldo Rossi, Raimund Abraham, John Hejduk, and others.<sup>444</sup>

It was this initiative, more than any other, that led Feireiss and Retzer to try and raise the general awareness about architecture. The IBA series of competitions provided a fortuitous opportunity to do so. Although they were critical of many of the IBA projects—they did not think that many of the Postmodern works entered into the competition were beneficial to Berlin—Feireiss and Retzer benefited from it and the spike in architectural activity that the IBA created. Many architects came to Berlin, and so Feireiss and Retzer had the opportunity to meet and speak with them about putting on exhibitions. Many were favorable to the idea.

To entice them, the architects were guaranteed a catalogue for participating. Feireiss credits the catalogues for part of the reason the gallery was so successful.<sup>445</sup> This

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<sup>443</sup> Originally intended to be completed by 1984, delays led it to be extended until 1987, coinciding with the 750-year anniversary of the founding of Berlin.

<sup>444</sup> For a list of works, see: *IBA: Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1984, 1987*. A + U Extra Edition (1987): 5 See also *International Building Exhibition Berlin* (Tokyo: A + U, 1987).

<sup>445</sup> Feireiss interview with author, April 11, 2014.

is because after an exhibition is taken down, the catalogue becomes its primary means of survival, and everyone, she remembers, was grateful that one would be produced.

Throughout their tenure, they also refrained from focusing only on the most famous architects of the time. They were also interested in displaying younger architects' works, and then in following them throughout their careers. Importantly, the catalogues were integral to attracting many of the younger and less known architects they showed, who were invariably excited by the opportunity to have a catalogue of their work, oftentimes in the same series as other, more well-known architects. The catalogues were, and are still, produced in the same eight-inch by eight-inch format.

As was noted, in their early exhibitions, Feireiss and Retzer tried to sell the drawings to raise the necessary capital to fund the gallery. Quickly though, they realized that their commitment to emphasizing the concepts that drove the works impinged on the probability of selling drawings. This commitment led to a very particular form of display, as works were shown in order to emphasize ideas. This meant that their aesthetic properties were of secondary concern. Retzer and Feireiss were careful, therefore, not to display the works in ways that emphasized their aesthetic properties. Feireiss is emphatic in stressing that works were neither displayed in frames, nor in mounts. They were laid on tables and leaned against walls to “shed the baggage” that came from presenting works on paper framed and on walls.

That it was not possible for these contrasting perceptions of architectural drawings to coexist in one venue and that the means of display explicitly differentiated those perceptions, was demonstrated after an exhibition of drawings for a project of a vertical city by Rem Koolhaas / Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA). When



Aedes showed these works (unframed, on tables or leaning against walls) nothing sold. After its tenure at Aedes, the work traveled to New York. There it was mounted at the Max Protetch Gallery. At the Protetch gallery, all of the works were matted and framed. Everything sold.<sup>446</sup>

While this is partially explained by the fact that there was already a greater appreciation for architectural drawings as artwork in New York, for Feireiss and Retzer this indicated something altogether different. For them, it meant that there was a divide between showing a piece as an artwork and showing it in order to understand the concepts and the ideas behind it. This was, of course, a conclusion bound by limits they themselves imposed through their ideas about what a gallery should be—they already were considering drawings within the relationship between these two poles. Nonetheless, in their experience, to appreciate an object aesthetically was antithetical to appreciating the object for its ideas. It seemed that the images were not sufficiently valued as embodiments of ideas, since if they were displayed for their ideas, there was no value in owning them.

Feireiss and Retzer concluded that it was not possible to push both the concept and the aesthetic value of the drawings in a gallery setting and remain successful. The time had come for them to choose. The concept, they decided, was of primary importance, and it was through the concept that they would be able to stay true to their

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<sup>446</sup> This was also made clear during Zaha Hadid's first exhibition at Aedes. As Feireiss relates, during her first show, many of Hadid's large-format paintings were on display, and none of them sold either.

original goal of increasing interest in the architectural environment. The gallery became a cultural venue, and funding would be sought elsewhere.<sup>447</sup>

They continued with a successful exhibition series that still runs today. To date, it has held more than 350 exhibitions. No longer known as the Aedes: Galerie für Architektur und Raum, it was renamed the Architecture Forum Aedes in 1985, indicating its shift in praxis. At the same time, it moved to a new location at Savigny Platz. A second branch opened in 1995, called Aedes East. By this time, Feireiss had partnered with Hans Jürgen Commerell, as Helga Retzer had passed away in 1984. In 2006, the branches consolidated in Pfefferberg, where a location was found that consisted of 300 square meters of exhibition space and 140 square meters of studio space, and where researchers, students, and the public could meet to investigate particular issues. More recently, in 2007 AedesLand was opened as a center for landscape architecture and, in 2011, the Aedes Network Campus Berlin—a campus for visiting schools and students—was opened. Each of these successive stages reinforced and broadened the cultural role of the gallery and extended its influence in the promotion of architecture. They also resulted in one of the most active architecture centers in the world.

## **THE GALERIE VAN ROOY**

On the same day that the Aedes Gallery opened in Berlin, a gallery dedicated to the sale of architectural drawings opened in Amsterdam. Called Galerie van Rooy, it was opened by Luce van Rooy and, prior to its closure in 1995, held just over 110

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<sup>447</sup> Funding was then sought from companies who might have interest in the works. By 2009, fundraising efforts took up nearly 50% of their time. This information was taken from Ulla Geisler, "Portrait, Aedes Gallery," *Blueprint* (London, England), no. 283 (October 2009): 102. Also by 2009, the lighting manufacturer Zumtobel was their biggest sponsor, giving them a yearly budget.

exhibitions.<sup>448</sup> This gallery, though, did not have the same commitment as Aedes to emphasizing concept at the expense of the artistic.

Van Rooy began to think seriously about opening a gallery in the early 1970s. She was, at the time, working in design making handmade rugs, carpets, and tapestries, having studied to be a textile designer. But, architecture was always part of her life—her grandfather was Hendrik Petrus Berlage. When she started to hear about activities focused on architectural drawings in other parts of the world, she decided to pursue a career as a gallerist specializing in architectural drawings.

In the late 1970s in Amsterdam, it was more common to visit architectural exhibitions at cultural venues such as the Stichting Wonen (Housing Foundation) and the Stichting Architectuurmuseum (SAM—Architecture Museum Foundation). Together with the Nederlands Documentatiecentrum voor de Bouwkunst (NDB—Dutch Center for Architecture Documentation), these institutions would eventually form the Nederlands Architectuurinstituut (NAi—Dutch Architectural Institute).<sup>449</sup> There were only a few private collectors in Holland at this time. Piet Sanders, the son of architect Pieter Sanders, was one. He was a prolific art collector and, unusually, also collected architectural models (not drawings). He began collecting models in the late 1970s. Architects whose models were featured in his collection included Winka Dubbeldam, Peter Eisenman,

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<sup>448</sup> Bastian Gribling of Cityscapes Gallery was instrumental in connecting the author with Luce van Rooy. Oscar van Overeem suggested that the author write to Gribling. Gribling began his gallery in 2011 and sells some works that van Rooy keeps in her collection.

<sup>449</sup> “In the 1970s, the Nederlands Documentatiecentrum voor de Bouwkunst was founded as a part of the Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg (Department for Conservation). The Amsterdam Center for Architecture (ARCAM) was founded in 1986 to provide a balanced, comprehensive program covering the many public activities in the fields of architecture, urban design, landscape architecture and design organized in and around Amsterdam.” It also ran the ARCAM Gallery. This information was taken from Bock, Manfred, Jet Collee, and Hester Coucke. *Berlage in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1992).

Michael Graves, John Hejduk, Daniel Libeskind, and Lebbeus Woods. Many of his models now reside at the NAI, having been donated throughout the 1980s and after his death.

It was in the midst of this activity that van Rooy's interest would become more focused. She recalls that the publication *Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hejduk, Meier* was among the largest influences for her in understanding that architectural drawings were developing as visual art. The presentations of these drawings triggered thoughts about whether they could be seen as objects with their own identity.

At the same time, she also noticed that people began to speak in terms of paper architecture; she saw that exhibitions were becoming more prolific; and she observed that a market was developing for drawings, sketches, models, photographs, silkscreens, and other architectural objects. She knew about the activities of the Max Protetch Gallery and the Galleria Antonia Jannone. The decisive factor for her, she says, was when Rem Koolhaas urged her to create an international platform where “international cross-pollination” could take place. As a result of all of this, van Rooy made the decision to open a gallery, as she describes it, for architecture and related forms of visual and applied art.

Her first exhibition opened on October 1, 1980,<sup>450</sup> at Willemsparkweg 36 in the south of Amsterdam, just around the corner from the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, a museum dedicated to modern and contemporary art and design. This was beneficial for a gallery dealing in contemporary architectural drawings, as it brought the two contemporary practices into the same purview and provided the opportunity to coordinate

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<sup>450</sup> Though van Rooy does not have a complete list of the exhibitions she held, she was kind enough to translate a lecture that she gave to an audience of collectors about some highlights of her gallery, which is the source of much of the information here.

exhibitions. A list of architects was provided by Rem Koolhaas, from which van Rooy compiled the roster. He suggested many of his own colleagues. The show was a group show consisting of drawings and photographs of works from Jo Coenen, Peter Cook, Zaha Hadid, Rem Koolhaas, Madelon Vriesendorp, Judith Turner, Peter Wilson, Carel Weeber, Hans Tupker, and Bentheim/Crouwel.

Her second exhibition was on the work of Rem Koolhaas, Madelon Vriesendorp, and Zoe and Elia Zenghelis. The main project exhibited was Exodus, or the Voluntary Prisoner of Architecture, consisting of 18 drawings, watercolors, and collages. At the same time, the Stedelijk was showing a larger exhibition of works of OMA's projects from the seventies. Van Rooy's third exhibition was a project by Michael Gold for the Gateway to Mecca. The show displayed 10 watercolors of the project. This was perhaps van Rooy's most financially successful show, as the entire contents were bought before it even opened by the illustrious collector, Lodewijk Houthakker, who was in the process of amassing one of the most important collections of art ever assembled.

Van Rooy's next exhibition showcased the work of Giorgio Grassi. Held in 1981, this exhibition came to van Rooy's gallery through Antonia Jannone, whose gallery had previously mounted the same exhibition. The exhibition was also held at Aedes. At the time, Grassi was traveling with the exhibition and giving a lecture series to accompany it. The drawings, van Rooy remembers, were beautiful and rendered in gorgeous colors. Even so, none of the works on display sold. Money for the exhibition was only made when the Bonnefantenmuseum in Maastricht leased the exhibition through van Rooy.

In celebration of the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Hendrik Petrus Berlage's birth, the van Rooy gallery organized an exhibition for residential buildings in Amsterdam, focusing on

the Paleis aan de laan (Palace on the Avenue), and the Bondsgebouw voor de Algemene Nederlandse Diamantbewerkerbond (ANDB—Federal Building for the General Dutch Diamondworkers' Union), colloquially known as De Burcht (The Castle, or Fortress) at Henri Polaklaan 9.

For this exhibition of her grandfather's work, the gallery shifted focus regarding the goods it sold. Rather than only selling original drawings, the gallery made and sold limited edition silkscreen prints of some drawings. The prints consisted of two interiors of Jachthuis Sint-Hubertus (St. Hubert Hunting Lodge) of 1916, and a competition design for Lenin's Mausoleum of 1924. Van Rooy hired the famous printmaker, Bernard Ruygrok, to produce the silkscreens. These sold more readily than the original drawings because they were cheaper, and thus accessible to a wider audience. Because of the success of this first venture, the gallery continued to produce silkscreens for sale in future exhibitions.

Another shift in display occurred in the subsequent exhibition of Dutch architect Jo Coenen. For this exhibition, the gallery was transformed into an orangery. This began and helped established a tradition in the gallery of creating an installation instead of only an exhibition of drawings. This was exemplified in the exhibition that followed, van Rooy's ninth; it was also Zaha Hadid's first exhibition outside England, entitled *Planetary Architecture I*.<sup>451</sup> The material had recently been shown at the Pamphlet Architecture Reading Room located at 14 Sculptors Gallery, 75 Thompson Street, in New York City from September 17 to October 5, 1980. It was published in 1981 as *Pamphlet Architecture 8*, which also served as the catalogue for the exhibition. Drawings for the

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<sup>451</sup> The second exhibition using this name, *Planetary Architecture II*, was made famous in 1983 through the AA folio series, when the AA created a folio from her drawings for The Peak competition.

*Malevich Tektonik*, the *Museum of Nineteen-Century London*, her extension of the Dutch Parliament in the Hague, the residence for the Irish Prime Minister, and her project for Eaton Place were all featured in the loose sheet 22 by 18 centimeter folio that accompanied the exhibition.

After 13 exhibitions, in September 1983 the gallery found a new home above a wine store at Nieuwe Spiegelstraat 43, near the Rijksmuseum. The space consisted of three L-shaped floors; the second floor was chosen to be the gallery space. The entrance was through a kitchen, which eventually was also used to display works. The gallery was at this location until April 1989, when it moved to its final location at Kerkstraat 216, where it remained from May 1989 to January 1993.

It was one of the exhibitions at this second location that van Rooy identifies as her most important; a series of silkscreens by Tadao Ando displayed under the title *Minimal Architecture*. This, coupled with the success of the earlier sales of silkscreens, convinced van Rooy that high quality reproductions of the drawings were the best way to generate revenue for the gallery. She renewed her effort and commissioned increasingly sophisticated silkscreens.

OMA's designs for the Parc de la Villette exhibition were mounted in December 1983, with drawings and a model of the park that was four square meters in dimension. Two silkscreens were produced, again by Bernard Ruygrok; one was a blueprint of the park in black and white with follies highlighted in red, blue, and yellow; the other was a 13-color print of the organization of the park drawn by Alex Wall.

In 1985, van Rooy showed some drawings completed by Aldo Rossi, who had recently finished the designs for his contribution to the Alessi tea and coffee pot series

designed by architects. Van Rooy exhibited and sold the original drawings for them. Since Rossi was famous at this time, van Rooy recalls the drawings were almost unaffordable for collectors. It was the first time she felt that collectors were priced out of the market.

In this same year, KunstRAI was begun. This art fair in Amsterdam is typically held in the second week of May. It was the first art fair in Amsterdam where the top galleries would all take part. Van Rooy, having achieved a certain status through showing architectural drawings, was there. She showed drawings by Koolhaas/OMA, Aldo Rossi, Marc Ruygok, and Ricardo Regazzoni, as well as some with videos. She did well at the exhibition, with government clients beginning to take an interest. The State office for the Visual Arts, the Special Aesthetic Service Department of the National Post Office (PTT), and the Documentary Center for the Building Arts had raised some funds to add to their collection, and were interested in developing their collections with some of van Rooy's drawings.

Over 50 exhibitions were held at Nieuwe Spiegelstraat 43 before van Rooy's move to her last location. This location was a former small church with space measuring 16 meters long by 8 meters wide by 4 meters high. The first exhibition began after a container arrived from Finland filled with hundreds of parts for Daniel Libeskind's *Intermundium machine XVIII*, a remake of one of the machines he exhibited in the Venice Biennale in 1985 that were destroyed in a fire. Winy Maas, then a student in Delft, helped to assemble it. It was exhibited with his *Chamberworks* and *Micromegas* drawings. This project, van Rooy relates, exhibited all of the things she envisioned when



she began her gallery. It was a work and an exhibition that included architecture, visual art, and sculpture. It explored the relationship between these modes of production.

## CONCLUSION

These four galleries were integral to the promotion of architectural drawings. Although their trajectories differed, and the conclusions their founders reached regarding drawings varied, each effected a shift in the perception of architectural drawings as aesthetic works of art removed from the process of architectural design. In some cases, the attempt to shift perception was a conscious effort; in other cases it was not intended. Even Protetch caused change, although he expressly did not want architecture to be equated with art. The sheer number of exhibitions and quantity of works displayed at these galleries pushed architectural drawings into new conceptual grounds, as they were increasingly perceived as aesthetic objects and artworks in and of themselves. The fact that, during the tenure of these galleries, the clients for contemporary architectural drawings expanded from individuals and corporations to include museums and government entities looking to augment and expand their collections reveals that contemporary architectural drawings were progressively attaining status as artifacts important for cultural history.

**MAX PROTETCH GALLERY**  
**ARCHITECTURAL EXHIBITIONS**

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**1979**

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Michael Graves

May – June 15

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Richard Meier

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Massimo Scolari

*Massimo Scolari: Architettura del limite*

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Aldo Rossi

*Aldo Rossi: Architectural Projects* (concomitant with Aldo Rossi in America at the IAUS, Sept 19-Oct 13)

September 18 – October 13

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**1980**

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Frank Gehry

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Michael Graves

September 04 – October 04

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Richard Meier

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Massimo Scolari

*Massimo Scolari: Drawings and Watercolors*

May 13 – June 07

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Emilio Ambasz

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Bernard Tschumi

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John Hejduk

*The Works of John Hejduk*

– February 16

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Ezra Stoller

*Architecture: Portraits by Ezra Stoller* (Architectural photography)

Dec 04, 1980 – Jan 12, 1981

CONT'D

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**1981**

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Romaldo Giurgola

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Leon Krier

*Architectural Drawings for the Reconstruction of the European City, 1967-1980*

January – February 07

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Charles Moore

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Bernard Tschumi

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Louis I. Kahn

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Also Rossi

*Projects: Monuments of Venice*

Early October

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**1982**

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Frank Gehry

June 03 –

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OMA: Rem Koolhaas and Elia Zenghelis, with Zaha Hadid, Ron Steiner, and Stefano de Martino (also at the IAUS, through May 28)

March – April 03

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Gaetano Pesce

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Venturi, Rausch, and Scott Brown

*Buildings and Drawings*

September 15 – October 16

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**1983**

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Michael Graves

May 11 – June 25

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John Hejduk

*Solopacan Variations*

February 09 – March 05

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Aldo Rossi

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Frank Lloyd Wright, Drawings, 1893-1959

September 16 – October 16

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CONT'D

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Michael Fraces, Hans Hollein, Charles Jencks, Richard Meier, Alessandro Mendini, Paolo Portoghesi, Aldo Rossi, Stanley Tigerman, Oscar Tusquets, Robert Venturi, and Kazumasa Yamashita

*Architecture in Silver, Alessi teapots*

– June 30

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**1984**

Erik Gunnar Asplund

– October 06

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Michael Graves

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Michael Graves, Steven Holl, Todd Williams, Billie Tsien, Frank Gehry, John Hejduk, Richard Meier, Gaetano Pesce

*Furniture by Architects*

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Robert Israel

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Louis Sullivan

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**1985**

Erik Gunnar Asplund

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Michael Graves

*Drawings for The Great Gatsby*

December 07 – December 29

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Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

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Eliel Saarinen (stated as Eliel in article by Ned Cramer, listed as Eero on Protetch's website)

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Bernard Tschumi

*Drawings for the Parc de la Villette*

–Sept 28

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Frank Lloyd Wright

– Feb 23

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Architects for Social Responsibility

*Silent Auction*

– June 8

CONT'D

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**1986**

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Ricardo Bofill

*The City, Classicism and Technology*

September 10 – October 04

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Arata Isozaki

Dec 03 – Jan 03

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Eric Mendelsohn

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Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

– March 01

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Paul Rudolph

– March 01

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Louis Sullivan

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**1987**

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R. Buckminster Fuller

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Zaha Hadid

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Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

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SITE (opening exhibition for new gallery at 560 Broadway and Prince Street)

– October 31

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Lloyd Wright

January 28 – Feb 07

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**1988**

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John Hejduk

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OMA: Rem Koolhaas and Elia Zenghelis

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Bernard Tschumi

– May 21

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Barbara Stauffacher Solomon

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Coop Himmelblau

– November 05

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CONT'D

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Charles Moore

*The Architecture of Charles Moore: Buildings and Projects, 1949-1986*

– August 12

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Gaetano Pesce

*Gaetano Pesce: Drawings, Models, Prototypes*

Nov 1988 – Jan 07 1989

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**1989**

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Erik Gunnar Asplund

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John Eberson

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Peter Eisenman

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Coop Himmelblau

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Aldo Rossi

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**1990**

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Erik Gunnar Asplund

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Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

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**1991**

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No architectural exhibitions

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**1992**

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Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

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Aldo Rossi

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**1993**

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Erik Gunnar Asplund

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**1994**

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Erik Gunnar Asplund

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**1995**

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R. Buckminster Fuller

CONT'D

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**1996**

Louis Sullivan

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**1997**

Tadao Ando

Richard Pare

Frank Lloyd Wright

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**1998**

No architectural exhibitions

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**1999**

Erik Gunnar Asplund

Zaha Hadid

Aldo Rossi

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**2000**

Stephen Holl

Samuel Mockbee

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**2001**

No architectural exhibitions

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**2002**

A New World Trade Center: Design Proposals

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**2003**

No architectural exhibitions

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**2004**

Alvaro Siza

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**2005**

Daniel Libeskind

CONT'D

**2006**

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Zaha Hadid

**2007**

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No architectural Exhibitions

**2008**

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Samuel Mockbee

Note: When asked about the shows held at his gallery, Protetch only offered that there was a list on his website that was “more or less correct.” This list has been combined with a list compiled in 1999 by Ned Cramer, writing for *Architecture*. Neither of these lists is complete, and both have been supplemented with information from other resources, such as *ArtNews*, *Artforum International*, *Progressive Architecture*, and the *New York Times*.



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GALLERIA ANTONIA JANNONE  
EXHIBITIONS (1979-1995)

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**1979**

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Stefan Wewerka:

*Progetti, acquerelli, disegni*

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Aldo Rossi:

*Alcuni dei miei progetti*

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Leon Krier:

*Disegni e progetti*

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Raimund Abraham, Peter Eisenman, John Hejduk, Alberto Sartoris, James Stirling, O. M. Ungers:

*Assonometria: prospettiva segreta e cavaliera*

14 Dec - Jan

**1980**

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Alberto Sartoris:

*Architetture diseguate*

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Massimo Scolari:

*Acquerelli e disegni 1965-1980*

Mar - Apr

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Aldo Rossi:

*Il teatro del mondo*

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Rob Krier:

*Progetti e tempere*

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Various Authors (AA.VV)

*Disegni e stampe del XVII e XIX secolo*

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**1981**

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Arduino Cantafora

*Architettura d'attesa e treni. Oli, incisioni, disegni e modelli*

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Aldo Rossi

*Modelli di architettura. Plastici e disegni dal 1962 al 1981*

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CONT'D

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Abraham, Aymonino, Cantafora, Graves, Krier, Purini, Rossi, Scolari, Sottsass, Ungers, Wewerka, Sartoris  
Disegni e stampe

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Alberto Sartoris

*Disegni inediti dal 1920 al 1950*

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**1982**

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Ezio Frigerio

*Scenografie*

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Giorgio Grassi

*Progetti e disegni 1965-1981*

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AA.VV

*Architetture antiche e moderne e scenografie*

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**1983**

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Pier Luigi Pizzi

*Scenografie*

---

Arduino Cantafora

*15 stanze per una casa*

---

Nicola Benois

*Progetti e schizzi per lavori teatrali*

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**1984**

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Ortelli, E. Sianesi, R. Sambonet, B. Monguzzi

*Dieci anni. Progetti per Brera 1974-1984*

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Arduino Cantafora, Rob Krier, Aldo Rossi, Alberto Sartoris, Massimo Scolari

*Rassegna n°1*

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**1985**

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AA.VV

*Disegni dal XVIII al XX secolo—Architectural Drawings, Gazebos, Gardens*

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Antonio Basoli

*Fantasie egiziane e studi*

---

CONT'D

Luigi Angelini

*Ingegnere e architetto*

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**1986**

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AA.VV

*Drawings from XVIII to XX century. Decorations*

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AA.VV

*Disegnando il domestico. 22 Projects for the XVIII Triennale di Milano*

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Ernesto Bruno Lapadula

---

Gabetti E Isola

*Projects and Architecture - 1950-1985*

---

Sergio Cappelli E Patrizia Ranzo

*Drawings and Objects*

---

David Palterer & Borek Sipek

---

George Sowden & Nathalie Du Pasquier

---

Luigi Serafini

*October Architectures*

---

Daniel Weil

*A Designer on Holidays*

---

**1987**

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Gio Ponti

*100 Lettere*

---

Luca Pignatelli

*Imagination: landscapes and architecture*

---

AA.VV

*The new skyscrapers of Chicago*

---

David Palterer E Borek Sipek

*Towards midnight*

---

Ettore Sottsass

*The indian memory*

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CONT'D

---

Massimo Scolari

*Hypnos*

---

Nathalie Du Pasquier

*Dipinti*

---

AA.VV

*Drawings from the eighteenth to the twentieth century*

---

**1988**

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Marco Zanini

*Disegni di architettura: 49 drawings and some short stories*

March 1 – March 15

---

Jože Plečnik

*Design as a sign and architectural idea*

22 March - 22 April

---

Mario Bellini

*Architecture Projects*

October

---

Borek Sipek

*Vase, Vasa, Vasi*

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AA.VV

*Drawings from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century. Architecture and Decorations*

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**1989**

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Barbara Solomon Stauffacher

*Green architecture and the agrarian garden*

---

Luca Pignatelli

---

Stefano Faravelli

*Acquerelli e disegni*

---

Diego Saiani

*Pitture*

---

Giuseppe Modica

□ *Dipinti, disegni, acqueforti*

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CONT'D

Borek Sipek

□ *Per Alterego e Leitner*

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**1990**

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Giosetta Fioroni

*Acquerelli, disegni, collages*

---

Claudio Bonichi

*Disegni e acquerelli*

---

Avugust Cernigoj

*Costruttiva sloveno*

---

Borek Sipek □

*Nuova edizione alterego*

---

Guglielmo Mozzoni

*Acquarelli*

---

Angelica Garnett □

*Objects magiques - sculpture*

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AA.VV. □

*Il Bestiario: dipinti, disegni, acquerelli di animali*

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**AEDES**

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EXHIBITIONS (1980-1990)

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**1980**

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AA.VV

*In memoriam: Kongreßhalle Berlin*

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Alison and Peter Smithson

*Hauptstadt Berlin - Projekte 1957*

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**1981**

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OMA (Rem Koolhaas, Stefano de Martino, Kees Christiaanse)

*Entwurf für einen Wohnbau in Rotterdam*

---

Giorgio Grassi

---

Peter Cook, Christine Hawley, Ron Herron

*Scenarios*

---

**1982**

---

Gottfried Böhm

---

Jasper Halfmann and Claude Zillich

*Projekte 1976-1982*

---

Hans-Dieter Schall

---

**1983**

---

Cork Mareschi

---

Joseph Paul Kleihues

*Projekte 1969-1980*

---

Raimund Abraham

*Berlin-Projeke 1980-1983*

---

Eduardo Paolozzi

*Kunst am Bau*

---

Werner Christian Wontroba

---

CONT'D

**1984**

---

Zaha Hadid

*The Peak Hong Kong Competition*

---

A. Brandt, Y. Asisi, R. Böttcher

*Stadträume*

---

John Hejduk

**1985**

---

Coop Himmelb(l)au

*Skyline*

---

Bundesgartenschau Berlin 1985

*Unrealisierte Projekte zur Bundesgartenschau*

---

Alvaro Siza

*Gezeichnete Utopien*

---

James Stirling

*Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin*

---

Gustav Peichl

*Zeichnungen & Zeichnungen*

---

Coop Himmelb(l)au

*Offene Architektur*

---

**1986**

---

Pietro Derossi

*Projekte 1984-1986*

---

Fehling + Gogel

*Grunrißanalysen*

---

Zaha Hadid

*Wettbewerb Adenauerplat*

---

Meisterklasse Peter Cook

*Städelschule*

---

CONT'D

---

Hans Poelzig

*Bühnenarchitektur der 20er Jahre, Architekturzeichnungen der 20er Jahre*

---

Grötzebach, Plessow, Ehlers

Projekte, 1975-1985

---

Peter Cook, Christine Hawley

*Museum Moderne Glasmalerei in Langen*

---

Cedric Price

*Time + Timing*

---

**1987**

---

Daniel Libeskind

*Arbeiten 1983-1987*

---

Lebbeus Woods

*Architekturphilosophische Visionen*

---

Architekturklasse James Stirling

*Kunstakademie Düsseldorf*

---

Bernard Tschumi

*Neues Nationaltheater Tokyo*

---

Venturi, Rauch, Scott, Brown

*Laguna Gloria Art Museums Austin*

---

Meisterklasse Gustav Peichl

*Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien*

---

Christoph Mäckler

*Bauten + Projekte 1985-1986*

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**1988**

---

Architekturklasse Hans Kollhoff

Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich

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Synchrone Konzepte

*Berliner Entwürfe für 6 Metropolen*

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CONT'D



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Martorell, Bohigas, Mackey

*Der Baublock*

---

John Hejduk

*Projekte für Riga und Wladiwostok*

---

Meisterklasse John Hejduk

Cooper Union, New York

---

Andres Reidemeister

*Stadtkonzepte Berlin*

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**1989**

---

Julius Posener

*Mein Leben mit der Architektur*

---

Junge Berliner Architektinnen

*Positionen*

---

Wilson, Bundschoten

*Architectural Association London*

---

Nani Simonis

*Bildräume*

---

Aldo Rossi

*Deutsches Historisches Museum*

---

Valeriy Bugroc

---

Hans Kollhoff

---

Daniel Libeskind

*Jüdisches Museum*

---

Oswald Mathias Ungers

*Kunstakademie Düsseldorf*

---

Frank O. Gehry

*Vitra-Design-Museum*

---

*Berliner Architekturpreis*

CONT'D

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Meisterklasse Giorgio Grassi

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*Wettbewerb Amerika-Gedenkbibliothek Berlin*

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Peter Eisenman

*Guardiola House* (N.B. This is the house exhibited first at Castelli)

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**1990**

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Kas Oosterhuis

*Artificial Intuition - Arbeiten am Computer*

Jan 1 - ?

---

Wohn- und Geschäftshäuser an der Paulsdorfer Straße

*Fokus II*

Dec 19 - ?

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TU Berlin

*Ausgewählte Diplomarbeiten 1990*

Dec 20 - ?

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**GALERIE VAN ROOY**  
**ARCHITECTURAL EXHIBITIONS**

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**1980**

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Jo Coenen, Peter Cook, Zaha Hadid, Rem Koolhaas/Madelon Vriesendorp, Judith Turner, Peter Wilson,  
Carel Weeber, Hans Tupker and Bentheim/Crouwel

*Designs, drawings and photographs*

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Rem Koolhaas / OMA

*Exodus*

---

Michael Gold

*Gateway to Mecca*

---

Giorgio Grassi

---

**1981**

---

Peter Wilson and Julia Bolles

*From Column To Door*

---

Paul Tames van den Berg

*Sets in Search of Meaning*

---

Hendrik Petrus Berlage

---

Jo Coenen

---

Zaha Hadid

*Planetary Architecture I*

---

**1982**

---

Alfred Eikelenboom

---

OMA

*Projects for the Randstad: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag*

---

**1983**

---

Tadao Ando

*Minimal Architecture*

---

CONT'D

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OMA

*Parc de la Villette*

December 1982

---

**1984**

---

Raoul Bunschoten

*Architectural Revelations*

January

---

*Fred Schoen*

February 1984

---

Alfred Eikelenboom

*Utopian Models*

---

Han Janselijn

*Architectural Drawings and Models*

---

Loes van der Horst

---

**1985**

---

Aldo Rossi

*La Conica*

---

Marc Ruygrok

*OK, ZO, YO, NO, SIC, HERE, THERE or EVERYWHERE*

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**1986**

---

Alfred Eikelenboom

*Works on Paper*

---

Loes van der Horst

---

Lebbeus Woods

*Origins*

---

Tom Puckey

*New America*

---

Ben van Berkel

*Crossing Points*

---

CONT'D

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**1987**

Marc Ruygrok

---

John Körmeling  
*A Sun for de Stijl*

---

Dick van Woerkom

---

**1988**

Andrew MacNair  
*Egg City*  
January

---

Daniel Libeskind  
*Intermundium Machine XVIII, Boxes, and Chamberworks*

---

Ben van Berkel  
*Docklands*

---

**1989**

Han Janselijn  
*Architectural Drawings and Models*

---

Marc Ruygrok

---

**1990**

Alfred Eikelenboom  
*Paintings*

Note: This list is not exhaustive. Van Rooy did not have an exhibitions list available at the time of writing. These exhibitions are those mentioned in her aforementioned translated speech.

## CONCLUSIONS

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During the 1970s and 1980s, architectural drawings drove a wholesale reevaluation of the discipline of architecture. Precipitated by a search to understand the aesthetic implications of perceiving architectural drawings as autonomous art objects, questions arose about the relationships of architects to their clients and of architecture to the private art world, about the techniques used in architectural representation, about the status of architects and the architecture profession, about the relationship between drawings and buildings, about the presentation of drawings and the resulting implications of framing and displaying them, and about the commercial value of the works and the prices assigned to them. Drawings were also mobilized in discourse about Modernism, Postmodernism, and the future of architecture. Deeper questions produced by the shift in perception of drawings reflected moral debate about whether this phenomenon was good for architecture, aesthetic debate about what architectural drawings and buildings are, and epistemological debate about what architecture is. All of this speaks to the changing nature of architectural drawings in particular, and architecture in general, during this period.

This period is unique in the history of architecture. While architectural drawings have been understood to be a constituent part of architectural practice since at least the Renaissance, they were primarily seen as useful tools. But, during the 1970s and 1980s, drawings were considered anew and became perceived as autonomous productions, even sometimes understood as architecture in and of themselves. Although there have been

other times within architectural history where drawings were seen as the end product of architectural explorations,<sup>452</sup> the period from the early 1970s through the 1980s is distinctive in the history of architecture for two reasons. First, the extent of discussion and volume of discourse generated about architectural drawings increased dramatically as the perception of them was shifting. Second, and perhaps even more important, a relatively small network of people and institutions developed and was instrumental in inspiring these debates through the various exhibitions and events in which these individuals and institutions were involved. Without their contributions, none of this would have occurred. They helped bring the architecture and art worlds closer than ever before. Architectural drawings were thrust into a new realm of collectors and dealers, where issues were driven by aesthetics rather than practice. The market that developed from this played an integral role in the changing understanding of drawings during this time, which in turn forced a complete reexamination of architecture.

Beginning in the early 1970s with the publication of *Five Architects* and the exhibition, *Architecture: A Point of View*, at MoMA, architectural drawings began to garner increased public attention. *Architecture: A point of View* began to shift attention to architectural drawings as a practice, as the works exhibited were not meant to lead to buildings. *Five Architects*, first printed in 1972, further bolstered the importance of drawings. The book contained drawings of projects and descriptive text, along with photographs of the buildings. However, the drawings were the most influential part, as

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<sup>452</sup> For example, with the previous generation, as Adolfo Natalini mentioned to Leo Castelli, or, with Étienne-Louis Boullée or Giovanni Battista Piranesi in the eighteenth century, or at the École des Beaux Arts, or the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca (See, Susan S Munshower, ed. *Architectural Fantasy and Reality: Drawings From the Accademia Nazionale Di San Luca in Rome, Concorsi Clementini, 1700-1750* (University Park: The Museum, 1981). Published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same name held at the Museum of Art, Penn State University and the Cooper-Hewitt Museum).

the projects, particularly those of Eisenman and Hejduk, were developed through drawing. Both *Architecture: A Point of View* and *Five Architects* focused on formal exercises explored in the act of drawing. Drawings were beginning to be understood as a viable end result of architectural explorations, not buildings.

In 1973, when the Five on Five architects published their critiques of the New York Five, the subjects of *Five Architects*, they criticized their propensities toward formalism. They did not critique the production of drawings, but instead brought the architects into debates about architectural practice and the course of architecture.

*Five Architects* was successful enough to warrant a reprint in 1975, the same year that an exhibition of these architects' works was held at ArtNet in London. Also in 1975, MoMA held both the first sale exhibition of contemporary architectural drawings and its first show of historical architectural drawings. *Architectural Studies and Projects*, held from March to May, and *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, held from October to the following January, triggered a further reevaluation of architectural drawings. *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* was pivotal in this respect. The sheer amount and the virtuosity of the drawings compelled critics to view this as a show about drawings. They were its "reason for being." Furthermore, many, not just the critics, would come to identify this exhibition as the defining moment when critical thinking regarding architectural drawings began.

The Beaux-Arts exhibition also brought drawings to the forefront of the intensifying debates in architecture about the efficacy of Modern design. Some alleged that the exhibition announced the death of Modern architecture. By rending drawings from practices derived from Modernism, they were suddenly thrust into Postmodern



practice at a time when the path forward for architecture was not clear. More narrowly, the exhibition had the effect of revitalizing history in architecture, as some were inspired by the exhibition to draw from historical sources for their practices.

*Architectural Studies and Projects* refocused attention to architectural drawing as art, not process. This was driven in no small part by the decision to frame drawings and display them as unique, individual works. By doing this, the drawings were shown as collectible items similar to artworks, and worthy of investment. Negative critiques of the show centered on the absence of any applicability to building, implying building as the end goal of architectural practice. In contrast, others saw this void as beneficial because it enabled architects to push beyond the limits imposed by buildings. The consideration of architectural drawings as art was giving rise to new understandings about the limits of architecture and to thoughts about whether those limits should be transgressed, shifted, or moved entirely.

Both an important aspect of and key development in the emerging market for architectural drawings can be traced to the group brought together through the exhibition, *Architectural Studies and Projects*, and the ALS that sponsored it. The significance is that the group had an extensive influence on the market and, hence, were integral in forming and shaping the issues that stemmed from it. Two people in particular, were most influential in these developments: Pierre Apraxine and Barbara Jakobson. When Pierre Apraxine, who had been involved with the ALS, attended the exhibition, he realized that architectural drawings could be purchased and collected as art. This led directly to the formation of the Gilman Collection of Architectural Drawings, as Apraxine convinced the Gilmans to include architectural drawings in their collection. Apraxine acquired the

bulk of the Gilman Collection between in 1976 and 1980. This collection further destabilized the fundamental conception of architectural drawings as a tool in a process, since it evidenced architectural drawings as a collection of art. Chosen based upon their artistic qualities—Apraxine trusted his eye to find good drawings, since he had considerable experience with art—and to complement the abstract qualities of minimal and conceptual art and photography, the drawings were collected and displayed as art. Nonetheless, in the early stages of this collection, many architects were still undecided about the status of architectural drawing and were reluctant to sell individual works in order to keep their archives intact. For these architects, maintaining the drawings within complete archives, which thus would continue to allow for a full understanding of the processes and the relations between drawings and between projects, was more important than any potential monetary or other value that might be derived from drawings individually.

The second substantive development was the series of architecture shows at the Leo Castelli Gallery. Barbara Jakobson, co-curator of *Architectural Studies and Projects*, proposed the exhibitions to Castelli and orchestrated the three shows held at his gallery in 1977, 1980, and 1983. This began to open a space for the sale of these goods that heretofore had been largely disregarded.

In addition, in 1975, Judith York Newman opened the *Spaced Gallery*, the first gallery to deal exclusively in architectural representations. Drawings at this time were becoming sites of architectural experimentation and sources of debate about the future of architecture, while they also were emerging as collectible objects. While 1975 marks a

foundational moment for when architectural drawings were gaining widespread attention, it was not until two years later that the level of discourse reached a peak.

1977 was a watershed year. The third edition of *Five Architects* and the book, *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, derived from the Beaux-Arts exhibition, were released. The attention given to the drawings in the production of the Beaux-Arts book was, in itself, enough for one critic to opine that “architectural drawing has been rediscovered.” Additionally, four major exhibitions on architectural drawings were held in New York. The Drawing Center opened and had its inaugural architectural show from March to May with the exhibition, *The Drawings of Antonio Gaudi. 200 Years of American Architectural Drawing* was also shown at the Cooper-Hewitt from June to August. When this show closed, the Cooper Hewitt and The Drawing Center collaborated on the show, *America Now: Drawing Towards a More Modern Architecture*, which was held from September to November. Finally, in October, Leo Castelli mounted his first show of architectural drawings, *Architecture I*.

The Drawing Center created a new venue for the display of drawings. It expressly set out to shift the perception of drawings from process to art and, as such, the exhibitions mounted in this venue always celebrated drawings as “objects in themselves” and “works of art.”

*200 Years of American Architectural Drawing*, though not as controversial as the Beaux-Arts show, was more explicit about the role of the drawings it contained. The drawings were noted to be works with “their own end.” After this show, some critics questioned why architectural drawings were seen only as a second-tier art. They saw the drawings as art, as documents in a process, and as “creation[s] in their own right.” They

also believed that this newfound status of drawing was changing the role of the architect. It was as if the architect was a type of artist. Others asserted the drawings were architecture “before the spoilers get to it,” implying that the building imposes limits that restrain the potential of the drawings.

*America Now: Drawing Toward a More Modern Architecture*, which consisted of two concurrent exhibitions by different architects, served multiple purposes. Robert Stern’s exhibition reinforced the contentious debates fomenting in architectural practice about the course of architecture. Continuing discussions that occurred in the wake of the Beaux-Arts exhibition, he stressed the differences between Modernism’s legacy in the *Five Architects*, and the Postmodern position for which he advocated. Because it presented a cross section of architectural practice, his show was also meant to present “beautiful” objects that emphasized the aesthetic qualities of the drawings. Richard Oliver’s counterpart show at the Drawing Center was more informative and fulfilled the goals of educating the public about forms of architectural drawing. Oliver, though, attempted to advance intellectual thought about the role of architectural drawings within practice by criticizing architects of the time for not moving far enough away from Modern drawing. Despite the show’s other goals, the critics again focused on the drawings. They pulled the drawings in two directions—on one hand they were preparatory objects, while on the other hand they were objects in themselves.

Finally, in 1977, Leo Castelli mounted his first sale of contemporary architectural drawings with the aid of Barbara Jakobson, Emilio Ambasz, and Pierre Apraxine, who were all connected through MoMA. It was this sale show, more than any other event, that instigated the questioning of architectural drawings in particular and architecture more

generally. Although Castelli's sale show was not financially successful, the critical response was astounding, and varied widely from vitriol to acclaim. Some practitioners, such as Adolfo Natalini, argued that the current emphasis on drawing actually marked the death of architectural drawing, since contemporary drawings were graphics and lacked meaning. Natalini took the goals of the exhibition at face value—to represent current attitudes in architecture—and responded as such. Other critics, though, emphasized different issues altogether. Huxtable thought the show was the most important exhibition that year, both for its “aesthetic significance” and its “theoretical significance.” The aesthetic significance was due to the drawings' removal from the design process, which thereby emphasized their singularity and resulted in their perception as art. The theoretical significance was based on the relationship between architecture and art, as they seemed ever closer at this time, since architectural drawings became collectible as art. Warnings, though, were issued by other critics who noted that, where buildings are concerned, these developments might not be positive

The use of a gallery to show and sell architectural work was also contentious. It represented a possible shift in the practice of architecture, where the relationship between the architect and the client was no longer direct. Indeed, architects could design and possibly make a living through projects (drawings) that held no relationship to normative modes of practice. As a result, the architect's role came into question in a manner similar to *200 Years of American Architectural Drawings*. Here, however, the issue was more acute, since it was focused on current practice, not just on a reevaluation of architects' prior productions. If an architect were only producing drawings, and not buildings, then would he/she be an architect, an artist, or an artist-architect?

In 1978, shortly after this Castelli exhibition, Max Protetch, who had a working relationship with Castelli, opened his gallery in New York, eventually becoming the most successful gallery owner dealing in contemporary and historical architectural drawings and archives. Protetch's mission was to show architecture and art together in order to have the two worlds communicate. At the peak, architectural exhibitions comprised about 50 percent of his shows. Protetch is emphatic that he was not trying to project architectural drawings as art. But, the critics again ignored the purposes of the exhibitions and focused on other agendas. They described the drawings as artifacts in themselves and as a hybrid art. Due in large part to Protetch's shows, architects began to re-conceptualize their practice and to think in terms of gallery shows, rather than the production of buildings.

When Protetch became involved with the sale of Frank Lloyd Wright's works, it enraged the members of the architectural community who strongly believed in an ethical responsibility to keep the archive as complete as possible. Further issues arose when Protetch became involved with Luis Barragán's archive, and subsequently, it surreptitiously was transported out of Mexico and sold through Protetch to a collector in Germany.

In 1979, the Galleria Antonia Jannone opened in Milan and the Drawing Center held its third exhibition, *Visionary Drawings of Architecture and Planning*. In 1980, the Aedes Galerie für Architektur und Raum and the Galerie Van Rooy opened in Berlin and Amsterdam, respectively. That same year, Leo Castelli held his second show from mid October until mid November.

While the intent at Aedes was to emphasize the ideas in the drawings exhibited, the founders initially also wanted to sell the works to fund the gallery, as Protetch did. However, as their experience with Rem Koolhaas work made clear, the emphasis on ideas and concepts in the works failed to stimulate sufficient demand to sell the works as art. From that moment forward, the owners made the decision to shift the gallery to a cultural venue and to display architectural drawings for their insight into architectural ideas and processes; they no longer would give attention to the aesthetic merits of drawings. Van Rooy, who was influenced by the New York Five, Max Protetch, and Rem Koolhaas, was more than willing to sell works based on their artistic merits, but she found that silkscreens, produced explicitly with artistic intent, sold better than original architectural drawings.

Jakobson initiated Castelli's second show in 1980. Conceived initially as a way to help architects find work, it took on an altogether different character. The drawings in this show had a dual role. They not only anticipated buildings, but they were also for sale in their own right. If a house were commissioned, the buyer would be given the framed drawings of that house. The drawings were promoted both for their ideas and their aesthetic qualities. That few were sold likely reinforces the experience of the Aedes gallery, where the promotion of a work for its aesthetic qualities, as well as for its ideas, limited the objects too much to be considered worthy of collecting, either by those who understood them as art, or by those who understood them as part of a process toward building.

Critics again were fascinated by the drawings, even positing that the inclusion of architectural drawings at a gallery "changed the nature of architectural drawing itself."

Now that they were no longer confined to a drawer, but could be displayed on their own, drawings were no longer just part of the process; they could be seen as individual artifacts. For some, this exhibition firmly established drawings as art.

This show also generated continued debate about the status of the architect, which had been at issue during Castelli's first exhibition. This exhibition, even more than the first, reinforced that there was something new happening in architecture and that the production of the architect was changing. This was perhaps also suggestive of a change in the status of the architects. Responses to the exhibition focused on the fact that architects were here producing both buildings and artworks. It was suggested that perhaps they are no longer architects, but, again, perhaps artist-architects.

In 1983, Castelli held his final show, *Architecture III*. At this same time, The Drawing Center held its fourth exhibition of architectural drawings, *Great Drawings for the Royal Institute of British Architects*. By this time, some of the luster had faded where architectural drawings were concerned. Castelli's third exhibition did not garner the excitement that his previous two did. There were many possible reasons for this lack of interest. Among them were that the material—architects were supposed to produce follies—was something only the rich could afford; that the organizer (again Jakobson) tried to tie the drawings to historical precedence, thus emphasizing that this exhibition was not so unique; and that Jakobson attempted to distance this exhibition from the discussions regarding architecture as art, which had arisen from the other shows, by emphasizing that architects produce buildings, not “images for the marketplace”. Reviews of the exhibition were still focused on the drawings. But, the drawings were



called “selfish” ruminations of the mind and “quacks” for their whimsy, and the architects were taken to task for producing drawings and objects for the rich.

Although the critics did not embrace this show, exhibitions continued throughout the 1980s, and largely were conducted in private galleries. Protetch was the most successful financially, as well as the most controversial. By 1990, though, the market for architectural drawings had collapsed. Public exhibitions of drawings as works in and of themselves became less frequent; sale shows became virtually non-existent; and discussions about architectural drawings waned. Protetch even reduced the number of shows at his gallery to only one or two per year. Popular belief asserts that the decline was because the computer entered into common practice. Issues of representation were disregarded as computer-aided drawings normalized technique, being made without the direct mark of a hand. The computer also gave rise to an entirely new set of questions and discourse as architecture attempted to come to terms with this new technology. Another explanation for the decline is widely considered to be the resurgence in the economy and the fact that many architects who had become known for their architectural drawings, began to build and re-focus their energies on completing building commissions.

While both of these contributed to the decline of the focus on architectural drawings, a third cause is reflected, in the late 1980s, in the sentiment that “. . . postmodernism and modernism have settled their scores, and coexist comfortably as established modes of design.”<sup>453</sup> As postmodern architecture settled into the same normative practice in which architecture had previously engaged, the excitement about drawings, and the questions they forced about the entire discourse and practice of architecture, waned. Postmodern thought became a Postmodern style.

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<sup>453</sup> Joseph Giovanni, “Breaking All the Rules,” *The New York Times* (June 12, 1988).

In the same year that the above statement was made, MoMA held a seminal exhibition that featured works by contemporary architects who had developed their practices through drawings. The exhibition, *Deconstructivist Architecture*, was mounted from June 23 to August 30, 1988. Philip Johnson and Mark Wigley were the curators, with Johnson acting as guest curator and Wigley acting as associate curator. The show featured seven architects, similar to Castelli's first show. Their work was brought together because they all challenged "the values of harmony, unity, stability. . ."<sup>454</sup> This was meant as a critique of some Modern architects, such as the New York Five, who sought purity in form. It was equally intended as a critique of Postmodern architecture, which by this time was becoming seen as a style. The catalogue tied the works, largely nurtured at the Architectural Association in London, and all experimenting with fragmentation, to Russian avant-garde modernism. This pulled the drawings into practices related to Modern architecture.<sup>455</sup>

The exhibition also refocused the act of drawing on building. The exhibition displayed the drawings with reference to buildings, not as experiments for their own ends, or as complete objects in themselves. Wigley stated, ". . . they locate dilemmas in buildings."<sup>456</sup> He continued by explicitly placing these projects in opposition to architectural practices reliant on drawing. He claimed that deconstructivist works are not

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<sup>454</sup> Mark Wigley, "Deconstructivist Architecture," *Deconstructivist Architecture* (New York and Boston: Museum of Modern Art, Distributed by New York Graphic Society Books, Little Brown and Co., 1988), 10.

<sup>455</sup> This was part of a larger reclamation of the Modern project. From March 4 to April 19, 1986 at the Grey Art Gallery and Study Center at New York University, an exhibition was mounted entitled *Modern Redux: Critical Alternatives for Architecture in the Next Decade*. It was to ". . . announce Modernism's phoenix-like resurrection." Thomas W. Sokolowski, "Preface," *Modern Redux: Critical Alternatives for Architecture in the Next Decade* (New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, 1986), not paginated.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

simply paper works that might appear radical, but that they all point toward building. He stated, “The projects are radical precisely because they do not play in the sanctuaries of drawing, or theory, or sculpture. They inhabit the realm of building.”<sup>457</sup>

A third way that this exhibition served to inhibit the thinking about drawings that had developed during the 1970s and 1980s was that the exhibition was largely perceived to be showing the next style of architecture. The curators attempted to avoid this. Johnson was adamant that “deconstructivist architecture is not a new style.”<sup>458</sup> Wigley intentionally avoided using “Deconstructivism” to describe the work; instead he favored “deconstructivist,” explicitly so as not to define a movement or style. But, the architecture nevertheless was perceived as a style. Similar to the reception of *Five Architects*, the critics drove this understanding. Joseph Giovannini lays claim to coining the word “Deconstructivism.” Paul Goldberger also used this term to define these practices.<sup>459</sup> This act of stylizing this architecture served to bring this form of architecture into the understanding of architecture as a procession of styles, which the exhibition that brought Johnson fame, his epoch-making Modern Architecture exhibition of 1932, participated in.<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> *Ibid*, 18.

<sup>458</sup> Philip Johnson, “Preface,” *Deconstructivist Architecture* (New York and Boston: Museum of Modern Art, Distributed by New York Graphic Society Books, Little Brown and Co., 1988), 7.

<sup>459</sup> For uses of “Deconstructivism,” see Joseph Giovanni, “Letters: On Deconstructivism,” *The New York Times* (June 7, 1990). It is here that he states he coined this term for an upcoming book. See also Joseph Giovanni, “The Limit of Chaos Tempts a New School of Architects,” *The New York Times* (February 4, 1988), Paul Goldberger “Cycles of Invention,” *The New York Times* (April 10, 1988), and Joseph Giovanni “Breaking all the Rules,” *The New York Times* (June 12, 1988).

<sup>460</sup> In the catalogue Johnson states that the goal of the Modern Architecture exhibit in 1932 was “to take the place of the romantic ‘styles’ of the previous half century.” Philip Johnson, “Preface,” 7.

This exhibition marks the end of the discourses driven by architectural drawings. As drawings were once again subsumed into discourses about Modernity, they reverted back to being representational methods of working through architectural ideas that would become buildings. This is precisely what was critiqued in the mid-1970s when architectural drawings began to emerge. *Deconstructivist Architecture* was noted foremost for its models, not the drawings it contained.<sup>461</sup> Along with being perceived as representing the next style in a succession of architectural styles, these works left Postmodernism behind and simultaneously avoided the entire questioning that architectural drawings forced for Postmodern thought.

Another exhibition mounted three years later reinforced this end. Held in 1991 at the Avery Architectural and Fine Art Library, *Contemporary Architectural Drawings* displayed over 120 works assembled from drawings donated to Avery Library. They were donated in response to an invitation sent in 1990 that requested drawings for the Avery archives, with “the promise of joining the distinguished company [already contained in the archives] . . .”<sup>462</sup> One hundred and twenty architects, eager to have their works be included with such an illustrious group, responded by sending a total of more than 320 drawings that had been made primarily throughout the 1980s. Because drawings—as sites of exploration, locations of ideas, and works of art—were discussed in the past tense at the show, this exhibition, in essence, relegated to the past the period when architectural drawings drove architectural discourse and practice; the moment of inquiry had already ended.

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<sup>461</sup> The significance of this lies in the observation, made by architects discussing the Beaux-Arts show that Modernist practices had moved to models as primary representations.

<sup>462</sup> Janet Parks, “Introduction,” *Contemporary Architectural Drawings: Donations to the Avery Library Centennial Drawings* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1991), x.

Throughout all these events, drawings were seen and considered in a myriad of ways. But, interest effectively ceased by the late 1980s, as the networks instrumental in driving and stimulating the discourse disintegrated and as the practitioners who had embraced the production of architectural drawings abandoned it for other considerations. Nonetheless, propelled by the act of aestheticization and the need to understand drawings as unique works in and of themselves, an exceptional period of questioning and reexamination emerged around architectural drawings and ultimately produced a time when nearly all facets of architectural discourse were interrogated.

**ADDENDUM**

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**THE MARKET FOR HISTORICAL ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS / ARCHITECTURAL MUSEUMS /  
ICAM / THE GUIDE TO THE DESCRIPTION OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS.**

This history has been limited primarily to contemporary architectural drawings in New York and the effects of events there. But it would be shortsighted to attribute all of the attention paid to architectural drawings around the world solely to the influence of New York. It would also be a mistake to view contemporary drawings as the only type of drawing that was of interest. While New York was the main influence in understanding contemporary architectural drawings as works of art, in New York and elsewhere, attention was also paid to historical drawings. These events occurred during precisely the same period, from 1970-1990.

Just as exhibitions were mounted in New York that promoted architectural drawings as autonomous art objects, there were other major shows focusing on architectural drawings mounted in the US and around the world.

The first event occurred in London at the Royal Institute of British Architects, where John Harris had worked for some time with Prunella Fraser to organize the Drawings Collection at the RIBA. This initial effort led to a traveling exhibition of 54 architectural drawings in 1961 entitled Architectural Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects. While the collection of drawings had always been open for research and study, Harris recalls that it was extremely disorganized and nothing

was taken care of. When putting the Drawings Collection together, he stated that he found seminal drawings in attic crawl spaces and behind the water heater at the RIBA.<sup>463</sup>

Once organized, the Drawings Collection still did not have its own space, nor did it have space to show the drawings. This was only resolved in 1970 when the RIBA purchased the building at 21 Portman Square, London specifically to house the Drawings Collection. During the building's renovation, some rooms became a gallery. Funded by Jack and Drue Heinz and designed by architect Alan Irvine, it was the first gallery designed explicitly for the display of architectural drawings.<sup>464</sup> Designated the Heinz Gallery, its inaugural exhibit was *Great Drawings from the Collection*. Queen Elizabeth II opened this exhibition.<sup>465</sup> The gallery held an average of five exhibitions per year until it closed in 1999, when arrangements were made for the collection to be moved to the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A).<sup>466</sup>

A large exhibition of architectural drawings titled *Marble Halls: Drawings and Models for Victorian Secular Buildings* was held at the V&A from August through October 1973 on the occasion of the rediscovery of some Victorian architectural drawings in its collection. Although the exhibition contained some prints and engravings, the catalogue clearly stated that "it [was] for the sake of the drawings and models that the exhibition has been arranged," and only these were included in the catalogue.<sup>467</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Harris interview with author, September 4, 2010.

<sup>464</sup> For a description of the gallery, see "Gallery for RIBA Drawings Collection, Portman Square, London," *Architectural Review* (1972): 365-367.

<sup>465</sup> In New York at the time, the Museum of Modern Art was the only major museum to have regular exhibitions of architecture, though at this time, these exhibitions were not focused on drawings, even when drawings were shown.

<sup>466</sup> The gallery was so successful in its design that when the RIBA closed the building, the gallery was disassembled and reconstructed in Ireland.

<sup>467</sup> Graham Reynolds "Forward," *Marble Halls; Drawings and Models for Victorian Secular Buildings* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1973), 7

Back in New York, in 1976: *Architectural and Ornament Drawings: Juvarra, Vanvitelli, the Bibiena Family and Other Italian Draughtsmen* was shown with works from the collection of the Department of Prints and Photographs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. John McKendry and A. Hyatt Mayor, both at different times the curator of Prints and Drawings, were responsible for the purchase of most of the drawings in this exhibition. Prior to it being shown at the Met, the exhibition was presented at Penn State University.

One early exhibition took place in Rome in 1978. The exhibition, *Roma Interrotta*, was organized as an urban design exhibition. The overall structure was determined by Piero Sartogo in conversation with Michael Graves, both of whom participated.<sup>468</sup> Each architect manipulated one section of Nolli's map of Rome and made proposals for the area covered by that section.<sup>469</sup> The results were first displayed from May through June in Rome, and traveled to the Cooper-Hewitt in New York from June 12 to August 12, 1979. Some reviewers took lessons for urban design from the exhibition. Others found the proposals lacking any semblance of applicability. One reviewer, Ada Louis Huxtable, saw the merit of the exhibition in the large, detailed drawings. She wrote, "All of these superbly executed renderings are worthy of collectors of museums. The way to enjoy this show is not to try too hard to understand it; the

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<sup>468</sup> Michael Graves recounts the genesis of the exhibition in an issue of *AD Profiles* that he guest edited on the theme of the exhibition. See Michael Graves, "Roman Interventions," *Architectural Design, AD Profiles 20: Roma Interrotta* 49, no. 3-4 (1979): 4.

<sup>469</sup> Participants were Piero Sartogo, Constantino Dardi, Antoine Grumbach, James Stirling, Paolo Portoghesi, Romaldo Giurgola, Robert Venturi, Colin Rowe, Michael Graves, Leon Krier, Aldo Rossi, and Robert Krier.



drawings are their own rewards.”<sup>470</sup> The drawings, as objects, she was stating, were the redeeming quality of a show that was otherwise difficult to understand.

Also in the fall of 1978, *Austrian Architecture, 1860-1930* was shown in Rome. The exhibition was comprised of photographs of drawings, rather than original drawings. The organizers wanted to include the original drawings, but were unable to do so for reasons not specified. A book based on the exhibition featured 109 full color images. The forward to the publication indicates that the exhibition also traveled around the world, though it did not indicate specific destinations. When the book was published, the curators decided to limit the use of images to extant original drawings. Where only prints or photos of drawings were available, they were omitted, emphasizing the importance of the drawings.<sup>471</sup> The Museum of Modern Art mounted an exhibition *Le Corbusier: Architectural Drawings* from January 20 to March 26 of the same year, though reviews of the exhibition were undecided about its intent.

The following year, a large exhibition titled *Architektenzeichnungen, 1478-1979: von 400 europäischen und amerikanischem Architekten* was held at the Staatlichen Museen in Berlin and then again, in 1980, at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Köln Overstolzenhaus. Four hundred and thirty drawings were in this exhibition. Also in Köln, at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and at the Museum Ludwig, an exhibition of works from the Cooper-Hewitt in New York, *Idee und Anspruch der Architektur: Zeichnungen des 16. bis 20. Jahrhunderts aus dem Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York*, was held from December 14 until January 27, 1980. One hundred and ten drawings were on show. The catalogue was explicit about how the drawings were to be perceived.

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<sup>470</sup> Ada Louis Huxtable, “Rome and Artistic Fantasy.” *The New York Times* (July 15, 1979).

<sup>471</sup> See Karl Mang and Eva Mang, *Viennese Architecture, 1860-1930, in Drawings*. Translated by Patricia Norris. (New York: Rizzoli, 1979).

“[T]he [drawings] can simply exist as witnesses to the architect/draughtsmen’s delight in the creative process of drawing, a conception for its own sake, not meant to be realized, the skilled hand’s facile play with pencil or chalk, pen or brush. It is with [this] type that the exhibition is mainly concerned.”<sup>472</sup> This same year in Toronto, Ballenford Books opened and continued to hold exhibitions of contemporary architectural drawings until it closed in 2008.<sup>473</sup>

The 1980s began with an exhibition in Helsinki at the Museum of Finnish Architecture entitled *Creation and Recreation: America Draws*. It was curated by Juhani Pallasmaa and was intended to travel through Europe. As the catalogue stated, the subject was chosen because the United States, in particular, was where drawings were used “to widen the scope of architectural expression.”<sup>474</sup> It continued, “After a period in America in which the beautiful and evocative drawing had lost its currency and its credibility . . . architects are once again exploring the possibilities of varied and enriched expression through the medium of drawing.”<sup>475</sup> The exhibition featured architects from around the U.S. to show this as a nationwide phenomenon. The exhibition was the impetus for a

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<sup>472</sup> See Elaine Evans Dee, *Idee und Anspruch der Architektur: Zeichnungen des 16. bis 20. Jahrhunderts aus dem Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York* (Köln: Museen der Stadt, 1979).

<sup>473</sup> Blue Print: for Architecture in Seattle and the William Stout bookshop in San Francisco also showed exhibitions of architectural drawings. Resulting from conversations between William Stout and Steven Hall came the Pamphlet Architecture series, which began in 1977. Prairie Avenue Bookstore in Chicago also sold some. Two of Ballenford’s first exhibitions were of drawings and collages by Richard Meier and drawings by Charles Moore. Richard Meier was held from November 1, 1979 to January 13, 1980 and Charles Moore was shown from March 5 to April 19, 1980. Ballenford also sometimes sold the work on display, such as in a 1981 exhibition of etchings by Aldo Rossi, which were on sale for \$140 each. See Babs Shapiro, “Form Follows Form: Pictures by Architects” *Trace* 1, no. 2 (April-June 1981), 7-15.

<sup>474</sup> Gerald Allen and Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Creation and Recreation: America Draws / Tämän Päivän Amerikkalaisia Arkkitehtuuripiirustuksia*. (Helsinki: Suomen Rakennustaiteen Museo, 1980), 6.

<sup>475</sup> Gerald Allen and Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Creation and Recreation: America Draws / Tämän Päivän Amerikkalaisia Arkkitehtuuripiirustuksia*. (Helsinki: Suomen Rakennustaiteen Museo, 1980), 18.

book by Gerard Allen and Richard Oliver published in 1981 entitled *Architectural Drawing: The Art and the Process*, which was based on the exhibition.<sup>476</sup>

Also in 1980, at the thirty-ninth Venice Biennale, the American pavilion held an exhibition entitled *Drawings, the Pluralist Decade* from June 1 to September 30.<sup>477</sup> According to the catalogue, the exhibition told the story of art in the 1970s “through a medium [drawings] that raised its status during that period.” Artists’ works formed the bulk of the exhibition. Some produced architectural works, including Siah Armajani, who showed a drawing for *Notations for Red Schoolhouse for Thomas Paine*, Mary Miss, who contributed a drawing entitled *Study for a Veiled Landscape*, and Alice Aycock, whose drawing for *Masonry Enclosure, Project for a Doorway* was shown. Along with the artists, three architects were featured: Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, and John Hejduk. One drawing each of *House IV* by Eisenman, *The Fargo Moorhead Cultural Center* by Graves, and the *0 30 45 60 90 House* by John Hejduk were shown.<sup>478</sup> As the catalogue mentioned, the three of them were included because as members of the “New York Five”, they played a “provocative part” in the elevation of drawings.<sup>479</sup>

In 1981, there was a seminal exhibition of 130 drawings by Palladio. First shown at the National Gallery in Washington DC, it then traveled to the Art Institute of Chicago, the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, the Brooks Memorial Art Gallery in Memphis, William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Center at the University of North Carolina, and the San Antonio Museum of Art. Its purpose was to counter the prevailing use of *Il*

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<sup>476</sup> Gerald Allen and Richard Oliver, *Architectural Drawing: The Art and the Process*. (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1981).

<sup>477</sup> The exhibition was also shown at the Institute of Contemporary Art, Philadelphia.

<sup>478</sup> Max Protetch lent these three works to the exhibition. Protetch also lent the drawings of Siah Armajani and Mary Miss. Alice Aycock’s drawing was lent by the John Weber Gallery.

<sup>479</sup> *Drawings, the Pluralist Decade*, Philadelphia: Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania, 1980.

*Quattro libri* to understand Palladio's architecture and show that his drawings were just as fertile a ground from which to learn as his influential texts. Another exhibition organized by the Pennsylvania State University, *Architectural Fantasy and Reality: Drawings from the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca in Rome, Concorsi Clementini, 1700-1750*, was mounted at the Penn State Museum of Art at University Park from December 6, 1981 to January 31, 1982 and later traveled to the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, where it was shown from February 16 to May 9, 1982. This same year in London, at the Hayward Gallery, a major exhibition of Sir Edwin Lutyens was mounted from November 18 to January 31, 1982. The exhibition mainly featured his drawings, along with some models.

In 1982, a large exhibition of 366 drawings of 195 projects was mounted simultaneously at Brown University, the Rhode Island Historical Society, and the Rhode Island School of Design from May 7 to June 19. It traveled to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the National Academy of Design in New York from July 14 to September 15, and finally to the American Institute of Architects Foundation in Washington DC from October 19 to January 3, 1983. Titled *Buildings on Paper: Rhode Island Architectural Drawings, 1825-1945*, it had two purposes: the first was to show the history of architectural drawings in Rhode Island; the second was to serve as a record of buildings that were demolished, altered, or never built. The curators were inspired by the attention given to architectural drawings and they recognized that the exhibition “. . . grew partly

from the particular interest in architectural drawings which is widespread at the present time . . .”<sup>480</sup>

In 1983, the exhibition *L'Art de l'architecte: Trois siècles de dessin d'architecture à Québec* was held at the Musée du Québec in Quebec City from April 6 to May 29. It was then shown at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa from July 29 to September 18 and in Toronto at the Royal Ontario Museum from October 15 to November 30. This exhibition was the first time that architectural drawings in Québec were the subject of a major exhibition. One hundred and five works were chosen for the show. Any drawings that served a projective role were eliminated from consideration. As the introduction to the catalogue stated, “. . . [S]ince the aim of this presentation is to emphasize the creativity of Québec City architects through their graphic illustration of their projects, all drawings related to buildings already constructed were necessarily eliminated. This limited the exhibition to genuine architectural projects where the graphic representation serves the idea and not the object represented.”<sup>481</sup> Along with a full catalogue of the works, the book featured historical essays about the development of drawings.

In 1984, the exhibition *Images et imaginaires d'architecture: dessin, peinture, photographie, arts graphique, theatre, cinema en Europe aux XIXe et XXe siècles* was shown at the Centre Pompidou in Paris. More than 600 works from 15 countries were gathered. Almost every conceivable medium that featured a representation of architecture

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<sup>480</sup> William H. Jordy and Christopher P. Monkhouse. *Buildings on Paper: Rhode Island Architectural Drawings, 1825-1945* (Providence, RI: Bell Gallery, List Art Center, Brown University, 1982), xi.

<sup>481</sup> Luc Noppen, Marc Grignon, and Shelley Hornstein-Rabinovitch. *L'Art de l'architecte: trois siècles de dessin d'architecture à Québec* (Québec: Musée du Québec and Université Laval, 1983), 11.

was included, from drawing and photographs to comic strips, to postage stamps, to banknotes. Even so, architectural drawings made up over half of the show and were “the core of the exhibition.”<sup>482</sup> A reviewer in Britain noted that this core was based on “the notion of the architectural drawing as art object.”<sup>483</sup> Also in 1984, The Royal Institute of British Architects mounted the exhibition *The Art of the Architect: Treasures from the RIBA's Collection*. Rizzoli reprinted the catalogue for wider U.S. distribution as *The Architect as Artist*. Another exhibition of architectural drawings, *Das Abenteuer der Ideen: Architektur und Philosophie seit der industriellen Revolution* was held at the Nationalgalerie in Berlin from September 16 to November 18, 1984. It was assembled under the auspices of the International Bauausstellung Berlin, 1987. An exhibition of drawings, it was meant to be an encyclopedic look at architecture in modernity. Loans were from RIBA, the Gilman Collection, and others.<sup>484</sup>

Another exhibition that was shown in 1984 deserves mention even though there were no details presented about the role of the drawings it displayed. This was *Die Revision der Moderne: Postmoderne Architektur, 1960-1980*, mounted from June 1 through October 10 at the Deutsches Architekturmuseum in Frankfurt. The catalogue was translated into English in 1985 as *Postmodern Visions: Drawings, Paintings, and Models by Contemporary Architects*. The exhibition displayed 591 drawings, paintings, and

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<sup>482</sup> Stated in Grace Glueck, “Architecture Viewed as Fact and Fantasy.” *The New York Times* (May 6 1984).

<sup>483</sup> Louis Hellman, “Pictures at an Exhibition,” *Architects' Journal* 21 (March 1984): 36.

<sup>484</sup> During this time, there was also an interest in architectural drawings that was beginning to pervade architectural history. Though this is an entire story that will not be covered in this work, one example of this is that in 1985 Wolfgang Pehnt revisited his interest in Expressionist architecture and published *Expressionist Architecture in Drawing*. In it he states that, “The freehand sketch is of particular importance for the understanding of expressionist architecture—even more important, it might be argued, than the finished building.” Also in 1982, Helen Powell and David Leatherbarrow released *Masterpieces of Architectural Drawings*, a historical look at the development of architectural drawings.

models that were deemed representative of Postmodernism. The only statement about the role of the drawings on exhibit is on the front flap of the dust jacket, which stated, “The direct route to the contemporary architectural mind is via the intimacy of the drawing board, where design is at its most daring and immediate.” Even so, this was the largest exhibition of Postmodern drawings ever assembled, and the publication of the catalogue in German and in English served to widely disseminate the drawings. After its tenure at the Deutsches Architekturmuseum the exhibition traveled to the Centre Pompidou in modified form from February 22 until April 22, 1985 under the name *Nouveaux plaisirs d’architectures: les pluralisms de la creation en Europe et aux Etats-Unis depuis 1968* *vus a travers les collections du Deutsches Architekturmuseum de Francfort.*

In 1985, a major exhibition was on show in the United States. *Building a National Image: Architectural Drawings for the American Democracy, 1789-1912*, was held at the *National Building Museum* after eight years of planning and research. This exhibition was one of the inaugural exhibitions of the National Building Museum. One review stated that 80 drawings were shown,<sup>485</sup> although the catalogue reproduced 109 in full color and another 74 black and white drawings were used to illustrate the essays.<sup>486</sup> One reviewer, Sarah Booth Conroy, saw the exhibition as giving the status of “artist” to those who completed the drawings. She wrote, “Its draftsmen (too often anonymous) now can be seen as important artists.”<sup>487</sup> Also in 1985, *Das Abenteuer der Ideen* was mounted in

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<sup>485</sup> See Carol D. Dimich, “Four Exhibits Open at the Pension Building,” *The Washington Post* (October 24, 1985), 32.

<sup>486</sup> This exhibition came to fruition because of preservation efforts on the part of the Dunlap Society, which began a visual documentation program on American art in 1974, with grants from the Education Division and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The pilot for this program was the documentation of the major buildings in Washington DC.

<sup>487</sup> Sarah Booth Conroy, “The Grandness of a Landmark: The National Building Museum,” *The Washington Post* (October 24, 1985): 51.

Milan for the triennale from May 19 to June 30 under the title *L'Avventura delle Idee nell'Architettura 1750-1980*, and a catalogue for it was published titled *Architettura moderna: l'avventura delle idee, 1750-1980*.

In 1986, a major exhibition was held at The Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, PA. *Drawing Toward Building: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics, 1732-1986* featured 186 architectural drawings that represented architects who practiced primarily in Philadelphia. It included works by these architects even if the projects were not located there. The catalogue featured textual histories of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries generated from the architectural drawings in the exhibition.

And in 1989, a major exhibition was held in Canada at the Canadian Center for Architecture. *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation, Works from the Collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal* marked the tenth anniversary of the CCA, by displaying works from its collection. The exhibition showed drawings, prints, and photographs as equal representations of architecture. After the prior exhibitions and the shift in thinking about architectural drawings that they helped generate, architectural drawings were displayed in this exhibition as equal representations of architecture with their own value. In an exhibition such as this, each form complemented the others. Each was a separate form of representation that contributed equally to the understanding of each other and of architecture.

This discussion has only included the large exhibitions of architectural drawings. It has not included smaller shows held at public institutions, or those held at academic



institutions, such as the Cooper Union,<sup>488</sup> Harvard, Yale, or Columbia, or the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. The Architectural Association, London also opened a gallery in 1979 to show historical and contemporary exhibitions, as well as student works. It was in 1983 that its most successful series of drawing exhibitions was inaugurated with Daniel Libeskind's *Chamberworks: Architectural Meditations on Themes from Heraclitus*. This was the first in a long and well-received series of exhibitions.<sup>489</sup>

These are just some of the more major exhibitions of architectural drawings that were held at this time. This evidences the tremendous interest around architectural drawings during this period.

Just as exhibitions were not limited to New York, neither was the market that developed. New York was the center for the trade in contemporary works, but markets for historical architectural drawings developed in London and Paris.<sup>490</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> One particular exhibition deserves mention is a 1977 exhibition entitled *Abraham Eisenman Hejduk Rossi*. This exhibition included works presented at the 1976 Venice Biennale. *Seven Gates to Eden*, by Raimund Abraham; *House X* by Peter Eisenman; John Hejduk's *The Silent Witnesses* and *Suburban Houses*; and Aldo Rossi's houses *La Calda Vita*, and *Casa Aborgoticino* formed this exhibition.

<sup>489</sup> These exhibitions resulted in the well-known AA Folio series. Loose prints of the drawings were included in 12 inches by 12 inches folios that could be purchased. Less well known is another publishing project initiated at the AA at the same time, entitled *Megas*. These were larger format volumes also to showcase architectural drawings, sometimes featuring drawings that were exhibited in the AA's gallery.

<sup>490</sup> There are two important historical events that are important to understand why architectural drawings emerged as aesthetic objects in London specifically. The first has to do with how architecture, as a discipline, was established in England when Inigo Jones bought Palladio's drawings from Scamozzi during a trip to Italy. Upon his return to London, Jones was given one of the most prestigious architectural appointments: the Surveyor of the King's Works. Through this position, he had an immense influence on the course of architecture in England, developing a new form of classical architecture in England from original drawings from Italy. These drawings were acquired by architects and collectors from John Webb, John Oliver, William Talman, John Talman, Lord Burlington (who joined them with seven other volumes of Palladio's work acquired during a trip to Venice) to the Dukes of Devonshire, and eventually to the Royal Institute of

The sale of Edmond Fatio's collection of architectural and decorative drawings in Zürich in 1959 called *Architectektur- und Dekorations-Zeichnungen der Barokzeit* was the impetus for a few collectors in London to become more seriously involved in collecting.<sup>491</sup> Wynne Jeudwyn, Yvonne French, and Sven Gahlin were some of the early collectors who bought from this sale.<sup>492</sup> At Sotheby's on May 23, 1951, a sale of *Important Architectural Drawings* from the Marquess of Bute collection contained 271 drawings. At Christie's on May 26, 1959, the sale the William Sandby Collection of Drawings contained 149 lots of drawings by architects Thomas and Paul Sandby. Despite

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British Architects. From the moment of Jones's return to London, drawings were a constituent part of architecture.

The second, and less well understood event is the Royal Academy Summer Exhibitions. The importance of these exhibitions should not be underestimated. As one architectural historian was to state, "In an age before illustrated newspapers and photography, the annual exhibition of contemporary art and architecture - visited in six weeks by more than 50,000 of the richest people in Britain - was an architect's best opportunity to impress critics and potential clients."

(Christopher Woodward, "Let there be light," *The Guardian* (March 31, 2006)). From the first year, 1769, there were exhibitions in which members of the Royal Academy could submit works. These summer exhibitions, as they have become known as, have been hung without interruption until the present day. There were also strict rules for the display of these drawings. All drawings had to be mounted with a 2-inch white border, and framed in gilt wooden frames. And from the very first year, many works, including architectural drawings, were for sale. Although the majority did not sell, architectural drawings were seen as works of art that could be bought.

Architects would even develop techniques to take advantage of these shows. They would either develop a style of drawing more suited for exhibition than architectural design, or would hire others to represent their architecture, such as when Sir John Soane hired Joseph Michael Gandy, or when William Walcot was hired by numerous architects to draw their schemes for display.

<sup>491</sup> The University of Michigan was one institution that purchased a large amount of material from these sales. In a catalogue for an exhibition held in 1965 by the collector Richard Wunder, the introduction states, "[. . .] Dr. Wunder's catalogue describes and illustrates the 107 drawings of ornament that the University of Michigan Museum has collected in the last six years under the directorship of Charles H. Sawyer. The Museum bought about half of the drawings at the sales of the collection of Edmond Fatio of Geneva [. . .]" See Richard P. Wunder, *Architectural and Ornament Drawings of the 16th to the Early 19th centuries in the Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1965).

<sup>492</sup> The Dutch collector Lodewijk Houthakker had drawings from this sale in his collection. Some other drawings in his collection were from the architect and decorator Charles-Eduard Mewes and designer Emilio Terry, collectors of the same generation as Fatio.

these early steps, there were no major players in the architectural drawings market until Ben Weinreb opened his bookstore in 1961.<sup>493</sup>

B Weinreb Ltd. was, at one time, the hub of the architectural books trade in London.<sup>494</sup> The primary architectural booksellers that had been active over the prior century were Batsfords on North Audley Street, which stopped selling to focus on publishing, and Trianti on Charlotte Street, which was in decline. Weinreb, on the advice of John Harris and Jimmy Palms, the librarian at the Royal Institute of British Architecture, decided to focus his practice on architectural books.<sup>495</sup>

Weinreb opened his first store at 72 New Oxford Street, on the southern border of Bloomsbury, between the antiquarian collections around the British museum and the bookshops still centered on Charing Cross Road.<sup>496</sup> In 1960, Weinreb moved his shop to 39 Great Russell Street, London, closer to the British museum and just around the corner

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<sup>493</sup> Former employees Julia Elton and Priscilla Wrightson, interviewed July 31, 2012 and August 3, 2012 respectively, spoke about their experiences at B Weinreb, Ltd, and their memories of Ben Weinreb.

<sup>494</sup> Weinreb did not take a clear path to a career in books. Ending his formal education after high school, he drifted for a time before finding his first job at Foyle's bookstore in the theology department, where he was fired six weeks later for being tardy two days in a row. He spent time at W H Smith and then with the publisher Ernst Benn. He subsequently tried the theater, where he failed as a writer and was fired at as a stage-carpenter. He found a job at a bookshop owned by David Archer. The year before Weinreb started, Archer had the good fortune, to publish some poems by an as yet unknown author by the name of Dylan Thomas. Thomas and Weinreb ended up sharing the apartment above the bookstore. The war interrupted his professional career, but in 1952 Weinreb opened a book finding business for private customers. Eventually, Weinreb became interested in architectural books. Much has been written about Ben Weinreb (1912-1999), and much can be found about his life in obituaries. See Nicholas Barker, "Obituary: Ben Weinreb," *The Independent* (April 7, 1999). John Harris, *The Times* (May 7, 1999). See also the wonderful tribute to Ben Weinreb, catalogue 59. *Ben Weinreb, 1912-1999: The History of a Bookseller*. For a more complete description of this period of Weinreb's life, see "How John Betjeman showed Ben Weinreb the way to the Top," *House and Garden*, (Dec/Jan 1978/79).

<sup>495</sup> At the same time, there was a builder in Islington, London, who Weinreb had a conversation with about architecture. He said to Weinreb that Vitruvius said everything that needs to be said about building. Weinreb himself sought to buy copies of this work, and in the process built his first stock of books. Eileen Harris, notable historian and wife of John Harris, worked for Weinreb helping to build this stock and produce the first of his catalogues.

<sup>496</sup> Here, Weinreb found his first regular customer, Sir John Betjeman, CBE, Poet Laureate, and founding member of the Victorian Society. He would visit the shop every Wednesday.

from the Architectural Association, located at 36 Bedford Square. Weinreb then moved across the street. It was at these locations on Great Russell Street where Weinreb would establish himself as the most eminent antiquarian bookseller of architectural books, prints, and drawings of his day. Customers regularly included the architectural historians John Summerson, Henry Russell Hitchcock, Howard Colvin, Gavin Stamp, and David Watkin and the AA chairman Alvin Boyarsky.

B Weinreb Ltd, registered in 1956, was the center of the architectural book trade in London for 27 years. From 1961 to 1987, the store was in business continuously, but for a lull between 1969 and 1971. During this time, Weinreb released 58 catalogues,<sup>497</sup> which themselves set new standards for cataloguing and connoisseurship. In these catalogues, Weinreb listed over 5,000 original architectural drawings for sale, and sold many more than were listed in the catalogues.

In the late 1960s, Weinreb engaged in discussions about his collection with the University of Austin, Texas and in 1968, he sold the entire collection to the university. This exchange instantly gave Austin a world-renowned library. Within this collection, were over 3,400 architectural drawings that now form The Ben Weinreb Collection of Architectural Drawings at UT, Austin.

Still wanting to maintain a bookstore after the sale, Weinreb started anew. With the proceeds from this sale, he opened another bookstore on Great Russell Street, this time at number 93, and later moved to a storefront across the street. The proximity to the Architectural Association ensured that the relationship between the store and the school

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<sup>497</sup> The catalogues themselves are today rare collectors' items, a full set of them easily going for \$1,000 or more.

would continue to grow, as architectural historians, teachers, and students would frequent his shop.

After 1978, although drawings still appeared in Weinreb's catalogues, the number was far less than in prior years; he increasingly concentrated on selling prints. Beginning in 1984, he opened the Weinreb Architecture Gallery expressly for this purpose.<sup>498</sup> By the late 1970s, the market for architectural drawings had shifted and auction houses were becoming active players.

Both Christie's and Sotheby's, in their main auction houses in London, were feeding the market. In their sales devoted specifically to architectural drawings,<sup>499</sup> which occurred between 1978 and 1990, over 3,600 lots of architectural drawings were offered, amounting to well over 7,000 drawings not including sketchbooks and notebooks, which make the total close to twice that number.

The first sale of architectural drawings that was not works from a previously established collection was held at Sotheby's, London at on January 26th, 1978.<sup>500</sup> The

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<sup>498</sup> Twelve sale exhibitions of prints were held at this location between 1983 and 1987, when Weinreb sold his stock to Henry Sotheran, Ltd., another bookseller who entered into the architectural books and drawings trade. Two further exhibitions were held at Sotheran's.

<sup>499</sup> There were sales prior to these that included architectural drawings. Among these included the significant 1951 sale of the architectural drawings of the Marquess of Bute, which included 271 drawings.

<sup>500</sup> The beginning of sales of architectural drawings, grouped as such, began under the aegis of James Miller. In the early 1970s, Miller came to London, where a group of his friends were interested in architecture. One of these friends was John Martin Robinson, who was working for the General London Council in the Historic Buildings Division. Through him, Miller was introduced to Howard Colvin, John Harris, and John Summerson, the preeminent architectural historians of the day. Miller took a position at Sotheby's in the Prints Department; at that time, the material was closeted with the Old Master Drawings, as was common practice then. Then, in 1980, he was put in charge of the British Watercolours department. Because of his interest in architectural drawings, piqued by the associations he has made, Miller began to experiment with placing architectural drawings into sales. His first sale of note for the purposes of this work was a sale of Thomas Fischer Drawings, which were records of buildings in Bedfordshire, England (Weinreb bought many works from this sale, as did collectors such as Hermione Hobhouse, whose nephew, Niall Hobhouse, is a major collector of architectural drawings today based in

title was *Architectural Designs and Drawings*. The intention of this first sale was to gauge whether there was enough interest in architectural drawings to sustain a sale. In this sale, there were only 25 lots of architectural drawings, lots 67-90b.<sup>501</sup> The relative success of this sale showed that successful sales of architectural drawings could be held.

On March 1 and November 8, 1979, Sotheby's held two more sales of architectural drawings: *Architectural Plans and Designs* and *European Architectural Drawings* respectively. In 1980, there were three: *Thomas Fischer's Watercolours of Bedfordshire and British Architectural Drawings* and *Watercolours, Architectural and Ornamental Drawings*, and *Architectural Watercolours and Drawings Related to the Life and Residences of the 1st Duke of Wellington*. In 1981, there were two: *British Architectural Drawings and Watercolours, 1660-1960* and *Architectural and Decorative Drawings*. In 1983, there was a sale of *Victorian Watercolours and Architectural Drawings and Watercolours*. In 1984, a sale was held of *British and Continental Architectural Drawings*. The sale in 1985 was of *Botanical and Architectural Drawings and Watercolours*. In 1986, there was a sale of *Architectural Drawings and Watercolours*. In 1987, there was another sale of *Architectural Drawings and Watercolours*. Also in 1987, a sale was held at Sotheby's, Monaco for *Dessins*

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London. Galleries were also buying, such as the Fischer Fine Art gallery and Abbott and Holder). In the late 1970s, Miller hired Charles Hind, now chief curator of the drawings collection at the RIBA. It was Charles Hind who saw the opportunity at Sotheby's to create sales focused on architectural drawings. Through James Miller's encouragement, and Charles Hind's diligence, general sales of architectural drawings were held.

<sup>501</sup> Ten of these lots of architectural drawings sold for over £100, with the highest bid for lot 86 at £450. On the low end, there was one drawing that sold for only £5, lot 80, while lot 76 was sold for only £10. Lots 67, 68, and 89 were not sold, either because there were no bids or because they were withdrawn. The hammer price for the 23 lots that were sold totaled £2,985. But even so, this sale was seen as a success for architectural drawings. The other works in this sale totaled 229, with an average price of about £200. The prices for the works that were not architectural drawings ranged from £15 to £1,000. The major auction houses did not shy away from low priced works at this time.

*d'architecture*. There was also one sale in London in 1988: *Architectural Drawings and Watercolours*, and another in Monaco: again, *Dessins d'architecture*. In 1989, there were two sales, both of *Architectural Drawings and Watercolours*. And finally, in 1990 there was a two-day sale of *Architectural Drawings and Models*. As Charles Hind related, the last Sotheby's sale was one of the best sale in terms of quality, but it fell flat.<sup>502</sup> The decision was then made that it would be their last sale of architectural drawings.<sup>503</sup>

During this same period, Christie's in London also had a large number of sales.<sup>504</sup> Their first was four years after the first sale at Sotheby's. On March 24, 1982, they had their initial sale of *Fine Architectural and Decorative Drawings*. This was followed in the same year, on December 14, by another sale of the same name. In 1983, there were four important sales: one on *Fine Architectural Drawings*, a second on *Architectural, Decorative and Topographical Drawings and Watercolors*, and a two-part sale, *Important Architectural Drawings and Watercolours, I: The Sir Albert Richardson Collection and Important Architectural Drawings and Watercolours II*. In both 1984 and 1985, Christie's did not specifically announce titles of architectural drawings at the sales; instead, the drawings were grouped together with other works. They still represented an unusually high proportion of the works in the sales, with 133 lots of architectural drawings in the 1984 sale of *Important Old Master Drawings* and 151 lots in the 1985 sale of the same name. In 1986, there was a return to general sales of architectural drawings with a sale of *Fine Architectural Drawing and Watercolours*. A charity sale was held in 1987, which included contemporary works by architects. Its title was *Charity*

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<sup>502</sup> Charles Hind interview with author February 23, 2012

<sup>503</sup> Charles Hind interview with author.

<sup>504</sup> A particularly important sale prior to this period that included architectural drawings was the collection of William Sandby that was sold in 1959. Another took place in 1976 when Richard P. Wunder's collection of fine architectural ornament and other master drawings was dispersed.

*Sale of Works by Leading Contemporary Architects and Designers, In the Aid of the Brunel Engineering Centre Trust, English Drawings and Watercolours, Including Architectural Drawings.* In 1988, *Fine Architectural and Decorative Drawings* were sold, while in 1989, there was a sale of *British Drawings and Watercolours including Architectural Drawings*. The last sale in this series was held in 1990 with a sale of *Old Master and Architectural Drawings*. As evidence that the market was declining, in 1991, Christie's had some architectural drawings by Charles Robert Cockerell, and included them in a sale of *British Drawings and Watercolours*; in total, the entire sale contained only 18 architectural drawings. Christie's final sale titled *Drawings of Architecture and Ornament from the Lodewijk Houthakker Collection*,<sup>505</sup> occurred in 1994 when Lodewijk Houthakker's substantial collection of drawings was disbanded.

Over the course of these 11 years, there were an astonishing 32 sales held of architectural drawings at these two auction houses alone, which achieved sales of over 2 million pounds. The speed at which these sales developed was quite remarkable; even more remarkable was the rapid evaporation of the sales. In their heyday during the 1980s, a significant number of architectural drawings would come into the auction houses on a weekly basis. In contrast, from 1990 to the current day, the number of architectural drawings brought to the houses equates to approximately one drawing per month.<sup>506</sup>

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<sup>505</sup> An incredible catalogue was produced on the Houthakker Collection. See Peter Fuhring, *Design Into Art: Drawings for Architecture and Ornament, the Lodewijk Houthakker Collection* (London and New York: P. Wilson Publishers, Distributed in the USA by Harper & Row Publishers, 1989).

<sup>506</sup> Stated by Charles Hind. Charles Hind interview with author, February 23, 2012.



In Paris, the Hôtel Drouot followed Sotheby's lead and held two sales in 1981.<sup>507</sup> *Dessins anciens, dessins d'architecture et d'ornement des XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* was held on February 20, 1981 and a sale of the same name was again held on June 19. On April 11, 1986 a major sale occurred by the name of *Dessins d'architectes XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, Antoine, Léon et Alfred Vaudoyer. Dessins d'architecture fin XIXe siècle . . .; belle collection d'ex-voto marins du XVIIIe siècle . . .; and cartes marines anciennes* was held on February 11, 1987. A sale entitled *Avant garde* was held on April 23, 1990. On November 17 of the same year a sale was held under the title of *Dessins anciens, dessins d'architecture XVIIIe, XIXe et XXe siècles*. Two sales were held in 1991: one, on November 27, consisted of the work of Yona Friedman, and the other, on December 9, was titled *Important ensemble de dessins d'architecture; dessins anciens*.

What is noteworthy is that these sales took place at high-end, elite auction houses known for selling investment quality art, and it was these auction houses that were developing the market.<sup>508</sup> This is partly attributable to a boom in the general art market during this time. Sotheby's expanded to Belgravia, while Christie's expanded to South Kensington. There was enough stock and were enough new markets developing that two locations for each house could be supported in London alone. Christie's expanded to Amsterdam and Zürich in the 1970s, and to Hong Kong in the 1980s. Sotheby's also expanded to Hong Kong, Milan, and Geneva in the 1970s. To fill demand during this period, the auction houses also expanded the kinds of works sold to include architectural

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<sup>507</sup> A very early sale that contained architectural drawings was in 1896 when Hyppolite Destailleur's collection was broken up. In 1937 a sale was held that contained a modest number (20) architectural ornament drawings.

<sup>508</sup> Bonham's in London also had one auction in which architectural drawings were noted. This was *Selected English and Continental Watercolours, Including Architectural Drawings* held on November 28, 1984.

drawings. The auction houses and architectural drawings were mutually supportive. That is to say, the interest in architectural drawings and the exposure provided by these auction houses both had roles in the increased attention paid to them.

These sales did a number of things. First, they brought architectural drawings to the attention of a larger public. Similar to what was happening in New York and other U.S. locations, architectural drawings were becoming perceived as works of art worth collecting as investments. There were individuals, collectors, galleries, and even institutions such as the RIBA buying through these sales.

By focusing sales on architectural drawings, the auction houses effectively promoted architectural drawings as a distinct form of production, separate from other forms of art, including other drawings, watercolors and works on paper. And though in the 1990s they would again be back within sales of drawings and watercolors, for this short time, they would stand on their own

Galleries also capitalized on this trend in historical architectural drawings. For instance, in London, the Gallery Lingard was founded in 1982 by husband and wife Timothy and Jane Lingard. Their first gallery was on Pall Mall in London; their second was on Walpole Street in Chelsea. They closed the gallery in 1989, though they retained a studio in Chelsea to operate privately. They held 19 exhibitions on various subjects over the course of the eight years they were open.<sup>509</sup> Timothy Lingard remembers the

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<sup>509</sup> The exhibitions were *Buildings in Perspective: An Exhibition of British Architectural Perspectives, 1930-1939* ; *Horatio Walter Lonsdale, 1844-1919: Architectural Artist* ; *On the Face of It: An Exhibition of British and European Architectural Elevations, 1830-1950* ; *Softs and Hards: And Exhibition of Drawings by Victorian and Edwardian Architects* ; *Trad Jazz & Mod, And Exhibition of European Architectural Drawings of the 1920s and 1930s* ; *William Walcot, 1874-1942: Artist-Architect, and Exhibition of his Life and Work* ; *Prize Papers: Architectural Drawings for Examination, Competition, and Exhibition, 1800-1940* ; *Greeks and Goths: An Exhibition of Architectural Drawings in Revival Styles, 1800-1930* ; *The Prophets of*

1970s and 1980s as particularly good times for sales of historical architectural drawings in general. Most of the drawings from several of their shows sold before the exhibitions closed. They recall their main competitor as Ben Weinreb.<sup>510</sup>

Other galleries had smaller sales of historical drawings. In New York, The Shepherd Gallery, Artemis Fine Arts, the ARTIS group, the André Emmerich Gallery and the William H. Schab Gallery all held sales. In England, Henry Potts, Hazlitt, Gooden, Fox, Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., Hugh Pagan, Charles Plant Fine Arts, Christopher Wood Gallery, and Fischer Fine Arts were all part of the developing market. In Munich, the Galerie Carrol and in Duesseldorf C. G. Boerner also played a role. In Paris, the gallery Piasa and the Galerie Daniel Greiner and in Rome, the Galleria Carlo Virgilio, were among other galleries that sold historical architectural drawings.

### **The Architectural Museum / ICAM / ADAG**

All of this attention devoted to architectural drawings was tied into the foundation of architectural museums. Beginning in the late 1970s, there was widespread recognition that architectural drawings could be collected to constitute a history of architecture.

Accordingly, Institutions such as the Canadian Center for Architecture in Montreal

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*Modern Architecture: Frank Lloyd Wright and Eric Mendelsohn ; Capital Buildings: An Exhibition of Architectural Designs and Topographical Views of London ; Cyril A. Farey, 1888-1954, "Fareyland" : An Exhibition of Watercolours and Drawings by Cyril Farey ; Sit Matthew Digby Wyatt, 1820-1877: Travel Sketches in France, Italy, and Germany 1844-1846 ; Henry Moore and Michael Rosenauer ; The High Game: An Exhibition of Architectural Drawings, 1800-1950 ; Thumbnotes & Masterpieces by Cyril Farey, 1888-1954: Architectural Sketches and Watercolours between 1900 and 1925 ; Two Pioneer Modernists, Reginald Uren and Tom Ellis: An Exhibition of Early Architectural Designs ; High Victorians: An Exhibition of Architectural Prints ; William Walcot, 1874-1943: Magical Impressions, An Exhibition of Oils, Watercolours, Drawings, and Etchings ; Michael Rosenauer, Architect: Vienna-London-New York ; Great Goths: A Selection of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs from the Collection of James O'Byrne, Architect, Collector, and Benefactor ; and Walls, Whatnots, and Within: An Exhibition of Watercolours and Drawings for the Interior and Interior Artefacts, 1800-1950.*

<sup>510</sup> Timothy Lingard interview with author, June 28, 2012.

(CCA) and the Deutsches Architekturmuseum (DAM) in Frankfurt were both founded during this period. The founders of both institutions, Phyllis Lambert and Heinrich Klotz, were avid collectors of architectural drawings.

Phyllis Lambert assembled a large part of her collection through Ben Weinreb, and holds 19,762 volumes bought from him.<sup>511</sup> Drawings were Lambert's first collection of architectural material, many of which were bought from Weinreb. Her initial purchase was a drawing of the Cortile del Belvedere in Rome. She first became familiar with this piece when she took a course with architectural historian James Ackerman at NYU. A friend in New York, Regina Slatkin, located the drawing in the 1950s around the time of the Fatio sales. When Lambert saw it, she purchased it, and began her collection of architectural drawings. Another friend, dealer Lucien Goldschmidt, provided her the opportunity to buy a set of de Fleury drawings, which he had acquired from the Fatio sale. Once she met Weinreb, though, her collection increased considerably. "The first thing I knew about him were the drawings, of course," Lambert said.<sup>512</sup> One purchase she remembers as formative was a volume of drawings from Nicholas Hawksmoor, which mapped Hawksmoor's entire design process. In all, Lambert purchased around 2,000 drawings from Weinreb before the Canadian Center for Architecture was even opened. Every year, Weinreb would invite Lambert to his bookshop in London. Books, drawings, and prints would be stacked and organized, with the more valuable items laid out for

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<sup>511</sup> Lambert and Weinreb met after she decided to found the CCA on the recommendation of John Harris. Harris and Robin Middleton, then at Cambridge University, aided Lambert in understanding what should and could be collected. Lambert would travel to London every few months to buy books. The acquisition stopped after word came to Lambert that a conservator, Llewellyn, was altering books from their original state to sell and that Weinreb also had someone hand coloring the drawings in the bookstore. Lambert interview with author, February 14, 2014.

<sup>512</sup> Lambert interview with author.

Lambert's perusal.<sup>513</sup> Lambert would buy so much on the advice of Weinreb that, as John Harris recalls, she would purchase anything indiscriminately.<sup>514</sup>

Lambert's recollection of the Hawksmoor album as a particularly important purchase reveals her viewpoint and the CCA's way of collecting architectural material. The CCA concentrated on entire archives or bodies of work that related to the process of design, in order to understand how projects or careers develop. Connoisseurship was less of interest to Lambert than a full understanding of a body of work.

The Deutsches Architekturmuseum (DAM) was the other museum for architecture founded during this time. Although a proposal for the museum was signed in 1977 by the city of Frankfurt, construction of the building was not completed until 1984, though collecting for the museum began in 1979. The building was designed by Ungers, based on the themes of his *House within a House*, shown at the Castelli Gallery in 1980. The DAM specialized in the collection of twentieth century architectural drawings and models. Primarily focused on Postmodernism, purchases were typically drawings and models of contemporary works during its early years. Founded by Heinrich Klotz, the collection consisted principally of exemplars of projects—key drawings and models, in contrast to the CCA collection. Today, the DAM holds approximately 200,000 architectural drawings and 1,300 models. The Getty Center was another institution that began to collect in 1981.

These institutions, in particular, were major players in the architectural drawings market. They were, therefore, integral to the understanding of architecture drawings as a commodity that both represented architecture and stood as art.

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<sup>513</sup> This is recalled by Weinreb's employees Julia Elton and Priscilla Wrightson.

<sup>514</sup> John Harris interview with author, September 5, 2012.

In the same year that the CCA was founded—1979—a group from 25 architectural museums, archives, and libraries convened in Helsinki.<sup>515</sup> The initiative for this meeting was taken by Juhani Pallasmaa and Asko Salokorpi of the Finnish Museum of Architecture. The goal of the participating institutions was to assess whether architectural museums could be viable institutions, and whether it was beneficial to have these repositories be in contact with each other.<sup>516</sup> Their conclusions were affirmative, based on the conclusion that architectural drawings could be collected and constitute a history of architecture. Consequently, on August 22, 1979, the International Conference of Architectural Museums (ICAM) was founded. John Harris was voted as the first president. Its name was changed, in 1981, to the International Confederation of Architectural Museums to embody the diversity of institutions that were members.

Following the success of the ICAM meetings, industry participants saw an increasing need to create universal standards for understanding and classifying the museum collections. Thus, the Architectural Drawings Advisory Group, with administrative support from The Getty, was formed in 1983 and convened at the Center

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<sup>515</sup> Representatives arrived from the Alvar Aalto Museum, the Architecture Museum in Aachen, the Architecture Museum in Ljubljana, Arkiték Archive of Modern Danish Design, Architecture in Copenhagen, the Canadian Architectural Archives in Calgary, the Centro Studi Compensario Milanese, the Committee for the Preservation of Architectural Records in New York, Deutschlandfunk in Cologne, the Dutch Documentation Center for Architecture in Amsterdam, the Frank Lloyd Wright Association, the DAM in Frankfurt, the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, the Museum of Applied Arts in Belgrade, the Museum of Architecture in Wrocław, the Museum of Finnish Architecture, the Museum of Hungarian Architecture in Budapest, the State Service for the Conservation of Monuments in Zeist, the Schusev State Museum of Architecture in Moscow, the Swedish Museum of Architecture in Stockholm, the Museum of Technology in Helsinki, the Burnham Library of Architecture at the Art Institute of Chicago, the CCA, the Drawing Collection of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, the Horta Museum in Brussels, and the Norwegian Museum of Architecture in Oslo.

<sup>516</sup> Phyllis Lambert was one of the participants, as was John Harris, who became the first president of ICAM. As Lambert recalls her initial involvement, “John said to me one day, ‘There’s going to be this meeting in Helsinki of all the architectural associations and whatever. I said, ‘I’ll be there!’ So I went. It was the founding meeting. We decided to create the ICAM.” Lambert interview with author.

for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts (CASVA).<sup>517</sup> Led by Hank Millon, the ADAG was an international group of drawing specialists representing the major repositories in North America and Europe.<sup>518</sup> What was originally thought to require only a few meetings to accomplish their goals became an eight year endeavor, convening four times per year. In 1990, a steering committee was appointed to develop a publication of the ADAG's conclusions, which resulted in the 1994 publication *A Guide to the Description of Architectural Drawings*. *The Guide* pushed cataloging to its limits, delimiting every imaginable category and classification. This book both asserts architectural drawing as a category of objects with an autonomous identity and value and defines those characteristics. The fact that there was concern about cataloging the drawings

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<sup>517</sup> Precedence for this endeavor began in 1970 when The Committee for the Preservation of Architectural Records in New York City (COPAR) pioneered the architectural records movement, creating a guide for resource materials in New York City entitled *Architecture Research Materials in New York City* (1977). The goal of universal standardization that ADAG was striving for was also present in another Getty project, the Art and Architecture Thesaurus (AAT). The AAT defined a controlled vocabulary for describing art, architecture, and material culture since the late 1970s. The Getty funded both the ADAG and AAT with monies bequeathed by J. Paul Getty when he died. In order to maintain its charitable status, The Getty could not show profit, and so needed to spend about \$1,000,000 per week. In order to accomplish this, institutions were approached to define potential funding. Millon was on the board of The Getty and wanted to be involved at some level with architectural drawings. Thus, the ADAG was born, among approximately 15 other projects. While most projects were not completed, the ADAG, pushed by Millon, continued until its conclusion; he believed there was benefit in showing all of nuances of architectural drawings. Another of the projects undertaken was a teaming of ADAG with Intellicorp, an artificial intelligence company, with the goal being to “model the world of architecture drawings.” While it was not ultimately successful, it represented one of the goals of ADAG, that “meaning is built into the data.” Much of the information on ADAG comes from interviews. Hank Millon interview with author August 18, 2011 and Vicki Porter interview with author March 23, 2012. Porter was the administrator for ADAG. The quoted text is from the interview with Porter.

<sup>518</sup> Members were The Royal Institute of British Architects, the Canadian Centre for Architecture, the National Archives of Canada, the American Architectural Foundation, the American Institute of Architects, the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, the Cooper Hewitt Museum, the Library of Congress, the National Archives and Records Administration of the United States, the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Deutsches Architekturmuseum. In addition, observers were sent from the École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, and the Royal Library, Windsor.

appropriately and effectively in order for them to be accessed by researchers and scholars, further designates them as important parts of cultural history.

This attention to historical architectural drawings certainly affected the understanding of architectural drawings in general and aided in their emergence as autonomous artifacts. But nowhere was the debate so intense or the thinking so varied as with contemporary architectural drawings.





**INTERVIEWS (ALPHA. LAST NAME), CONTINUED**

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**ALAN IRVINE**  
ARCHITECT OF THE HEINZ GALLERY, RIBA

**AUGUST 9, 2012**

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**BARBARA JAKOBSON**  
FORMER HEAD OF JUNIOR COUNCIL, MOMA ;  
ORGANIZER OF EXHIBITIONS AT THE LEO  
CASTELLI GALLERY

**NOVEMBER 16, 2012**

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**ANTONIA JANNONE**  
FOUNDER, GALLERIA ANTONIA JANNONE:  
DISEGNI DI ARCHITETTURA

**MARCH 4, 2013 ; APRIL 29, 2013 ;  
MAY 6, 2013 (CORRESPONDENCE)**

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**PHYLLIS LAMBERT**  
FOUNDER, CANADIAN CENTRE FOR  
ARCHITECTURE

**JULY 14, 2011 ; FEBRUARY 14, 2014**

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**JILL LEVER**  
FORMER EMPLOYEE AT THE RIBA

**JULY 4, 2012**

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**TIMOTHY LINGARD**  
FOUNDER, GALLERY LINGARD

**JUNE 28, 2012**

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**BRETT LITTMAN**  
DIRECTOR, THE DRAWING CENTER

**AUGUST 29, 2011**

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**ANDREW MACNAIR**  
DIRECTOR OF EXHIBITIONS, IAUS ;  
ARCHITECT

**MARCH 5, 2013**

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**JAMES MILLER**  
FORMER HEAD OF DRAWINGS AND  
WATERCOLORS, SOTHEBY'S LONDON

**JULY 3, 2012**

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**HENRY MILLON**  
PRESIDENT, ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS  
ADVISORY GROUP

**AUGUST 18, 2011**

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CONT'D

**INTERVIEWS (ALPHA. LAST NAME), CONTINUED**

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**JUDITH YORK NEWMAN**  
FOUNDER SPACED GALLERY

**MARCH 12, 2013**

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**JANET PARKS**  
CURATOR OF DRAWINGS AND ARCHIVES,  
AVERY LIBRARY

**DECEMBER 3, 2012**

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**BARBARA PINE**  
COLLECTOR

**NOVEMBER 27, 2012**

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**VICKI PORTER**  
ADMINISTRATOR, THE ARCHITECTURAL  
DRAWINGS ADVISORY GROUP

**MARCH 23, 2012**

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**MAX PROTETCH**  
FOUNDER, THE MAX PROTETCH GALLERY

**FEBRUARY 18, 2013**

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**MARGARET RICHARDSON**  
FORMER EMPLOYEE AT THE RIBA

**JULY 10, 2013**

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**LUCE VAN ROOY**  
FOUNDER, LUCE VAN ROOY GALLERY

**AUGUST 8, 2012 ; SEPTEMBER 3, 2012 ;  
NOVEMBER 3, 2012 ; NOVEMBER 23, 2012  
(CORRESPONDENCE)**

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**BERNICE ROSE**  
FORMER CURATOR, DEPARTMENT OF  
DRAWINGS, MOMA

**NOVEMBER 28, 2012**

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**JAN VAN DER WATEREN**  
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**INTERVIEWS (ALPHA. LAST NAME), CONTINUED**

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**PRISCILLA WRIGHTSON**  
FORMER EMPLOYEE OF B. WEINREB LTD.  
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