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Denise Costanzo^a

^a The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA, 16802, USA

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Text, lies and architecture: Colin Rowe, Robert Venturi and Mannerism

Denise Costanzo

*The Pennsylvania State University, University Park,
PA 16802, USA
Email: drc150@psu.edu*

Colin Rowe's few published statements about Robert Venturi from 1967–76 convey a distance reinforced by their frequent association with two opposing architectural camps during this period (the 'Whites' and the 'Grays'). Yet their interests and priorities overlapped to a remarkable extent; both applied the lessons of architectural history to contemporary design and shared intense interests in early modern Italian architectural traditions. Perhaps most unusually, both consistently asserted the relevance of Mannerism to modern architecture.

In retrospect, it appears curious that Rowe and Venturi were not allies, and seldom (if at all) acknowledged their many parallels and intersections: a lacuna mirrored in scholarship, which rarely considers them as a pair. However, Rowe's three direct discussions of Venturi during this period, all of which mention *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, its impact and its manifestation in Venturi's design work, provide insights into their distinct but related approaches to Mannerism, history and architectural authorship. They also suggest why these seemingly natural allies kept each other at arms' length, despite their tightly intertwined interests. The parallels and divergences in their writing invite a consideration of the means and ends of presenting architectural history to an architectural audience, and how historians learn from architects.

Introduction

Today the art historical discussion of Mannerism has achieved levels of sophistication and detachment which c. 1950 were simply not available; but, on the other hand, it is not evident that the modern architect's consciousness of sixteenth century themes has been considerably advanced. There are still two bodies of information—the one art historical, the other modern architectural—and the possibilities of their convergence in a work of rational exegesis still remain remote. Since the writing of this article the initiatives of

Robert Venturi have, to some extent, illuminated the situation. Nevertheless, while Venturi has been quite unabashed in his parade of elements of Mannerist origin and while, by these means, he has extended the theater of architectural discourse, the theme modern architecture and Mannerism still awaits the extended and positive interpretation which it deserves.¹

This passage from Colin Rowe's 1976 introduction to his 1950 essay on 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture' asserts a schism dividing scholarly and creative understandings of architectural history. It also

provides Rowe's earliest, and lengthiest, acknowledgement that he and Venturi shared an interest in this pairing of subjects. Although Rowe admits that the Philadelphia architect had increased Mannerism's visibility, he believes Venturi had not furthered any substantive consideration of its relationship to contemporary practice. Rowe was more ambivalent in his 1967 double book review of *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* and Reyner Banham's *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?*² There he dismisses Venturi's 'gentle manifesto' as a glorified picture book presenting the author's personal (if 'enlightened') taste and found its emphasis on subjective perceptions of form diminished the book's potential efficacy: 'Had Venturi's sensibility resulted in more than a collection of stimulating visual insights, entrenched establishments would be more seriously threatened than they will be.'³

Rowe may have wished Venturi's book were a more pointed weapon, because it echoed his own priorities. In 1996 Rowe declared that he and Venturi 'had achieved almost a marriage of the minds' in the late 1960s.⁴ Many passages from Joan Ockman's overview of Rowe's career, which contains only two direct references to Venturi, could easily describe either figure: 'his fundamental ambivalence about modernism, his perambulation of different cultures (British, American, Italian), his perversely eclectic tastes'; the belief that in 'the arena of "enlightened pluralism", there was no longer any reason to prefer Adolf Loos to Lutyens, or a tubular steel chair to one by Robert Adam'; convictions about 'the failure of the utopian project of modernism' and the 'inevitability of historical precedent as a source of formal invention';

the promotion of 'opticality ("retinal intelligence"), frontality, and structured ambiguity'; and an ultimate acceptance of 'heterogeneities and ad hoc circumstances rather than idealities and large-scale systems'.⁵

This is not to discount the many substantive differences in their positions on issues such as symbolism, the vernacular and context. Yet their commonalities are also numerous: persistent faith in the relevance of history, particularly early modern Italy, to the twentieth century; a then-rare respect for nineteenth-century eclecticism; reliance on insightful visual analysis of built works; startling leaps between eras in their writings; even evocations of T.S. Eliot and Clement Greenberg.⁶

Another intersection is their linkage of Mannerism to modern architecture. Rowe observed in 1967 that Venturi presents his compositional principles through 'a catalogue of Mannerist motifs' and exaggerates that 'most' of his exempla date from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.⁷ As was immediately recognised and has since been re-confirmed, Mannerism is essential to the book's conceptual and aesthetic framework.⁸ Venturi writes that literary critics have not only identified a Mannerist historical period, 'but unlike most architecture critics, they also acknowledge a "mannerist strain" across time'; some see 'contradiction, paradox and ambiguity as basic to the medium of poetry, just as Albers does with painting'.⁹ He believed that these 'mannerist' qualities were as essential to architecture as they are to literature or art, a position he and Denise Scott Brown have maintained for decades.¹⁰

Rowe perceived Mannerism's centrality to *Complexity and Contradiction*, but his 1967 review

never hints that he was himself an obvious exception to Venturi's statement about 'most architecture critics', having paired Mannerism and modernism seventeen years earlier. Knowing that he did, we might expect Rowe to find Venturi's position indebted to, or an independent vindication of, or—at the very least—a fascinatingly coincidental echo of his 1950 essay.¹¹ Decades later, Rowe observed that his article 'had used almost the same language which Venturi himself used in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*'.¹² It is curious that such an astute critic did not immediately comment on these similarities with his own work.

Rowe's silence might reflect the changed awareness of Mannerism since his article appeared in 1950. In 1943, Nikolaus Pevsner noted that 'the application of the principles of Mannerism to architecture is still relatively recent and still controversial'.¹³ This category, born of early twentieth-century analyses of cinquecento painting, remained obscure in 1950, certainly among architects.¹⁴ However, by 1967 it had gained legitimacy, even popularity, in Anglophone scholarship.¹⁵ Whatever lingering aura of arcane knowledge Mannerist references may have possessed in the 1940s, this had dissipated when Rowe wrote his review. The term appears in design criticism earlier that decade in William Jordy's 1960 essay on 'the new classicizing trend in US architecture'. Jordy did not find the New Formalism's 'Mannerist ambiguity' intrinsically problematic, but worried that 'mannerist' reconciliations of history and modernity would result in architecture that 'may quite literally cease to be modern in the sense that its imagery grows from the urgency of modern life'.¹⁶

Peter Eisenman's 1963 Cambridge dissertation also considered Mannerism's effects on new architecture. Rowe was among Eisenman's mentors during his doctoral studies (including a personal study tour of Palladio's villas), so his citation of 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture' is expected.¹⁷ Eisenman's negativity is not: 'architecture seems to have taken refuge in mannerism and the cult of self expression in a compulsive emphasis on the isolated creation without regard to a total order'.¹⁸ He finds formal (not historical) 'mannerism' too individualistic and subjective to undergird design. In contrast, *Complexity and Contradiction* offers a resolutely positive presentation of Mannerism as both period and compositional strategy; Venturi labels every architect whose work he admires a 'mannerist'.¹⁹ Given the rarity of appreciations of Mannerism's relationship to contemporary architecture in the 1960s, we might expect Rowe to view any fellow enthusiast as an ally. Despite a 1996 reference to this topic as 'a former juvenile enthusiasm', Rowe's 1987 essay that (in his words) 'recapitulates' his argument of 1950 shows he never outgrew the subject.²⁰

Rowe's reluctance to associate his own promotion of Mannerism with Venturi's mirrors the paucity of published comparisons. An important exception is C. Ray Smith's book *Supermannerism: New Attitudes in Post-Modern Architecture*, written from 1971–73, which finds that Rowe's essay 'reads like the opening chapter' of *Complexity and Contradiction*, and identifies homologous qualities in Italian Mannerism and architecture from 1962–72.²¹ However, Smith demonstrates no causal links between his stable of ascendant architects and

Mannerist scholarship, nor any interest in Mannerism before *Complexity and Contradiction*'s publication. Suggestions that Kahn's 'metaphysical' ideas reflect the eponymous school of seventeenth-century British poetry, or that Venturi's 'gentle manifesto' borrows Rowe's use of 'manifesto', are particularly unconvincing.

However, this latter suggestion raises the question of whether Rowe's 1950 essay influenced Venturi. In most accounts they occupy separate realms representing 'two very distinct and divergent' approaches to reconciling modern architecture and history.²² Rowe is typically positioned as the intellectual godfather of the New York Five (the 'Whites'), who justified their citations of inter-war avant-gardes as adherence to objectively valid formal principles. Venturi is grouped with the Vincent Scully-led 'Grays', whose historical references emphasised iconographic legibility over purity and autonomy. While this places Venturi and Rowe in opposing camps, Smith asserts that both groups employed distinct but related 'mannerist' formal strategies. These accounts situate Rowe and Venturi within a wider creative and theoretical context, but do not explain their respective relationships with Mannerism, or each other.

Finding Mannerism

Rowe's Mannerist interests arose from his graduate work at the University of London's Warburg Institute from 1945–47. There he studied under Rudolf Wittkower, among the first scholars to apply this category to sixteenth-century architecture, within a milieu of burgeoning cinquecento scholarship.²³ While writing his thesis on Inigo Jones' drawings,

Rowe also applied his advisor's analytical methods to villas by Palladio and Le Corbusier, famously identifying compositional parallels between their works. Rowe's 1947 publication of these findings in the *Architectural Review* launched his career.²⁴ 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture', published three years later in the same journal, continued his analogical investigations into late sixteenth- and early twentieth-century design.

Venturi credits his own interest in Mannerism to his 1954–56 fellowship at the American Academy in Rome, where he 'discovered the validity of Mannerism in art for our time'. This evolved out of an initial pursuit of the Baroque:

I went [to Rome] looking for SPACE—among forms and in piazzas—but I fell in love with Borromini, became enamored of Michelangelo and discovered Mannerism and, later, symbolism.²⁵

He specifies that 'it was in the last few weeks at the Academy that I realized Mannerism was what turned me on—and made Michelangelo relevant—relevant for an American architect of my time.'²⁶ These 1990s' recollections are supported by his fellowship correspondence, where references to Mannerism only occur during his last two months. He attended an exhibition of Mannerist painting at the Palazzo Strozzi and mentions the style while describing his final trip to Florence in July of 1956:

I revisited quietly & carefully some buildings of the Renaissance & Mannerist periods which meant very much to me—especially Michaelangelo's [sic] Medici tombs & Laurentian Library—also some Pontormo & Parmigianino paintings.²⁷

Compared to Venturi's frequent, occasionally ecstatic descriptions of Baroque sites, Mannerism

is barely present. He has credited Vincent Scully's 1955 book *The Shingle Style*, which he read in Rome, with 'turning him on' to Mannerism.²⁸ *Complexity and Contradiction* also mentions two Mannerist studies published that year by the literary theorists William Empson and Wylie Sypher.²⁹ As Philip Finkelpearl observed in 1979 and Maarten Delbeke demonstrated in 2010, the latter's interdisciplinary *Four Stages of Renaissance Style* offers compelling analogues to Venturi's conceptual armature.³⁰

However, Venturi's awareness of Mannerism predated his fellowship. His 1954 application states that Rome's 'Mannerist and Baroque buildings can reveal a richness and intricacy which we are realizing the need for now in architecture'.³¹ This passing Mannerist reference is noteworthy, not least because it is the only one by any post-war Rome Prize architecture Fellow.³² Venturi's interest in baroque architecture and urbanism was shared by several Academy peers, inspired by Sigfried Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture* of 1941.³³ Such a fleeting reference may not merit much weight; Venturi never describes Michelangelo as a 'Mannerist' in either his 1950 master's thesis or his first published article of 1953.³⁴ However, Venturi's 1954 Academy statement was his third, and he includes the same sentence on Mannerism in 1953 and, with minor differences, in 1952.³⁵ Venturi sought his fellowship with exceptional persistence and chose every word in his twice-revised statement deliberately—even this isolated reference to Mannerist buildings whose 'richness and intricacy,' he claimed, offered critical lessons for modern architecture.

For any young American architect to show interest in this period during the early 1950s was peculiar. Venturi was neither mentored by a pioneering scholar on the style, nor an architectural historian; both his Princeton degrees were in architecture. However, that programme offered unusually strong history training for the post-war era, and Venturi was introduced to the style in an Italian painting course.³⁶ Another accessible source was Pevsner's *Outline of European Architecture*, with an extensive section on Mannerism after 1945.³⁷ Yet they do not explain Venturi's belief in the style's relevance to current design practice. The repeated references to Mannerism in his three Academy applications demonstrate some embryonic form of this conviction.

Venturi has credited the influence of Wittkower's 1949 *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, specifically its discussion of Palladio as a Mannerist.³⁸ Wittkower argues that first-hand observation of syntactical complexities and inconsistencies in antiquity during the architect's 1954 sojourn to Rome led to a 'metamorphosis' in his work, which thereafter acquired 'Mannerist' compositional ambiguities.³⁹ The themes of Rome's transformative power for design creativity and a liberated dialogue with history would certainly dominate Venturi's career. That Palladio's pilgrimage took place precisely 400 years before his own fellowship may have even seemed prophetic (after he won), but *Architectural Principles* made no explicit connection between Mannerism and modern design practice.

However, what Dirk De Meyer has called the 'modern matrix' of Wittkower's proportional

theories allowed them to be taken up by modern architects, most famously the New Brutalists in London.⁴⁰ Rowe may have been unimpressed by Venturi's Mannerist interests in 1967 because he had witnessed the 'New Palladianism's' birth and decline in the early 1950s. Venturi likely followed this movement from Eero Saarinen's Michigan office, where he worked from 1951–53, before he gained a direct connection to this circle in 1960 through his partner Denise Scott Brown, who studied in their orbit at the Architectural Association from 1952–55.⁴¹ The spare, Miesian works inspired by Wittkower's theories through the early 1950s certainly bridged cinquecento scholarship and modern practice, but seem inadequate to explain Venturi's interest in Mannerist 'intricacy and richness'. He insists that proportion 'does not interest me at all—it never has, nor the golden mean, nor Corb's modular.'⁴² In addition, in a 1956 letter from Rome to Anne Tyng, Venturi writes that:

I have read Wittkower's book on 'Architecture in the Age of Humanism' which deals with Palladio an architect whom I am finding I like very much—not sure why—but for reasons different from those emphasized in that book ... or I should say that his relevance today is based on different aspects of him than those.⁴³

Because Venturi's language suggests he had just read Wittkower for the first time, this probably did not influence his pre-fellowship interest in Mannerism.

When Venturi wrote his first Academy application in 1952, the only published work linking Mannerism and modernism was Rowe's 1950 essay.⁴⁴ While Rowe never uses the phrase 'intricacy and richness', it captures the formal qualities he explores. Smith

never claims outright that Venturi read Rowe before writing *Complexity and Contradiction*. Ockman asserts that this book was influenced by Rowe's writing, but does not specify how; when asked, Venturi did not recall reading the article.⁴⁵ Yet some familiarity with 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture' is likely. It appeared in the journal in which Venturi published his first article in 1953 and would attempt (unsuccessfully) to publish another in 1955.⁴⁶ When submitting his first essay in 1950, Venturi notes his work's connections to two AR articles of December, 1949 and February, 1950, indicating he read it attentively.⁴⁷ Furthermore, in 1952 Rowe came to Yale and there interacted with Louis Kahn, whom Venturi knew well.⁴⁸ Given Venturi's lack of interest in proportion he may have ignored 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa' in the 1947 AR. However, it is implausible that he would overlook a May, 1950, article relating this style to modern architecture in a journal he followed closely, written by an author known to one of his chief mentors.⁴⁹

Mannerism and Complexity

Even if Venturi never did read 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture', its absence from *Complexity and Contradiction's* sources is glaring. Whatever the reason for Rowe's and Venturi's mutual silence on their common interests during the 1950s and 1960s, their first meeting in Rome in 1969 was apparently cordial. Rowe recalls finding Venturi and Scott Brown 'as charming as their architecture was more than acceptable'.⁵⁰ Rowe's consistent support for his former advisee James Stirling, whose work and ideas paralleled many fundamental

aspects of Venturi and Scott Brown's (including the need for modern architecture to engage in a critical creative dialogue with history and popular culture), suggests that Rowe would also approach them with a similar degree of sympathy.

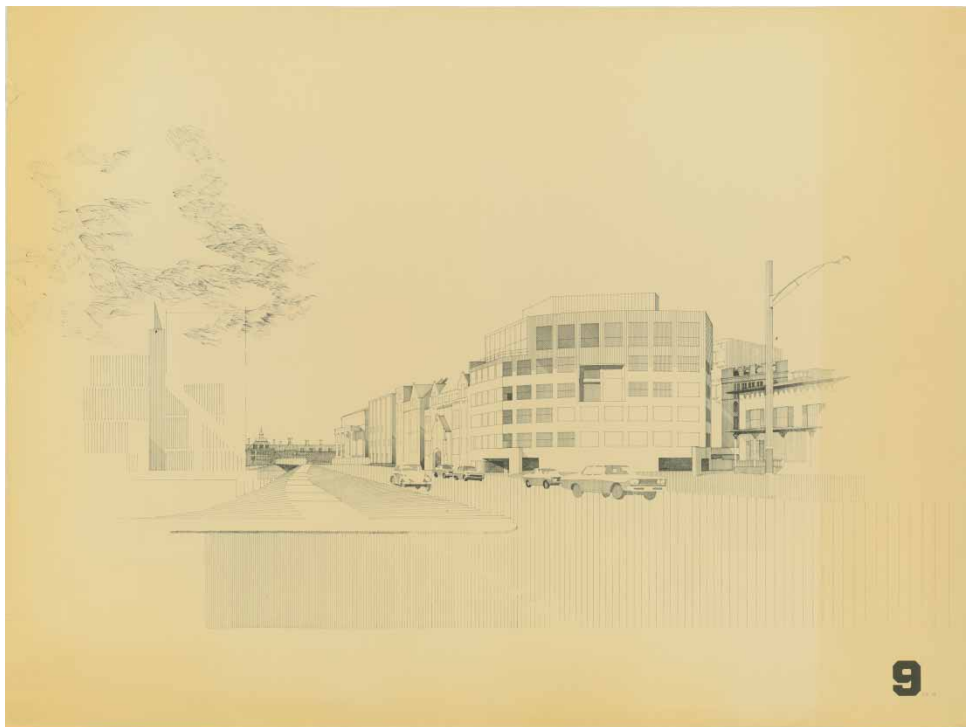
By 1976, when Rowe finally acknowledged their overlapping Mannerist interests, both had achieved considerable prominence. Venturi's international reputation appeared to confirm even Scully's proclamation that his Yale colleague's first book was 'probably the most important writing on the making of architecture' since Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture*.⁵¹ By the mid-1970s, Rowe's work at Texas, Cambridge and Cornell, where he remained after 1962, had earned him parallel if primarily academic eminence. Rowe revisited his earlier essays in 1976 because they had become sufficiently renowned to merit reissue as an anthology. His comments about Venturi's impact on the discussion of Mannerism, however dismissive, suggest Rowe observed his ascent attentively.

So does his other, most extensive discussion of Venturi from the interim: a review of Venturi and Rauch's proposed addition to the Yale Mathematics Building (figs 1, 2).⁵² Written soon after their design won the controversial competition in 1970, it was only published in 1976.⁵³ As a prelude to his discussion of the project, Rowe spends over a third of the essay—four times the length of his 1967 review—revisiting *Complexity and Contradiction*. As before, Rowe made few mentions of Mannerism beyond referring to Venturi's illustrations as 'mostly of Mannerist, Baroque and Edwardian provenance', and to the 'pseudo-Mannerist exercises' in his design work.⁵⁴

However, his view of Venturi and his first book had intensified by 1970.⁵⁵ In a backhanded compliment, Rowe describes the author as the 'victim' of a 'campaign to enlarge him beyond what he really is—a thoughtful, attractive, and, so far, insufficiently considered figure'. Dismissive of his admirers' 'inso-briety' and Scully's 'critical hyperbolics', Rowe declares sarcastically that 'a niche has already been prepared [for Venturi] in the architectural hall of fame.' These passages mockingly affirm Venturi's soaring reputation, but Rowe also credits him with 'integrity, talent, and an interesting point of view' and praises him as an architect who at least 'has something to say' about the validity of subjective taste, freedom of creative choice, and who shows a healthy scepticism towards both apocalyptic-utopian and Zeitgeistian schools of architectural myth. Such positions were consonant with Rowe's own; he finds 'there are many aspects of his general theoretical position which ought to command a very easy assent.' Rowe declares that Venturi's project 'promises to be the best building at Yale since about 1952' and ends the essay by complimenting the design as unusually worthy of serious critical treatment.⁵⁶

Yet many of his positive judgements are seasoned with disdain and his tone is frustrated. Rowe laments the impossibility of considering Venturi's project 'without more verbal ado', because 'the direct approach seems to be blocked' by 'a plethora of words which intervene to disallow any immediate, analytical contact'. His stated goal is 'to expel at least some of the clouds of critical incense which fog the air' and, as someone neither 'hopelessly prejudiced either in favor of Venturi or against

Figure 1. Perspective view: Venturi and Rauch, Mathematics Building Addition Competition, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1969–70 (Venturi Scott Brown Collection, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania).



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him', provide a rational, clear-eyed assessment. He criticises Venturi himself for the way he uses history to legitimise his own work. Rowe scoffs that 'almost any architect of the last four centuries who has displayed moderate sophistication' was 'conscripted to decorate the lower branches of [Venturi's] genealogical tree.' On Venturi's enthusiasm for 'a dichotomy between high and low culture', Rowe deems these opposing worlds of 'Honky-tonk and Caserta' absorbed, but 'not always digested'. He

complains that Venturi never considers how the works in his ('insufficiently witty') architectural collages came to acquire the compositional qualities he admires. Rowe is disturbed that this young architect, intent upon shattering modernist myths, demonstrates no awareness of 'the seminal role played by myth in the development of any architectural approach, strategy, or style'—including his own.⁵⁷

In essence, Rowe objects that Venturi invokes historical architecture bereft of architectural *history*,

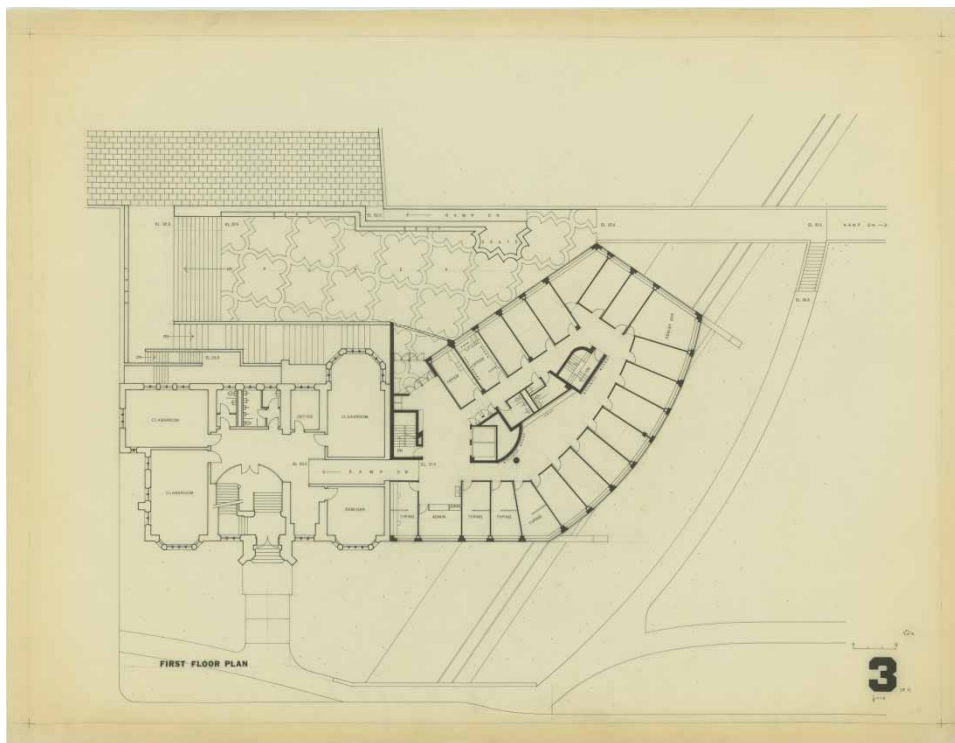


Figure 2. First-floor plan: Venturi and Rauch, Mathematics Building Addition Competition, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1969–70 (Venturi Scott Brown Collection, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania).

understood as a consideration of causation and meaning as well as form. This may be salient for a book that helped re-establish history's architectural legitimacy, but, as Rowe concedes, ignores the stated scope of Venturi's explicitly formalist project. As readers know, *Complexity and Contradiction* alternates between expositions of compositional principles and descriptions of their embodiment in his mosaics of illustrated works. Norberg-Schultz called it a compositional 'grammar', recalling

Rowe's 1967 emphasis on its 'stimulating visual insights'.⁵⁸ Both convey Venturi's lack of interest in asking 'why' in favour of 'what' and 'how'. This was noted with varying degrees of concern by several historian-critics, depending on whether they found Venturi's famously subjective introductory sentence—'I like complexity and contradiction in architecture'—and general approach convincing. Rowe's criticism of 1967 and 1970 suggests that he does not. Stanislaus von Moos also claims that

'the catholicity of Venturi's aesthetic interests is precisely what bred the mistrust of many colleagues, including Colin Rowe'.⁵⁹

But for Rowe to mistrust Venturi's largely visual, subjectively grounded, aesthetically and chronologically heterodox approach would contradict his own work. Rowe's writing is famous for its anachronistic juxtapositions and meticulous compositional dissections, often interwoven with entirely subjective characterisations. The language of 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture' is a classic example, continuing the scholarly tradition of emphasising the cinquecento style's putative emotional effects on the viewer. Rowe insists that contemplating the 'façade [of the Villa Schwob] for any length of time, one is both ravished and immensely irritated', because its 'blank surface is both disturbance and delight'. Zuccheri's 'violent' Casino is 'almost a textbook illustration of deliberate architectural derangement', and the central void of the centrifugal Bauhaus 'disturbs' and 'frustrates' the eye.⁶⁰ Rowe's writing, like Venturi's, blurs the line between the objective and the subjective. Vision, reason and judgement become connoisseurship, the ability to sense and know, in the familiar sense of *connaître*, that elusive, tantalising quantity called 'artistic quality', accessible to a well-developed architectural 'sensibility'.

However, compared to Venturi's rapid-fire glances at hundreds of examples, Rowe's more intense analysis of fewer works and denser prose gives his writing a very different texture. Furthermore, once Rowe has discerned comparable visual strategies in façades by Palladio, Zuccheri and Le Corbusier, he pauses to ask a question: whether

the occurrence of 'intrinsically Mannerist' forms in the Villa Schwob ('in the main stream of the modern movement') is merely 'coincidental or of deeper significance'.⁶¹ Rowe suspects their persistence in historically and geographically disparate works entails a shared underlying condition. He explores this, and concludes that architects in both eras expressed conflicted resistance to not-yet supplanted formal frameworks (Bramantean classicism and late nineteenth-century academicism, respectively), and extends his thesis to explain why both Le Corbusier *and* art historians could simultaneously and separately appreciate Mannerist qualities in the 1920s.⁶² For Venturi, who believed mannerist qualities arise naturally from artists' sophisticated engagement with their respective media, particularly during periods of tension and uncertainty, their recurrence throughout history was no mystery at all.

Cross-cultural communication

Rowe's and Venturi's different uses of Mannerism reflect their respective positions as architectural historian-critic and practising architect-theorist. Rowe's impatience with *Complexity and Contradiction's* more cavalier approach may be an application of one genre of architectural writing's standards to another. If so, this was hardly fair; Venturi described himself as 'as an architect rather than a scholar' and 'an architect who employs criticism rather than a critic who chooses architecture', writing 'an apology—an explanation, indirectly, of my work'.⁶³ He thus deliberately associated his manifesto not with histories, but theoretical polemics. Although his work was constructed upon solid architectural history knowledge, Venturi wrote as an architect

sharing a methodology and insights that were accessible and applicable to architectural analysis and design.⁶⁴

Despite this, the fact that Venturi 'never stipulates that the forms [he] admires came about through the activity of just such fantasies as he seems prone to reject' remains inexcusable for Rowe. Perhaps Rowe believed the creative-theoretical approach, with its emphasis on inspiration over rigour, occupies a lower position in a hierarchy of architectural literature. If so, this again implies a highly conflicted relationship with his own work. 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture' is hardly architectural history in the established sense; its sparse footnotes make little mention of the vast world of secondary scholarship from which he drew.⁶⁵ Rowe suggests a possible conclusion about Mannerist-era domestic architecture with a diffidence quite unlike his bold formal readings, becoming uncharacteristically circumspect when presenting historical, rather than formal or trans-historical, theses.⁶⁶ He shows even clearer deference to early modern scholars in his 1976 introduction to this article, where he apologises for his essay's lack of 'sophistication and detachment' compared to the art-historical discussion. This self-consciousness is evident again in 1996, when he confusingly deprecates his 1987 essay on this topic as 'pedantic', yet also lacking 'the *seriosità* of Germanic art history', good at best for 'an amusing diversion for an evening's reading' by a few (mostly American) architects. He expects architects to find his writing weighty and scholars to consider it lightweight.⁶⁷

Rowe spent his career perched between two intellectual cultures. From this precarious position he

carried out his lifelong effort to reconcile these 'two bodies of information—the one art historical, the other modern architectural' and effect their 'convergence into a work of rational exegesis'.⁶⁸ He had shifted from professional architectural training to graduate study in art history after a war injury impeded drafting. After earning a master's degree, he eschewed a doctorate to teach in design programmes, re-crossing an institutional and disciplinary boundary.⁶⁹ Rowe's 'ambiguous relationship to "professional" art history' is evident in his criticisms of both worlds: 'the mental block of so many Modern architects against history is notorious', and 'the unwillingness of so many art historians to enter into serious criticism of contemporary achievement is one of the more patent limitations of that species'.⁷⁰ Just as he called himself an 'architect *manqué*', if Rowe considered himself an 'applied' instead of a 'real' architectural historian, this would explain his deference towards a discipline defined for him by his advisor's generation of giants.

Rowe's story about an encounter in Italy conveys a highly nuanced view of the comparative knowledge and language of architects and architectural historians. At San Francesco in Arezzo in 1950, he became intrigued by an elderly American woman's observations about the church and its art. He learned that her quiet husband was Arthur Brown (1874–1957), a prominent, Paris-educated San Francisco architect. They travelled together, and Rowe observed with interest Brown's taste, recollections and *fin de siècle* Beaux-Arts descriptive vocabulary. He was impressed by a 'condition of sensibility entirely remote from anything which I had been led to associate with either California or

San Francisco', and by the Americans' use of a 'particular French studio language of some fifty years back which was very different from the art historical language to which I had lately been exposed.'⁷¹

Rowe credits this meeting with inspiring his desire to go to the United States:

surely, all Americans could not be like those whom I had met in Italy? This seemed quite contrary to the intuitions of common sense and to the received 'wisdom' of England that: Americans just don't talk like this, and what, in the end, *is* it that they know *anyway*?⁷²

He is curious about the distinct nature of North American or, more precisely, the North American *architect's* knowledge. Rowe also claims this encounter excited his awareness of two distinct ways of approaching and discussing architecture:

The studio language, which belongs to the process of architectural education as it relates to the drawing board, is, of necessity, the voice of immediacy and enthusiasm. It is the voice of excited critics and intelligent students who may, all of them, be largely ignorant... But the art historical language is something other. It is the voice of caution and aspires to erudition; and if the studio language, always vivacious, is prone to be the language of uncriticized tradition, then the art historical language, often still attempting to realize that impossible ideal of Ranke's, simply to show it how it really was (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*), will always operate to separate and divide.⁷³

Rowe here expresses profound respect for the aesthetic insight and historical appreciation that an 'ignorant but intelligent' practitioner can possess.

His distinction between the architect's synthetic, energetic vision and the historian's analytical detachment echoes the contrast between his own mode of writing (which, if not entirely art historical, did 'operate to separate and divide') and Venturi's design-oriented language of 'immediacy and enthusiasm' and 'uncriticized tradition'.

This may (perhaps) acquit Rowe of disciplinary snobbery. But it still leaves unanswered why, having embraced the Browns, Rowe kept Venturi—the 'excited critic' with whom he shared so many positions—at arms' length. The central issue may have been neither Venturi's use of history *per se*, nor his chosen mode of writing, but transparency: not in the sense Rowe explored with Robert Slutzky, but transparency in authorship. Rowe's 1970 essay pivots upon his observation that 'though one cannot object to Venturi's skepticism' towards architecture's various dominant myths, 'we are finally left wondering what, in this area, he does think or believe'. Rowe sees another rift between the presented and the present in the Yale Mathematics Building. Against Venturi's claim that his design was 'ordinary', Rowe asks how, if so, it could inspire such an explosion of criticism. 'The answer is, of course, that the Mathematics Building *is not what it is said to be* [emphasis added]'. Venturi's 'ordinary' is not entirely so, but reflects a 'quasi-private language' wherein 'to be "ordinary" is to *seem* to be ordinary, [but] it is, also, to be difficult, to be cryptic, to be cute [emphasis added]'. Rowe does not object to Venturi's 'drastic, if not unique' conclusions, but to the opacity of a text which 'seems to become a little evasive'. Determined to pin down what lies behind *Complexity and*

Contradiction's surface messages, Rowe is forced to guess at 'what seems to be Venturi's position', formulating hypotheses that 'seem to approximate his point of view' [both emphases added].⁷⁴

Is Rowe's refusal to accept Venturi's work at face value warranted? He deems the Yale design's claim to 'ordinariness' problematic because he sees a schism between what the design 'is supposed to be' and its actuality, 'its enigmatic and deceptive exterior' forming a 'disguise' where 'the public face is deadpan; the private world is chic'.⁷⁵ From a clever 'game of the learned reference and the calculated footnote', where ambiguity, allusion, and contradiction are theatrical virtues, Rowe's language pushes it across an ethical threshold. If its exterior's 'refusal to communicate' and 'determination not to reveal' is merely taciturn, Venturi's interior 'insists upon everything other than factuality'. Although the building 'has many virtues', and 'is certainly far better than Venturi claims it to be', Rowe essentially accuses both architect and design of lying.⁷⁶ Although he later described this essay as a dispassionate, 'empirical critique' that should 'stand as evidence of my regard for Robert and Denise', neither Venturi nor his supporters probably viewed it as such.⁷⁷

Rowe is not the most obvious advocate for authorial directness; his penchant for labyrinthine syntax and abstruse arguments can make his writing opaque as well. But Rowe's texts are seemingly transparent expressions of what he sees, and what he thinks about what he sees. He has no objection to theatricality *per se*, and treats Venturi's 'willingness to dissimulate' as potentially positive within the fantasy-scape of Yale's Gothic Revival campus.

The issue for him was Venturi's delivery of his ideas in deceptively contrary packaging. Rowe perceived that his professed subjectivity, inclusiveness and directness masked a more authoritative, elitist and subtle agenda.⁷⁸ Although he knew the sophisticated 'Venturi is in no danger of becoming the dupe of his own apologetics', the obscuring of his (real) ideas created 'the eminent, and imminent, threat of others becoming so'.

Venturi's claims for *Complexity and Contradiction's* modest ambitions were a bit disingenuous; he had taught its essentials to his theory students at the University of Pennsylvania since 1961, so this purportedly descriptive, personal project was also prescriptive and didactic. That he calls his own writing 'indirectly polemical' underscores the deliberateness of his oblique approach.⁷⁹ Scully found 'its argument unfolds like a curtain slowly lifting from the eyes', like a revelatory vision.⁸⁰ As Philip Finkelpearl, the literary theorist and Venturi's former Princeton classmate observed, 'what makes [*Complexity and Contradiction*] particularly persuasive is the sense that it is based on a prodigious mastery of architectural history'.⁸¹ Even in the supposedly anti-historical post-war decades, that sense of history provided a powerful aura of legitimacy. Rowe may have considered Venturi's persuasive indirectness to be a misuse of history. His own work psychoanalyses modernism's repressed relationship with history, pulling speculative, often disconcerting connections to the foreground through rigorous formal and broad cultural analysis. It demonstrates both the painstaking challenges of 'real' history—if anything, his demanding prose amplifies the complexity of his analyses—and its

power to depose architecture's dominant doctrines, making history indispensable for architects who wish to transcend passive consumption of the field's self-justifying myths. His case studies are bridges between two separate fields and daunting caveats for the *Kunstgeschichte* in which he was trained.

In comparison, Venturi's picture of the architect's relationship with history appears blithely relaxed. He suggests that architects do not need to confront history in all its scholarly complexity to learn from it and use it in their work. His book promises a user-friendly lens that reveals enduring guarantors of architectural quality in any age; with some guidance from a fellow traveller, architects can learn to see the tensions that make great buildings great, and use this knowledge in practice. If Rowe's writing uses history to make a painful diagnosis of modernism's problems (largely that of clinging to an unattainable faith in its own utopian teleology), *Complexity and Contradiction* uses it to suggest—gently—a palatable prescription for its ailments.

Seen thus, Rowe's and Venturi's most fundamental difference is in tone rather than substance. Venturi wears his considerable erudition lightly, and his accessible analyses exude *sprezzatura*. His book's epochal and global impact validates the power of an approach already proven by Giedion: history's integration into a heavily visual argument about aesthetics is most unthreatening for architects. *Complexity and Contradiction* seductively naturalised specific works, places and periods, and privileged first-hand visual analysis over libraries as the basis of architectural knowledge. But to Rowe, it likely seemed that Venturi was popularising a facile, superficial view of Mannerism's relevance to

modernism and architectural history's to design. His book may have even seemed like a cheapened version of Rowe's own positions: *haute cuisine* repackaged as convenience food.

The extent and implications of these differences, indistinct in 1967, would have come into sharper focus by 1970. Rowe's provocative Yale essay challenges Venturi to further debate, which apparently never occurred. Its unflattering picture of undeserved fame, incisive demonstration of incongruities between the Yale design's claims and achievements, and accusations of architectural and theoretical deception could hardly have gratified Venturi. Amidst the uproar over the competition, including accusations that Venturi's participation and win were unethical, Rowe's essay was probably classified among the excoriating critiques. Rowe in turn may have been displeased by Scully's designation of the competition's critics as 'despicable scum'.⁸² Five years later, as Rowe meditated on the legacy of his Mannerism essay while *Oppositions* prepared to publish his review of the Yale project, the events of 1970 certainly coloured the brief, dismissive statements about Venturi with which we began.

Knowing history

The nature of intellectual work in architecture *vis à vis* history was an active issue in the 1960s and 1970s. Jorge Otero-Pailos has recently suggested that architects adopted alternative approaches to research grounded in philosophy and psychology during this period to counter art historians' hegemony over architecture's history. Significantly, he identifies Jean Labatut of Princeton, another of

Venturi's mentors, and Charles Moore (who hired Venturi at Yale) as central to the development of expanded historical methodologies.⁸³ The wider conflict this implies over architectural history's integration with design practice and scholarship, and the discursive cultures surrounding various modes of research and writing, is germane to the case of Rowe and Venturi.

It is also significant that Ockman found Rowe's closest counterpart in Manfredo Tafuri, calling them 'the two most important theorists of form without utopia during the postwar period, comparable in intellectual and moral intensity'.⁸⁴ While Rowe's language points towards the inimitably demanding Tafuri, the substance of his positions is often closer (perhaps uncomfortably close) to Venturi: certainly the Venturi of *Complexity and Contradiction*. To consider Rowe and Venturi together through Mannerism is to contemplate the broader aims and means of historically grounded architectural writing. Both sought to reactivate contemporary practice through critical and formal engagement with a deeply, creatively considered past, and presented their projects to architects in deliberately, but distinctly, provocative terms, to very different effect. It is suitably ironic that Venturi and Rowe's different readings of history mirror the two dominant readings of Mannerist aesthetics as either courtly and mischievous, or tortured and angst-ridden. They orbit Mannerism, and each other, occupying common conceptual territory while facing outward in different directions in a conflicted kinship which highlights the persistent challenges of applying the lessons of history to design.

Notes and references

1. C. Rowe, *Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 1976), p. 29; 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture', *Architectural Review*, 107 (May, 1950), pp. 289–299.
2. R. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1966); Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (New York, Reinhold, 1966).
3. C. Rowe, 'Waiting for Utopia', *The New York Times* (10th September, 1967).
4. C. Rowe, *As I Was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. 2: *Cornelliana*, ed. A. Caragone (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 1996), p. 78.
5. J. Ockman, 'Form Without Utopia', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (JSAH)* 57, no. 4 (December, 1998), pp. 448–454. Ockman mentions Venturi's decorated shed and discusses Rowe's 1967 book review.
6. Venturi cites both in *Complexity and Contradiction*; on Rowe's interest in Eliot and Greenberg, see A. Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism* (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 2008), pp. 85 and 216, n. 54.
7. Only 108 of Venturi's 253 illustrations date to these centuries.
8. C. R. Smith, 'The Permissiveness of Supermannerism', *Progressive Architecture* (October, 1967), pp. 169–173 and *Supermannerism: New Attitudes in Post-Modern Architecture* (New York, Dutton, 1977); P. Finkelpearl, review of revised editions of *Complexity and Contradiction*, *Learning from Las Vegas* and other publications on Venturi, *JSAH*, 38, no. 2 (May, 1979), p. 203; Maarten Delbeke, 'Mannerism and Meaning in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*', *The Journal of Architecture*, 15, no. 3 (2010), pp. 267–282.
9. R. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction*, op. cit., p. 28.

10. R. Venturi, D. Scott Brown, *Architecture as Signs and Systems: For a Mannerist Time* (Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).
11. C. Norberg-Schultz's review of *Complexity and Contradiction* found that its best ideas echoed his own *Intentions in Architecture* of 1965: 'Less or More?', *Architectural Review*, 143 (April, 1968), pp. 257–258.
12. *As I Was Saying*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Rowe cites C. R. Smith, *Supermannerism*, *op. cit.*, which observes this on p. 97.
13. *An Outline of European Architecture* (New York, Penguin, 1943), pp. 209–210. For A. Blunt's introduction of the style to British architects, see 'Mannerism in Architecture', *RIBA Journal*, 56, no. 7 (March, 1949), pp. 195–201.
14. Initial 1920s' discussions of 'mannerist architecture' were in German; the first English articles appeared in the mid-1930s. For Mannerist historiography through to Rowe's 1950 essay, see D. De Meyer, 'Mannerism, Modernity and the Modern Architect, 1920–1950', *The Journal of Architecture*, 15, n. 3 (2010), pp. 243–265; see also A. Vidler, 'Mannerist Modernism: Colin Rowe', in *Histories of the Immediate Present*, *op. cit.*
15. J. Shearman's *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967) was most widespread. A. Hauser's *Mannerism: The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art* (New York, Knopf, 1965) linked it to modernism, and two future critic-historians published studies: K. W. Forster, *Mannerist Painting: Sixteenth Century* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1966) and M. Tafuri, *L'architettura del manierismo nel cinquecento europeo* (Rome, Officina, 1964).
16. Jordy observes 'mannerist hesitancy', 'mannerist formalism', 'mannerist instability', 'mannerist elements', 'mannerist tensions' and 'mannerist ambiguity' in works by Johnson, Rudolph, Stone, and Yamasaki: 'The Formal Image: USA', *Architectural Review*, 127 (March, 1960), pp. 157–165.
17. 'Interview with Peter Eisenman; The Last Grand Tourist: Travels with Colin Rowe', *Grand Tour: Perspecta*, 41 (2008), pp. 131–139.
18. P. Eisenman's dissertation was published as *The Formal Basis of Modern Architecture* (Baden, Müller, 2006), p. 29.
19. These include Michelangelo, Palladio, Borromini, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, Soane, Ledoux, Butterfield, Furness, Sullivan, Lutyens, Le Corbusier, Aalto and Kahn; *Complexity and Contradiction*, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 28.
20. 'Giulio Romano's Palazzo Maccarani and the Sixteenth Century Grid/Frame/Lattice/Web'; reprinted in *As I Was Saying*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
21. C. R. Smith, *Supermannerism*, *op. cit.*
22. N. Levine, 'Robert Venturi and "The Return of Historicism"', in C. Mead, ed., *The Architecture of Robert Venturi* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1989), pp. 45–67.
23. On Rowe's work with Wittkower, see A. Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–68.
24. 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa: Palladio and Le Corbusier Compared', *Architectural Review*, 101 (March, 1947), pp. 101–104.
25. 'Robert Venturi's Response at the Pritzker Prize Award ceremony at the Palacio de Iturbide, Mexico City, May 16, 1991', and 'Notes for a Lecture Celebrating the Centennial of the American Academy in Rome', in R. Venturi, ed., *Iconography and Electronics upon a Generic Architecture: A View from the Drafting Room* (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 1996), pp. 53, 99–100.
26. R. Venturi, 'Centennial Lecture', *op. cit.*, p. 53. Venturi likely acquired the book on his return trip to the US in late 1955.
27. R. Venturi to his parents, 6th May and 3rd July, 1956 (225.RV.103 and 225.RV.110, Venturi Scott Brown Collection, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania; hereafter VSB Collection, AAUP).

28. 'Homage to Vincent Scully and His *Shingle Style*, With Reminiscences and Some Outcomes', *Iconography and Electronics*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42.
29. Venturi cites a reprint edition of Empson's *Seven Elements of Ambiguity* (New York, Meridian, 1955), originally of 1930.
30. M. Delbeke, 'Mannerism and Meaning', *op. cit.*, pp. 267–282 and P. Finkelppearl, review in the *JSAH*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
31. Statement of purpose [1954], Fellows Files: Venturi, Robert 1954–56 (American Academy in Rome Archives, New York, New York; hereafter AAR Archives).
32. D. Costanzo, 'The Lessons of Rome: Architects at the American Academy, 1947–66' (PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2009).
33. D. Costanzo, 'Baroque in Translation: Giedion's History for Modern Architects', *Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Meeting of the European Architectural History Network*, Brussels, Belgium (May, 2012), pp. 410–414. Giedion discusses the Renaissance and the Baroque, but makes no reference to Mannerism.
34. 'The Campidoglio: A Case Study', *Architectural Review*, 113 (May, 1953), pp. 333–334; both this and his thesis are reprinted in *Iconography and Electronics*, *op. cit.* Venturi's report on his 1948 travels ('Summer Activity: Report and Some Impressions; 225.RV.34, VSB Collection, AAUP) makes no reference to Mannerism.
35. 'Application, Rome Prize Fellowship in Architecture, 1952–53' and 'Application, Rome Prize Fellowship in Architecture, 1953–54' (225.RV.38, VSB Collection, AAUP).
36. This course included a unit on Mannerism and the Baroque, emphasising the latter. Michelangelo was not presented as a Mannerist, but as a High Renaissance master who carried 'the seeds of the Baroque'; 'Lecture XXIV and XXV: Mannerism and Baroque', Student Work–Princeton U–Undergraduate, 'Italian Art: Painting' (Robert Venturi Personal Files [Temp.], VSB Collection, AAUP).
37. Discussion of this period was absent in the first edition of 1943, but added for the second of 1945; N. Pevsner, *Outline of European Architecture*. Two studies in English later that decade were Pevsner's 'The Architecture of Mannerism' in, G. Grigson, ed., *The Mint: A Miscellany of Art, Literature, and Criticism* (London, Routledge, 1946) and A. Blunt's 'Mannerism in Architecture', *op. cit.*
38. P. Barriere, S. Lavin, 'Interview with Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi', *Perspecta*, 28 (1997), pp. 126–145.
39. See M. Delbeke, 'Mannerism and Meaning', *op. cit.*, p. 270.
40. D. De Meyer, 'Mannerism and Modernity', *op. cit.*, p. 255 and A. Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–73; H. Millon, 'Rudolf Wittkower's "Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism": Its Influence on the Development and Interpretation of Modern Architecture', *JSAH*, 31, 2 (May, 1972), pp. 83–91 and Alina Payne, 'Architectural Principles in the Age of Modernism', *JSAH*, 53, 3 (September, 1994), pp. 322–342.
41. D. L. Minnite, 'Chronology', in, D. Brownlee, *et al.*, eds, *Out of the Ordinary: Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Associates: Architecture, Urbanism, Design* (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), pp. 245–246. Scott Brown credits Wittkower with inspiring her travel to Italy in 1955–56 in search of 'Mannerist architecture as well as early Modern architecture'. M. Stierli, 'Interview with Venturi and Scott Brown', AAR Archives.
42. P. Barriere, S. Lavin, 'Interview', *op. cit.*, p. 136.
43. R. Venturi to A. Tyng, 27th January, 1956 (74.II.A.163, Anne Griswold Tyng Collection, AAUP). Wittkower moved to Harvard in 1954, then Columbia in 1956, increasing his book's US visibility.
44. A. Blunt's lecture concludes with Le Corbusier, which A. Vidler believes influenced Rowe. However, this is a brief, speculative coda to a talk on the cinquecento.

45. J. Ockman, 'Form Without Utopia', *op. cit.*, p. 452; R. Venturi, conversation with the Author, 3rd November, 2009.
46. R. Venturi to his parents, 2nd May, 1955 (225.RV.64, VSB Collection, AAUP).
47. R. Venturi to The Editors, The Architectural Review, 8 November 1950 (225.RV.36, VSB Collection, AAUP). He mentions H. H. Reed, 'Rome: the Third Sack', *Architectural Review*, 107 (February, 1950), pp. 91–110 and I. I. De Wolfe, 'Townscape: a plea for an English visual philosophy founded on the true rock of Sir Uvedale Price', *Architectural Review*, 106 (December, 1949), pp. 354–362. Venturi found 'points of similarity in subject, approach, and method' between his thesis and Reed's article to be 'startlingly frequent'. This article fortuitously 'reached American subscribers two days after' his thesis presentation.
48. C. Shane, 'Colin Rowe, 1920–1999', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 53, n. 4 (May, 2000), p. 191. In 1950 Kahn served on Venturi's thesis jury and Venturi worked for his former partner, O. Stonorov. Kahn also wrote a letter of recommendation for Venturi's first Rome Prize application of 1952; D. Costanzo, 'Lessons of Rome', *op. cit.*, p. 238.
49. Another possibly influential article is N. Pevsner's 'Double Profile', *Architectural Review*, 107 (March, 1950), pp. 147–158. C. R. Smith discusses this in *Supermannerism*, but not its intersection with Venturi's interests in Elizabethan architecture and literary theory.
50. C. Rowe describes meeting Venturi and Scott Brown at the Palazzo Farnese: *As I Was Saying*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
51. R. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction*, *op. cit.*, p. 11; S. Von Moos, *Venturi, Rauch and Scott Brown: Buildings and Projects* (New York, Rizzoli, 1987), p. 35.
52. C. Rowe, 'The Yale Mathematics Building', *Oppositions*, 6 (Spring, 1976), pp. 11–19.
53. *Ibid.*, see P. Eisenman's introduction; the volume for which it was intended is C. W. Moore, N. Pyle, eds, *The Yale Mathematics Building Competition* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1974).
54. C. Rowe, 'The Yale Mathematics Building', *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.
55. J. Ockman notes Rowe was 'somewhat underestimating the impact that Venturi's book would soon have' in 1967: 'Form Without Utopia', *op. cit.*, p. 452.
56. C. Rowe, 'The Yale Mathematics Building', *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12, 15, 19.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–14.
58. C. Norberg-Schultz, 'Less or More?', *op. cit.*
59. S. Von Moos, *Venturi, Rauch and Scott Brown*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
60. C. Rowe, 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture', *op. cit.*, pp. 290, 292, 297–98.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 292.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 299; D. De Meyer, 'Mannerism and Modernity' *op. cit.*
63. R. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction*, pp. 13, 16.
64. C. Norberg-Schultz notes that Venturi's descriptions follow Wölfflin, Frankl, Brinkmann, Wittkower and Sedlmayr: 'Less or More?', *op. cit.*, pp. 257–258.
65. C. Rowe cites N. Pevsner and A. Blunt but, as D. De Meyer and A. Vidler note, excludes his advisor's pioneering work: D. De Meyer, 'Mannerism and Modernity,' *op. cit.*, p. 256; A. Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
66. He finds the Casa di Palladio and Zuccheri's Casino formal 'commentaries on the same theme', writing that 'it would be pleasant to assume that they represented a type, a formula for the later sixteenth century artist's house': 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture', *op. cit.*, p. 291.

67. C. Rowe, 'The Provocative Façade', in *As I Was Saying*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 104; D. De Meyer, 'Mannerism and Modernity', *op. cit.*, n. 70.
68. C. Rowe, *Mathematics of the Ideal Villa*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
69. C. Rowe, 'Architectural Education: USA', in *As I Was Saying*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*
70. A. Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*, *op. cit.*, p. 63; C. Rowe, R. Slutzky, 'Transparency, Literal and Phenomenal, Part II', *Perspecta*, 13/14 (1971), p. 297; see also A. Ponte, 'Woefully Inadequate: Colin Rowe's Composition and Character', in *L'architettura come testo e la figura di Colin Rowe* (Venice, Marsilio, 2010), p. 32.
71. C. Rowe, *As I Was Saying*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1: *Texas, Pre-Texas*, Cambridge, pp. 6–10.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.
74. C. Rowe, 'The Yale Mathematics Building', *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12, 14.
75. On Venturi, Scott Brown, and the deadpan, see A. Vinegar, 'The Melodrama of Expression and Inexpression in the Duck and Decorated Shed', in A. Vinegar, ed., *Relearning from Las Vegas* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2009).
76. C. Rowe, 'The Yale Mathematics Building', *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 15–16.
77. C. Rowe, *As I Was Saying*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
78. Rowe avers that Venturi's book 'discloses him to be something of a Mandarin', and his designs 'suggest something equally elitist': 'The Yale Mathematics Building', *op. cit.*, p. 145.
79. R. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
80. R. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
81. P. Finkelpearl, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
82. 'Scully Blasts Yale Building Critics As "Despicable Scum"', *Yale Daily News* (29th September, 1971).
83. J. Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn: Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
84. J. Ockman, 'Form Without Utopia', *op. cit.*, p. 452.