

ALAN JOHNSTON AT HAUS WITTGENSTEIN AND THE HOUSE AS SUCH

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To mount an exhibition of his abstract paintings in the house which the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein built for his sister Margarethe in Vienna, in 1926-27, fulfilled for the Scottish artist Alan Johnston an aspiration of many years.¹ For most of the month of April, 1994, Johnston's exhibition occupied the entire ground floor of the building (now a Bulgarian legation), which had always been intended for artistic, musical and generally cultural society. Johnston's exhibition did not overly exploit the setting by simply subtending it to his own 'installational' purpose. In fact, while his paintings, as austere as the building in style, held their own self-sufficiently, like distinct propositions, by virtue of their sympathetic display in its principal rooms the remarkable building itself was also coaxed into view. So Johnston exhibited not only, so to speak, as soloist, but also accompanist to this special building about which many of us modernists, including this artist, have long held curious.²

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There must be an expression 'as Scottish as Hume', and if there indeed is, in some sense Alan Johnston is party to a similar condition as an artist. Not that he merely partakes of an identifiably Humean meeting of easy 'natural limits', as against anything idealising, aspirational or, face it too Roman-classical.³ But if the outlook allows for a kind of moralisingly materialist plainness, it might have a pertinence even if one did not know that the artist happens to be a keen student of the Scottish Enlightenment and its contemporary context. Johnston's rigorously rectilinear images, like artistic exemplifications of rectitude itself, are painted and drawn by hand in what are not merely black and white tones or colours but very much white and black substances upon unashamedly basic textile stuffs---unbleached cotton, or even earthier brown linen. Indeed except for 'Zinc white' (the pigmental colour owed to the also perfectly natural element), the materials of which the paintings consist are the ancient simple media: not only the traditional Flemish linen but also the charcoal and beeswax (this last as binder and fixative for the charcoal).

Hume actually lived in Vienna for a while, as happily distracted as possible by what he called the 'Greek', meaning, civilised society, of the otherwise all-too-Romanish imperial capital. The great Scottish sceptic is summoned up as a principal spiritual forerunner of Wittgenstein. According to Anscombe, 'It is very much a popular notion of Wittgenstein that he was a latter-day Hume; but any connections between them are indirect, and he never read more than a few pages of Hume.'⁴ Even just such a denial of philosophical influence, however, may be reckoned something of a topos.⁵

In any case, Alan Johnston's categorical, structural deployment of palpably material forms in systematic oppositions of, notably, black carbon versus white pigment upon one or the other textile stuff, relates to a discussion in the section 'Of Abstract Ideas' in A Treatise of Human Nature (1739-40), where Hume elucidates 'the distinction betwixt figure and the body figured' with the interrelation of a globe of white marble, then a globe of black marble and finally a cube of white. In 'comparing' these 'we find two separate resemblances' and thus come to distinguish---

'the figure from the colour by a distinction of reason; that is, we consider the figure and colour together, since they are in effect the same and undistinguishable; but still view them in different aspects, according to the resemblances, of which they are susceptible. When we would consider only the figure of the globe of white marble, we form in reality an idea both of the figure and colour, but tacitly carry our eye to it's resemblance with the globe of black marble; And in the same manner, when we would consider it's colour only, we turn our view to it's resemblance with the cube of white marble (I.i.VII). 6

It is not merely the categorical polarity of having black and white versions of equally distinct forms (here, sphere and cube) but the sheer structural 'logic' of similarity and difference, that allies Johnston's likewise categorically geometric images with such thoughts of Hume.

Hume had already published the Treatise when he went to stay in Vienna, as secretary to Lieutenant-General James St.Clair, remarks on contemporary Viennese architecture in a letter of the 25th April 1748 are less important as critical commentary than as showing him taking an active, if rather social, interest: Hume describes Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's vast Schönbrunn palace (design begun 1692), which the empress had sold her crown jewels to pay for, as 'a handsome house; but not very great(!), nor richly furnished', Prince Eugen's Palace in the Suburbs' i.e. Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt's ('upper') Belvedere palace (1700-23), which departs in a creative late-baroque manner from classical convention, as 'an expensive stately building; but of a very barbarous Gothic Taste'⁷. Soon after Vienna, An Enquiry Concerning The Principals of Morals (1751) includes under 'Why Utility Pleases'(sect.v) an architectural reflection of some interest in view of the spare, crisp fenestration of Haus Wittgenstein: 'What praise, even of an inanimate form, if the regularity and elegance of it's parts destroy not its fitness for any useful purpose !...A building, whose doors and windows were exact squares, would hurt the eye by that very proportion; as ill adapted to the figure of a human creature, for whose service the fabric was intended.'⁸ The abundance of 'modern' i.e. post-Renaissance, architectural sights in Vienna (and soon after Turin) had surely made Hume more aware of the basically academic-Roman classical discourse of architecture. In an appendix to the Enquiry, 'Concerning Moral Sentiment', Palladio and Perrault are named, casually if haltingly, as authorities on ornamental terminology, but also for learned testimony that beauty of such is only manifest (subjectively) to an observing intelligence.⁹

Later on, in the Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion (1779), Hume's speculation takes on more connoisseurly confidence:

Did I show you a house or a palace? Where the window, doors ...and the whole economy of the building were the source of noise, confusion, fatigue, darkness and the extremes of heat and cold; you would certainly blame the contrivance, without any farther examination. The architect would in vain display his subtlety (sic), and prove to you, that if this door or that window were altered, greater ills would ensue. What he says may be strictly true: The alteration of one particular, while the other parts of the building remain, may only augment the inconveniences. But still you would assert in general, that if the architect had had skill and good intentions, he might have formed such a plan of the whole, and might have adjusted the parts in such a manner, as would have remedied all or most of these inconveniences (Dialogue xi). 10

Here the architectural imagery serves Hume, however ironically, as so much rhetorical embellishment, 'classical' (basically Aristotelian) at that; but it at least and at last it shows Hume at home with such material.

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...Cool, uncluttered, airy rooms in muted monochrome. Everything tends to white or black. Ornament is sparse. Most of the walls are bare. The drawing - room is simply space punctuated by objects. Everything tends to extremes, but the unity of style is absolute. Not a single detail has escaped the designer's attention. (His) style is despotic and imperious. The house, in fact, is a private vision of eternity, in which the spirit freed at last from practical constraints, communes narcissistically with itself as mirrored in its own creations. It is not a house. Still less a home. But a temple of art, a hermetic, ideal world permeated by a mortuary hush.

This is no archival account of the Wittgenstein house when new, but rather a recent revisionist description of a building which influenced the Viennese 'Sezession' modernism out of which the ultimately anti-ornamental architecture of Adolf Loos derived, and to which Haus Wittgenstein is thus historically related in style. In point of fact, it is a recent description of the house of the architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh, in turn-of-the-century Glasgow.¹¹

Like a projected 'Haus eines Kunst-Freundes' entered by Mackintosh in competition at Darmstadt in 1901, as well as that splendid example built by Otto Wagner's pupil Joseph Hoffmann between 1905 and 1910, the Palais Stoclet, at Brussels, Haus Wittgenstein belonged from the start to the special category of the house of the urbane virtuoso-artist or art-lover. Contemporaneously with it, Adolf Loos worked on two significant Parisian examples: the house of the Dadaist Tristan Tzara, of 1926-27, and a projected house for the dancer and cabaret performer Josephine Baker, 1928. Quite otherwise, in the spring of 1914 Wittgenstein had begun for himself a presumably much

more primitive wooden house of retreat in the mountains near Skjolden, Norway, where he would first stay in 1921, and return as late as 1937.¹²

One gains a sense of the Scottish arts-and-crafts-into-secessionist connection in the foundational phase from the portrait painted earlier by Gustav Klimt, a principal founder of the Wiener Sezession (it's headquarters by Joseph-Maria Olbrich, 1898 - 9, 13 largely paid for by Wittgenstein pere): the well known Portrait of Margarethe Stonborough-Wittgenstein, of 1905 (Munich, Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlung). Two years before that, Hoffmann and another Otto Wagner, Koloman Moser, had founded the craftsmanly Wiener Werkstätte. Now Klimt's fine-art portrait meets decorative art halfway, because the representation of form, per se, entails the reiteration or reinstatement of that form. So the very frontal painting as a whole is also like the facades of typically rectilinear and plain-painted wooden cabinets such as were designed by Moser, not to speak the forthrightly crafted rectilinear forms of Alan Johnston's paintings.

By the flat, structural forms of its upper left and right hand corners Klimt's portrait of Margarethe may, or may might as well, represent actual painted woodwork cabinets, or rather the lateral extremities of a single cabinet with a long bowed curve in between, in the very manner of this Moser whose graphic style is known to have been indebted to the 1890's Glasgow work of Mackintosh and Frances Macdonald.¹⁴ Also, just an upward-bowed curve as connects these left and right elements already prominently adorned the roof-line (east end) of the original block (1897-9) Glasgow School of Art, plus such related contemporary works as George Walton's 'Dutch kitchen' in the Argyle Street Tea-Rooms, Glasgow.¹⁵ Klimt's image is vividly decorative ('semi-abstract') whether or not it documents some favoured piece or pair of pieces of Werkstätte furniture, with its own Caledonian overtones--a modernist applied art of craft sort which Loos disliked and actively opposed (as decorative-secessionist) but some of which Margarethe Wittgenstein was apparently pleased to use in furnishing her new house.

If in the protomodernist 'secession' ambience such physically diverse centres as Glasgow and Vienna were by no means out of touch, parallels may even have continued, as between a famous German architect in Vienna and a respectably modern Scotsman working in London. I refer to a late work of Peter Behrens, an entrance with a boldly abstract relief bands framing the doorway (and projecting transom) with familiar horizontals on adjacent walls, at the Winarsky-Hof (1924-5), Vienna, 16 and not much later, the asymmetric entrance, in London County Council modern style, with the flat canopy and projected courses of moulded brick, at the Portland Day Nursery, London, by Stanley Hall and Easton & Robertson.¹⁷

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Despite abuse by the Germans during World War II, followed by the neglect of Margarethe's son Thomas Stonborough, who inherited it, Has Wittgenstein, which stands at Kundmannsgasse 19 (and Parkgasse) in District III of central Vienna, has managed at least managed to be preserved--if not the once flourishing garden of its preserved--if not the once flourishing garden of its diminished grounds.¹⁸ The building is often and

understandably affiliated with the orthodox modernist architecture of Loos, of which Wittgenstein must have been aware since at least 1914, when with his late father's patronal apportionments extended on the advice of the advice of Ludwig von Ficker, Loos received 2000 crowns. By now, the general Loos-likeness of this singular architectural project by Wittgenstein deserves to be renegotiated if the building is to be taken as something more than a curiosity in the history of philosophy and seen as possibly a work of art in its own right. This includes the role, early in the project, of the professional Loos-schooled architect Paul Engelmann.

Loos himself 'put engineers among those, like peasants, who could only build well and in the style of their own time because they knew no other', yet without contradiction he could refer to the engineers as 'our Hellenes' because 'from them we receive our culture.'¹⁹ When the young Wittgenstein first took up the study of mechanical engineering, at the Technische Hochschule Berlin-Charlottenburg during the academic years 1906-8, he just missed being fellow students with fellow Walter Gropius, eventual founder of the Bauhaus.

But there too he would have been exposed to Karl Friedrich Schinkel's protomodern, German-romantic Greek-revival work at Charlottenburg Palace, Potsdam (1826), only shortly before such great founding modernists as Peter Behrens and his disciple Ludwig Mies van der Rohe were freshly stimulated by just such Greek Revival works²⁰ ...of which a prominent though less protomodern instance in central Vienna is the Hofburg's outer gate, the 'Burgtor', of 1821-4 (begun by Luigi Cagnola and finished by Peter von Nobile), with its noble Greek-democratising inscription 'Iustitia Regnorum Fundamentum'. Even the remarkable inset, 'negative', capitals of the square piers of the Haus Wittgenstein entrance hall find a prehistory in the plain squares of Schinkel. Wijdeveld has observed that already Paul Engelmann's projections for the house, before Wittgenstein took the reins, grew out of Schinkelesque neoclassical assumptions.²¹ If necessary, the whole building, as a clustered conjunction of differently sized and irregularly projecting blocky elements, might for that matter be likened to the likewise asymmetric but ultra-classical Erechtheum (late fourth century B.C.), on the Acropolis. Actually, the supposedly 'symmetrical' aspects of the design have been exaggerated or critically oversimplified. Even if more of a mathematician's than an architect's notion of symmetry is allowed, on the order of the open-ended sequence A-B-A-B-, there is not much of it to speak of in the individual facades, let alone the relation of one facade to another. In other words, what with 'each wall plane...ordered unto itself by symmetry or ranks' (of windows), and consequently 'the horizontal and vertical axes and lines across the corners ...not continued', inevitably 'the body of the building does not appear coherent, altogether "organic" in form, but compounded out of various independent planes and cubes.'²² Where there is evident continuity of fenestration above the terrace at the right side of the house (that is, from northeast to southeast elevation), it seems to be mere happenstance.

Theoretically, at least, Wittgenstein shared Loos's sense of the profundity of the building task, of architecture's dead-seriousness of mortal statement. Loos had written famously in 'Architectur', an essay of 1909-10, 'Only a very small part of architecture belongs to art: the tomb and the monument. Everything else, everything which serves a

purpose, should be excluded from the realms of art...If we find a mound in the forest, six feet long and three feet wide, formed into a pyramid shape by a shovel, we become serious and something within us says, "Someone lies buried here". This is architecture.'²³ (Here, as well as by his pristine built geometries, Loos recalls remarks on the 'interesting poetry. of architecture', specifically projects for funereal monuments, in the treatise, famous among later modernists, composed in the 1770's and early 80's by Etienne-Louis Boullée.)²⁴In conversation with his friend Maurice O'C. Drury in 1934, planning a visit to the Soviet Union with a view to emigration, and generally distasteful of architecture as part of 'Western' progressivist culture, whether fascist or socialist, ²⁵ Wittgenstein noted with praise the contemporary tomb of Soviet constructivist style, Alexei Schusev's 1924 Lenin Mausoleum, on Red Square in Moscow: 'You know I don't think much of modern architecture, but that tomb in the Kremlin is well designed'²⁶.... a comment which helps to locate the philosopher's own recent architectural activity in the con-text of international constructivism.

Cultural historians taking Haus Wittgenstein out of context tend to exaggerate its radicality in the mid-to later 1920's, when Loos had already actually served as an official architect overseeing housing for the city of Vienna. The Wittgenstein house belongs in Loos's orbit, but it turns out to be fairly drab, flat, compared with the Viennese houses of Loos himself. For instance, Haus Steiner, of 1910, symmetrical from the front, is peculiarly yet effectively curved from the side, like some kind of early modernist machine casing. A close parallel is the wilfully blocky but assuredly stepped mass of Loos's Haus Scheu, of 1912. A decade later but still earlier than Haus Wittgenstein, Haus Rufer, 1922, is all the more striking for gathering itself into a single unbroken, even corniced (!) cubical block punctuated with artfully irregular fenestration in varying patterns of rectangular windows which are by no means unlike Johnston's asymmetrically rectilinear compositions. The contemporaneous Haus Moller, of 1928, so often invoked on behalf of Haus Wittgenstein, is indeed comparable but suavely massed.²⁷ All in all, the Wittgenstein house is in the style of Loos but it is not a great example of that style. Despite a combined stair tower and lift shaft that could easily have accommodated varying floor levels, Loos's plastic-kinetic notion of a 'Raumplan' of varied internal elevation does not make itself felt at all, what with the main or ground floor set on a single unbroken plane, with even less remarkably laid out floors above.

Otherwise Loosian nevertheless in its de-ornamentised geometry of pristine white planes, the house also has American stylistic relations. Like Ludwig's father, Karl Wittgenstein, on an extended Wanderjahr in America in 1865-7 (not to mention his brother Hans who died in the America in 1902), Loos had spent a considerable period, from 1893 to 1896, in the United States, importantly, the young Viennese modernist was stimulated by the work, including the 'form-follows-function' ornamental theory, of Louis Henri Sullivan in Chicago.²⁸ Conversely, Loos's early experience in America portends an American strain of Loosian de-ornamentised modernism already evident well before Haus Wittgenstein in the Californian work of Irving Gill, Hoffmann and Loos's exact American contemporary, from 1916 onwards,²⁹ and then in the work of two younger expatriate alumni of the Imperial Technische Hochschule of Vienna, Rudolf M. Schindler (1887-1953), who studied under Wright as well as Otto Wagner,³⁰ and

Richard Neutra(1892-1970)By the time Margarethe moved into her Vienna 'Palais' just this sort of modernist thing was quite established, if not exactly commonplace, in America, thanks at least in part to the Viennese. In the mid-1950's, with American modernism in downright popular swing, Neutra could speak easily to Americans of things quite like the features of a not-so-odd Haus Wittgenstein; 'As Adolf Loos used to tell us students, everything about the venerable palace had to be super-elevated---the ceilings, the height dimensions of windows and doors...'31 Neutra's comment analytically stimulates thought of that elusive undraped, de-upholstered (defrocked?), post-imperial yet hysterically persistent Viennese grandeur which does obtain(with some thrill left)in the otherwise supposedly 'puritanically' uningratiating Wittgenstein house. Like other fittings in the house, down to the beautifully hyper-simplified, built in right - angular door handles as 'ultra' versions of a Viennese type, it's nobly tall 'French' windows (fabricated with difficulty 32 of iron and as such already acknowledged as a technical tour -de-force) are really thoroughly reconsidered specially crafted versions of an otherwise typical Viennese element.33 Beyond simple extremism, however, one suspects with these tall windows a symbolic importance. Margarethe had already chosen tall windows for her country villa at Gmunden, five or so years before.34 But her sister Hermine, compiling 'Family Recollections' in the early 1940's would recall just such a feature as having punctuated the intensity of consciousness of a very great moment in family history, in Bertrand Russell's principal room at Cambridge in 1912;I still see it before me, with. the high, old-fashioned windows with their beautifully symmetrical stone casements. Suddenly Russell (sic) said to me, We expect the next big step in philosophy to be taken by your brother.'35 There is, too, Maurice ('Con') Drury's recollection of calling at Wittgenstein's rooms in Whewell's Court, Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1930: 'I noticed that he had altered the proportions of the windows by using strips of black paper'; Wittgenstein: 'See what a difference it makes to the appearance of the room when the windows have the right proportion.36And still there remains the milder fixation of Hume as amateur on windows as a dicussably significant part of architecture.

One can only wonder about the ascription of authorship, if the house is to register as an internationally significant work of modern architecture. According to her son, Margarethe had the basic ideas, which Engelmann drew up, so that Ludwig's eventual take-over of the project would have concerned mainly interior details.37 Ludwig's army pal Paul Engelmann, a pupil of Loos whom he had met while doing officer's training at Olmutz, in Moravia (Czech Republic) in 1916,was commissioned as architect of the house in November 1925.While he did all the planning Wittgenstein was teaching school and then working as a monastery gardener, outside the city, until legal responsibility for the project in the autumn of 1926.Too often Engelmann is overlooked (in at least one account he is termed a mere 'interior decorator', as if by return of the repressed, what with Wittgenstein legendarily fussing over hardware),leaving Wittgenstein in the role of genius-architect. That can only distort a situation in which a serious Loos disciple who was also capable of writing a text of twenty-five pages on the Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus38 was making architectural determinations early on. One might wonder from a different angle about brother and sister as hampering

Engelmann's pursuit of more essentially architectural form, to judge by a house which he had already built, circa 1919, for Herman Konstanz (at Olmutz, it happens): it was none the less considerably more sophisticatedly 'Raum'-planned as to shifting levels.³⁹ Wittgenstein is said to have been frustrated by the way a certain window in the upper reaches of the stairway turned out, joking that if he ever won the lottery he would redo the detail. More broadly, however the whole stairway, which right -angles its way about the glazed elevator shaft, is less than satisfactory in design, including an awkward Mini-conservatory opening off it. And if so much were not made of Wittgenstein's perfectionism it would be trivial to complain of it, but the concrete stair treads are quite conspicuously imperfectly calculated in each of the extreme corners of the square staircase: having a riser occur thus in each corner, instead of a flat tread at that point, not only makes for an unnecessarily long diagonal but one which can only show up the likely imprecision with which the riser fails exactly to bisect the corner. In painting, such 'human' imprecision can either be more easily avoided or else more readily embraced.

If only because of Wittgenstein's famous fanaticism with regard to everything about the house, it is possible, notwithstanding the larger question of artistic authorship, to say that every feature of the building was at least approved by him, including its radical ornamental 'nudity'. For plainness of style if not for exceptionally 'logical' disposition, the house is indeed sometimes related to Wittgenstein's Tractatus in the development of modern logic. Paul O'Grady, a Wittgensteinian at Trinity College Dublin, explains how after Gottlob Frege 'arrived at a view of logic as a pattern of relations between abstract entities, independent of all human interference', Wittgenstein envisioned it in the Tractatus as 'a framework of possibilities': now 'Certain linguistic constructions make sense and can be combined with others in sense-making ways,' the 'admissible patterns' being 'determined by the nature of reality, because language in essence reflects the nature of reality. The specific propositions of logic mark out the basic framework of possibilities in language, which mirrors the possibilities of combination of the basic ontological elements in reality.' Likewise the great Polish logician Lukasiewicz beholding the edifice of pure logic:

'I have the impression that I am confronted with a mighty construction of indescribable complexity and immeasurable rigidity. The construction has the effect upon me of a concrete tangible object fashioned from the hardest of materials, a hundred times stronger than concrete and steel cannot change anything in it; by immense labour I merely find in it ever new details, and attain unshakeable and eternal truths'.⁴⁰

There is no evidence that a great modern philosopher was favoured any more than Hume with a special sense of architecture as a fine art. On the contrary, there is the comment-- 'I considered at one time becoming an architect or a pharmacist, but came to the conclusion that I would not find what I was looking for in these or other professions...(in which) a person becomes in principle nothing more than a small-time businessman.'⁴¹ That Wittgenstein attended to the electrical and heating systems of the house, as well as acting as capomastro, supervising workmen, is sometimes taken as

evidence for his utter absorption in transcendent architecture; but it might as well mean that such was as much of architectural design as he could handle. In the summer of 1927 he writes to John Maynard Keynes (a partisan of modern art whose actual writings on the subject, however, have small intrinsic importance) that he has 'taken to architecture' and is building this house which 'gives me heaps of troubles and I'm not even sure that I'm not going to make a mess of it'; then in 1928, having 'just finished my house that has kept me entirely busy these last two years', he sent Keynes 'a few photos of my house' hoping that he won't be too much disgusted by its simplicity'.⁴² Apparently he was himself less than perfectly satisfied with the upshot. He wrote that the building lacked something in the way of bodily passion: Within all great art there is a WILD animal: tamed... (sic) The house I built for Gretl is the product of a decidedly sensitive ear and good manners, an expression of great understanding (of a culture, etc.). But primordial life, wild life striving to erupt into the open---that is lacking. And so you could say it isn't healthy.'⁴³ Finally, as he came to know, 'Architecture (Architektur) is a gesture (Geste). Not every purposive movement of the human body is a gesture. And no more is every building designed for a purpose (zweckmässige Gebaute) architecture.'⁴⁴ Meanwhile, as Wittgenstein was at work on the house, the university philosophers of Vienna Circle' inspired (if that is the right word) by their extremely literalist reading of the Tractatus, were seeking to get Wittgenstein himself to toe the logical positivist line⁴⁵ As is often remarked, the contemporary treatise of Rudolf Carnap The Logical Structure of the World (1928) calls for a clean sweep of the semantic as well as the metaphysical, and the building-up (in a self-conscious imagery of construction) of a new syntactical austerity. But there is something wrong with latter day anti-modernist accounts which make it seem that the point of all such works as this house, or for that matter of all painting dismissed as 'minimalist', were mere nihilistic purgation.⁴⁶ Robert Musil, as the novelist whose doctoral dissertation was a critique of the foundational positivism of Ernst Mach (In turn an admirer of Hume), would hardly have tendered blanket approval, while as late as 1947-8 Wittgenstein still sounds like Loos: 'Architecture immortalises and glorifies something. Hence there can be no architecture where there is nothing to glorify.'⁴⁷

Musil was at work on The Man Without Qualities (1930ff), set in Vienna in 1913, through the planning and construction of Haus Wittgenstein. As the novel opens, Ulrich, who 'lacks qualities' in that he is a pure Machian nexus of sensations, decides to design his own furniture for his dainty little white gem of a house', which happens to be a gentle amalgam of styles (i.21, 6).⁴⁸ Setting to work after studying art magazines, Ulrich rejects a first assay of 'impressively massive form' in favour of something spare, and strictly functional---though once 'he had sketched a form of a reinforced concrete that looked emaciated by its own strength' he was distracted into a reverie on a pubescent body (i.5;1, 15). Surmising that his projected decor would prove but an 'adjustable scenery for the soul' (ibid. he will later declare he 'can't stand houses with interiors tailored to express one's personality (iii.24;II, 970), 'he simply left the furnishing of his house to the genius of his suppliers, secure in the knowledge that he could safely leave the traditions, prejudices, and limitations to them' (i.5;1, 16). In accordance with this decision---itself a testimonial to the memorably deromanticised notion of craft propounded in Adolf Loos essay 'Architecture', as well as a comment on conformist

Biedermeier social convention--the Man Without Qualities decides only to 'touch up the earlier lines' of his 'little palace' with its (N.B.) 'white vaultings', 'and whatever else seemed to him useful and convenient' (ibid.).

Among incidental comments on architecture in The Man Without Qualities, a tirade against the taste of engineers asks, 'Why do they wear suits constructed like the early stages of the automobile?' (I.101, 34) Here Loos's Carlyle like sense of clothing metaphor compounds with the subtle idea which Le Corbusier propounded in Vers une architecture (1923), that a full-fledged poetic should develop out of initial modernist pragmatics, just as, by the 1920's, autos had become as refined as the Parthenon vis a vis the temple of Paestum⁴⁹. Towards the end of the text as published, faced with the task of redesigning his house to accommodate his (N.B.) sister, Ulrich sketches floor plans on a tablecloth: ' "Setting up house" is putting up a facade with nothing behind it ', he muses; 'Today almost everyone feels that only a formless life corresponds to the variety of purposes and possibilities life is filled with, and young people either prefer stark simplicity, which is like a bare stage, or else they dream of wardrobe trunks and bobsled championships, tennis cups and luxury hotels along great highways, with golf course scenery and music on tap in every room' (II,971-2).

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'On site', Alan Johnston's paintings did homage to this special, almost sacral, structure while politely making some points on their own terms. Evocative of overall design qualities of the house were a quartered diptych in the salon, it's upper-left black with an asymmetric triplet of vertical blank rectangles of linen 'showing through' and a triplet of similar white in pencil rectangles in the lower right ;or two complex but compact and subtly different compositions with the horizontal canvas is subdivided asymmetrically by a vertical band and then again by more and varying horizontals--a black and white version hung in the dining room and an 'all linen', also with white subdividing bands, in this 'speisezimmer'. In the great hall larger and smaller versions of a diptych of horizontal panels, wide-banded at the edges, as if matted: white to left (banded by a fine trace of pencil line), plain linen, black framed to right. The closest that paintings came to reflecting actual architectural details: two diptych, the larger but more lithely figured in the living room or front parlour (originally Margarethe's sitting room and bedroom), with elements echoing Wittgenstein's special iron windows, only rotated into the horizontal, and both paintings quartered, with a double 'mullion' motif in white at the upper right and a black framed version at the lower left. Even in this, Johnston's paintings did not extrapolate literally from the given, concrete forms of the architecture--as do say, the relief constructions of Ellsworth Kelly.⁵⁰

To further the analogy inherent in the theme the works were installed in Inverleith House (The Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh). A severely simple structure built to the designs of David Henderson in 1774, which would thus have appeared as a modern building to Hume (d.1776)--allowed the works and some specially constructed 'assertions', to return to just the sort of Enlightenment context which is now in fashionable disfavour as underpinning the modernity from which they had come. Quite

without performing as rationalist-geometric stereotypes, however the works proved as fitting the context of a classicising Scottish interior and (that feature of the architectural legacy of Scotland to the U.S.A.) 'Sash' or (U.S.) 'double-hung' windows, with their grids of upright rectangular panes, as among Wittgenstein's fanatically uninflected mural planes and simplified Central European casements.⁵¹ The very suavity of Alan Johnston's own peculiar rectitude in white paint and pencil on unbleached linen presents itself thanks to, yet a necessarily over and against, an otherwise Ruskinian work- manliness which is indeed most restrained in its avoidance of what could be considered the prevailing post-modern notion of the tastefully neutered-outdoorsy, like Musil's protoyuppies too busy with classy sports to care about art or architecture.

In one other subtle but vital respect all the paintings in Vienna did relate to the architecture of the house. For in all of them a three-centimetre module is wilfully carried over from Wittgenstein's famously perfectionist, last minute shaving back of the ceiling of the noble entrance hall by that very amount. (This notorious alteration proves on inspection to have been no mere temperamental indulgence but a decisive artistic act which, by converting a bilateral grid into a parallel sequences of bays, changed a principal space in the house from being either a static or axially ambiguous hypostyle hall of sorts, into a distinctly axial, directional chamber, rising up as it opens inward forward from the entrance.) Then, to, the paintings, all on pairs of abutting panels may have called subliminal attention to the easily overlooked feature, at once material and formal, of Wittgenstein's house: the flags of the floors, not only as black squares (or even as finely worked squares) but as stony chunks resting detectably upon their underpinnings, with even a nice resonant sound to had walking very much upon them. This is somehow more important for the experience of the building qua architecture than mere perfectionism of hardware--such as, otherwise relatedly, the finely made bronze heating grilles set flush into the floor at the feet of French doors opening into the garden. Generally in the paintings, on their doubled stretchers, a binary 'logic' is sufficiently apparent that asymmetries are so to speak active, signifying, obviously not conditions of disorder. For this there is no overall equivalent 'logic' evident in the architectural composition. There is simply no way of telling if the building's asymmetries, whether in layout, overall massing or fenestration, are even wilful versus accidental. While compositionally non-relational (that is, not composed 'organically' of interdependent elements in active relation but more like in inert conjunctions) the paintings hold together as image structures; indeed, one reason we can be sure they are not pictures is that they manage without even residually pictorial 'composition'. In the building, however, alignments of windows and doors, for instance, do seem carefully considered inside, as sighted from one room to another, but much less so as expressed on the exterior, where irregularities seem more like imperfections than signs of limber 'functionalism' within. Hence Johnston's astutely simple looking images could not but show up Haus Wittgenstein as not really artful, architecturally, in the way of houses by Loos, which it stylistically resembles. As rigorous in structure as they are, the paintings keep a lively, intuitive edge more like the work of Loos, who Neutra, reports, liked to decide dimensions on the spot, by pointing, rather than to indicate everything in preparatory drawings: as Loos maintained, 'This is the only human way to decide on the

height of a wainscot, or the width of a window.’⁵² But because Loos was impatient with the surface-design aspect of secession activity, Mackintosh, who actually joined the Wiener Sezession, would have been better prepared to understand the syntactical, ‘linguistic’ richness of Johnston’s image-constructs, as well as Kolo Moser to appreciate such a technical feature as a surprising number of coats of waxed graphite or of white enamel paint—like the many coats of paint on a fine piece of Japanese lacquer ware as aesthetically significant. One might even want to argue that Johnston has arrived at a peculiarly Scottish Calvinist ‘poetry of materials’ which even Loos could have sympathetically have shared. There is not only the implication of rectitude in spare and so often strongly rectilinear configurations (which in itself obtains in constructivism at large) but even the refinement of a simple palette which entails what the most literal stuffs, in particular unbleached cotton and linen. Such a ‘palette’. Is actually closer to actual Calvinist tradition than that of Mondrian, to judge by an early (1575) rule of the Scottish Church for ministerial dress which forbidding plaids, required that ‘hail habite shall be of grave collour, as black, russet, sad gray, sad browne.’⁵³ And if black, white and just that does not sound like much to work with, colouristically speaking, one has only to consider what was done in classical Greek painting within the limitations of the black-and red-figure systems.

Wittgenstein’s posthumous *Philosophical Investigations* opens with a quotation from St Augustine. Alois Riegl’s *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* (1901), the great Viennese contribution to modern art theory, had ended by turning to Augustine, specifically his formal demand for either regularity (‘rhythm of equal series’) or else definite proportional relations, in the deployment of windows of a building (*Da vera Religione*, chap.xxx). It was in this book that Riegl introduced the modernist notion of so-called ‘negative space’, in calling attention to the, by definition, on objective forms occurring (specifically in late antique art) as interstices between otherwise representational shapes. It does not escape Riegl that Augustine finds his telling ‘concrete examples of works of art’ in the essentially abstract art of architecture. Even a fenestration pattern may have metaphysical consequence: ‘the choice of the perforated (perforatis) windows in buildings reveals the change, which took place in late antiquity. Aristotle would have chosen as analogous examples columns or any other material positive individual shape: Augustine, however, uses for this a de-materialised perforation, ‘manifesting an (anti-Manichean) ‘emancipation of intervals’. ⁵⁴

Had Wittgenstein considered Riegl, difficulties with his ‘picture’ theory might have been lessened—especially in English, with Bild as more properly ‘image’ than ‘picture’. Even allowing for the fact that Wittgenstein bespeaks propositions more than images anyway, the thought seems lame: ‘When I look at a genre-picture, it ‘tells’ me something even though I don’t believe (imagine) for a moment that the people I see in it really exist, or that there have really been people in that situation. But suppose I ask: “What does it tell me then?”(I.522). And in answer to his own question, Wittgenstein adds, ‘I should like to say, “What the picture tells me is itself.” That is, it’s telling me something consists in it’s own structure; in it’s own lines and colours. ‘Now parenthetically, he wonders, ‘What would it mean to say, “ What this musical theme tells me is itself”?’ (I.523). ⁵⁵ Here for once we may even catch our man playing dumb: for especially in light of his musical

family background, it is impossible that Wittgenstein was unfamiliar with the famous claim of the Viennese anti-Wagnerian music critic Hanslick, in the mid-nineteenth century: 'To the question, what is to be expressed...? The answer will be: musical ideas.'⁵⁶

This is not the place to pursue the ramifications of Wittgensteinian 'picture theory', which has anyway faded from fashion in philosophy. Still, one could not help but think of the large and lingering problem of the non-objective image in confronting the utterly non-pictorial but so beautifully articulated images (*Bilder*) of Alan Johnston on the walls of rooms actually designed by Ludwig Wittgenstein. As almost semaphoric, even more than ideogrammatic, Johnston's paintings are certainly not 'pictures'. And yet it has been as true and full-fledged *Bilder* that they have proved themselves so remarkably compatible with the 'pure', and needless to say non-mimetic, forms of Haus Wittgenstein itself.

Footnotes

1. I want to record my gratitude to Alan Johnston for inviting me to write this and J.H.Tilton for the practical facilitations.
2. At least since Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin's *Wittgenstein's Vienna*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973). Which remains a fascinating source for the cultural context of the house.
3. Edgar Wind, *Hume and the Heroic Portrait* (1932), in his *Hume and the Heroic Portrait: Studies in 18TH Century Imagery*, ed. Jaynice Anderson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1986), 1-52.
4. G.E.M. Anscombe, *An Introduction to Wittgenstein's Tractatus*.1959 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.1971.). 12, continuing, ' If we look for Wittgenstein's philosophical ancestry we should rather look to Schopenhauer.....'
5. As when Freud stopped reading philosophy (not for the first time) in 1908, in an attempt to avoid falling, in his case, into Nietzsche's debt; Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, 3 vols. (New York: Basic Books, 1953-57), ii, 344.
6. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. Ernest Mossner (Harmondsworth: Penguin.1969, repr.1984), 72-73, continuing: ' By this means we accompany our ideas with a kind of reflection, of which customs renders us, in a great measure insensible .A person, who desires us to consider the figure of a globe of white marble without thinking of it's colour, desires an impossibility; but his meaning, is that we should consider the colour and figure together, but still keep in our eye the resemblance to the globe of black marble, or that to any other of whatever colour of substance'.
7. *The Letters of David Hume*, ed. J.Y.T. Greig, 2 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932), I, 129.
8. Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, ed. J.B. Schneewind (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1983) 38-9.
9. *Ibid.* 86-87.
10. Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, in his *Principal Writings on Religion*, ed. J.C.A. Gaskin, *The World's Classics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.1993), here 106.
11. R.A.D. Grant, ' Home Truths: Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the house beautiful ', in *Virtue and Taste: Essays on Politics, Ethics and Aesthetics in Memory of Flint Schier*, ed. Dudley Knowles and Johns Skorupski, *Philosophical Quarterly Supplementary Series* (Oxford: Blackwell, Blackwell.1993), 111-23 here 115-16.
12. Compare the case of the cubist painter Georges Braque, whose building of an urbane modernist house by Auguste Perret, in 1924, was followed, as if in compensation, by the commissioning of a country house in the Norman style (at Varengeville, near Dieppe), 1931.
13. And possibly influenced by C. Harrison Townsend's Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1897-9, published as a project in *The Studio* in 1895: Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, *Pelican History of Art*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), 297.
14. S.Tschudi Masden, *Art Nouveau*, trans. R.I. Christopherson (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1967), 185.

15. Illus. Thomas Howarth Charles Rennie Macintosh and the Modern Movement, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1977), Pls.24., 49a.
16. Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Architektur, Architektur in Wien (text by Dietmar Steiner), 4th ed. (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1995.), no.5/182, on p.112; illus. on p.109 (bottom). This volume hereafter given simply as Architektur in Wien.
17. Illus., Howard Robertson, Architecture Arising (London: Faber and Faber, 1944), pl.opp.p.80.
18. Dietmar Steiner et al., Architecture in Vienna, 2nd ed. trans. James Roderick O'Donovan, (Vienna: Pracher, 1990), 159, notes. 1971 destruction of the garden and the 1975 -6 adaptations, especially of basement. Also, on the ground floor the wall between the original 'salon' and the 'living room' has been broken through (fairly carefully), and what was Margarethe's bedroom suite has also been opened up.
19. Reyner Banham. A Concrete Atlantis: U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture 1900-1925 (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1986), 203,258 n.19, quoting, respectively, Adolf Loos, 'Architektur', in his Trotzdem, 1931,pp.95ff, and Loos, Ins Leere gesprochen, 1932,58. Concrete Atlantis is reviewed by me as Temples to the Dynamo: 'The Daylight Factory and the Grain Elevator' (1987), in my Modernities: Art-Matters in the Present (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 55-61. Also, the subject of the art of architecture in contradistinction to engineering (from the later eighteenth century onwards) is treated at several places in my Building-Art: Modern Architecture Under Cultural Construction (Cambridge University Press, 1994).
20. See for Behrens, Tilmann Buddensieg, Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the A E G, 1907-1914. in Buddensieg, Henning Rogge et al., Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the A E G, 1907-1914. (Cambridge, Mass., M I T Press 1984), 8-95, esp 72-9; for Mies: Fritz Neumeyer, pace 'Space for reflection: block versus pavilion', in Franz Schulze, ed., Mies van der Rohe: Critical Essays (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1989), 148-71; also, Masheck, 'Reflections in Onyx on Mies van der Rohe', Building-Art, 95-109. In terms of abstract Hellenism: all the more on its walled-in plinth of dirt, the blocky but asymmetrical Erechtheum on the Acropolis.
21. Paul Wijdeveld, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Architect (Cambridge, Mass.: M I T Press, 1994). This fanatical study (in the good sense), Replete with adoring photographs of the building and new documentation, was not yet known to me when I visited the house in April 1994 and proceeded to write the present essay. All further study will depend on Wijdeveld's book, but Wijdeveld is so in thrall to his hero that for instance, in shifting the front door into an arguably still less felicitous position, Wittgenstein 'exploits the asymmetry' (161) Which Engelmann instituted.
22. Otto Kapfinger, Haus Wittgenstein: Eine Dokumentation (Vienna: Kulturabteilung der Botschaft der Republik Bulgarien, 1991), 21-2.
23. Adolf Loos, 'Architecture'. Trans. in Tim and Charlotte Benson, eds. Architecture and Design 1890-1939. Whitney Library of Design (New York: Watson-Guptil, 1975) 41-5. Thanks to Joan Ockman for this reference.
24. Masheck, 'Tired Tropes: cathedral versus bicycle shed' "duck" versus "decorated shed", in Building Art, 184-21, here 185 quoting Boullée's Treatise on Architecture, ed. Helen Rosenau (London: Tiranti, 1953), 80.
25. Ludwig Wittgenstein, comments of 1930 in his Vermischte Bemerkungen/Culture and Value (1977), ed. G.H.von Wright with Heikki Nyman, 2nd ed. (1978), trans Peter Winch (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 6(e)-7(e); also given by Rush Rhees in the ' Postscript' to his ed. Recollections of Wittgenstein, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), esp.199.
26. Rhees, Recollections, 126.
27. For all these houses, see Ottokar Uhl, Moderne Architektur in Wien von Otto Wagner bis Heute (Vienna and Munich: Schroll, 1966): Haus Steiner, figs.39, 40 Haus Scheu, figs.41, 42; Haus Rufer, figs 43,44; Haus Moller, fig.46 (not the best view, this last, of a building often reproduced).
28. Benedetto Gravagnuolo, Adolf Loos: Theory and Works, trans. C.H. Evans (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), esp. chap. 'America ', 42-51; on Sullivan's 'abstract-organic' ornamental sense generally, see my Note on Sullivan and the rarefaction of bodily beauty', in Masheck, Building-Art, 57-68
29. Esther McCoy, Five Californian Architects, 2nd ed. (New York: Praeger, 1975), 58-101.
30. Ibid.148-93; David Gebhard, Schindler (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).
31. Richard Neutra, Survival through Design (New York: Oxford University Press 1954), 167.
32. His sister Hermine remembered that Ludwig 'designed every window, door, window -bar and radiator in the noblest proportions and with such exactitude that they might have been precision instruments. Then he forged a head with his uncompromising energy, so that everything was actually manufactured with the same exactness'; Hermine Wittgenstein, 'Family Recollections',

Excerpts trans. Richard Ligner in Bernhard Leitner, *The Architecture of Ludwig Wittgenstein: A Documentation / Die Architektur von Ludwig Wittgenstein: eine Dokumentation* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 17-23 here 20.

33. The historical rootedness of many essentialised 'classic' modern design forms in eighteenth-century standard types is an interesting matter which attained semiconsciousness with the bourgeois-materialist 'objet-type' of the French 'purists'. But there is also a simpler matter of prevailing givens, the vernacular 'readymades' of building, which may be re-thought or merely presumed.

Leitner exaggerates where, noting of Haus Wittgenstein, Transparent glass panels separate the stairs from the elevator shaft', he comments, 'The Mechanics of the elevator thus remain visible and participate in the total aesthetics of the house' (*Architecture*, 83): the same is of course true of countless old residential elevators of Vienna, not to mention Paris and the rest of continental Europe.

34. William Warren Bartley, III, *Wittgenstein*, 2nd ed. (La Salle, Ill. Open Court, 1985, repr., 1988) 117.

35. Hermine Wittgenstein, *Family Recollections*', in Leitner, *Architecture*, 18

36. Rhees, *Recollections*, 106; further: 'You think philosophy is difficult enough but I can tell you it is nothing to the difficulty of being a good architect. When I was building that house for my sister in Vienna I was so completely exhausted at the end of the day that all I could do was go to a "flick" every night'.

37. Friedrich Stadler, Kundmannngasse 19:Architectur als Symbol ohne Ornament', *Language and Ontology: Proceedings of the VI International Wittgenstein Symposium, Kirchberg am Wechsel (Austria), 23-30 August 1981*, i.e. *Schriftenreihe der Wittgenstein-Gesellschaft*, 8(1982), 537 here 537; thanks to Paul O'Grady for a photocopy. Stadler, who also gives notes an extensive bibliography, nicely compares Wittgenstein's attention to building detail with scrupulous construction of the single sentence in his *Tractatus*. There is now also Aenne Glienke, *Das Wittgenstein Haus: eine Untersuchung zur Architectur des Philosophen*, M.A. thesis University of Hamburg, 1993. (Of which there is a copy in the house).

39. Paul Engelmann, "Observations on the *Tractatus*", in his *Letters from Ludwig Wittgenstein with a Memoir*, ed. B.F. McGuinness,

Trans. L. Furtmuller (Oxford; Blackwell, 1967), 94-118.

40. Paul O'Grady, comments of June 1994, quoting J. Lukasiewicz as trans. by Peter Geach in Christopher Coope et al, *A Wittgenstein Workbook* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 22.

41. Josef Putre, Meine Erinnerungen, quoted in Eugene E. Hargrove, 'Wittgenstein, Bartley and the Glökel School Reform', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 18 (1980), 453-61, here 457, as quoted in Bartley *Wittgenstein*, 117. Come to think of it, Wittgenstein did also dabble in pharmacy, as a volunteer in Guy's Hospital, London, during World War II.

42. Wittgenstein, *Letters to Russell, Keynes and Moore*, ed. G.H.von Wright (Oxford: Basil Blackwell; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), 123, 127.

43. Bartley, Wittgenstein, 118, with ref. to Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value*, 37(E)-38 (E)

44. Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value*, 42(G), 42(E). As I point out in 'Tired Tropes' 201, the phrase *Zweckmässige Gebäude* here seems rather more Kantian in the German original.

45. Gordon C.F. Bearn, The Formal Syntax of Modernism: Carnap and Le Corbusier', *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 32(1992), 227-41. I must observe that Bearn himself is by no means alone in misascribing a connection between the 'Briar Pipe' at the end of Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture* (1923) and Rene Magritte's various Ceci n'est pas une pipe' images which was first established by the present writer many years ago: see my 'Notes on Influence and Appropriation: This Not a Pipe', *Masheck Modernities*, 225-9

46. There ought to be a history of the modernistic idea of a positive lack of ornament, including a display of Die Form ohne Ornament' (Form without ornament) mounted at the 1924 Deutsche Werkbund exhibition, at Stuttgart.

47. Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value*, 69(E).

48. References to part and chapter, volume and page, in Robert Musil, *The Man Without Qualities*, trans. Sophie Wilkins, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1995).

49. This point, often overlooked, was stressed by Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London:

Architectural Press, 1960), p.243, with fig.92 on 235 (and caption on 234).

50. Such as *Window, Museum of Modern Art, Paris, 1949*, or *Window VI*, 1950 (the formal disposition of the latter taken directly from the fenestration of Le Corbusier's Swiss Pavilion at the Cite Universitaire, Paris).

51. In Robert Musil's own quite Loosian essay 'Doors and portals', dating from the 1920's the non-necessity of door frames is likened to detachable shirt cuffs, a 'discovery...that...must be credited to the famous architect who realised that since man is born in a clinic and dies in a hospital, he likewise requires aseptic restraint in the design of his living space'. Musil, 'Doors and portals', in his *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*, trans. Peter Wortsman (Harmondsworth:

52. Neutra, *Survival*, 300.

53. M.P. Ramsey, *Calvin and Art Considered in Relation to Scotland*, (Edinburgh and London: Moray Press, 1938))
78. Not surprisingly, Calvin himself thinks of colour as pertaining immediately to divinely material substances as obviously preordained to be precious or base: 'What hath he not made such a difference of colours for this end, that some may be more acceptable than another? What! Hath he not given to gold, silver, ivory and marble, a special grace and beauty whereof they might be prized as more precious than other metals or stones? ; Institutes of Christian Religion (1st ed.1536), BkIII; quoted, *ibid.*29. It was of course in the art of painting, which in Calvin's experience was needless to say, all too horribly representational, that the semiotic arbitrariness of colour was articulated even before abstraction.
54. Alois Riegl, *Late-Roman Art Industry*, trans. Rolf Winkes, *Archaeologica*, 36(Rome: Bretschneider, 1985), in the original, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1927;repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 397-8.
55. Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen/ Philosophical Investigations*, Trans. G.E.M. Anscombe (New York: Macmillan, 1953), 142(E).
56. Eduard Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music* (1854), trans. Gustav Cohen, ed. Morris Weitz, *The Library of Liberal Arts* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1957), 48.