‘THE NEO-AVANT-GARDE IN MODERN SCOTTISH ART, AND WHY IT MATTERS.’

CRAIG RICHARDSON

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (BY PUBLISHED WORK)

THE SCHOOL OF FINE ART,
THE GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART

2017

‘THE NEO-AVANT-GARDE IN MODERN SCOTTISH ART, AND WHY IT MATTERS.’

Abstract.

The submitted publications are concerned with the historicisation of late-modern Scottish visual art. The underpinning research draws upon archives and site visits, the development of Scottish art chronologies in extant publications and exhibitions, and builds on research which bridges academic and professional fields, including Oliver 1979, Hartley 1989, Patrizio 1999, and Lowndes 2003. However, the methodology recognises the limits of available knowledge of this period in this national field. Some of the submitted publications are centred on major works and exhibitions excised from earlier work in Gage 1977, and Macmillan 1994.

This new research is discussed in a new iteration, *Scottish art since 1960*, and in eight other publications. The primary objective is the critical recovery of little-known artworks which were formed in Scotland or by Scottish artists and which formed a significant period in Scottish art’s development, with legacies and implications for contemporary Scottish art and artists. This further serves as an analysis of critical practices and discourses in late-modern Scottish art and culture.

The central contention is that a Scottish neo-avant-garde, particularly from the 1970s, is missing from the literature of post-war Scottish art. This was due to a lack of advocacy, which continues, and a dispersal of knowledge. Therefore, while the publications share with extant publications a consideration of important themes such as landscape, it reprioritises these through a problematisation of the art object. This approach distinguishes itself from Scotland’s later twentieth-century art histories, including Macdonald 2000.

The secondary concern is the reception of late-modernist Scottish art in relation to Scotland’s independent national development. Particular attention is paid to the discourses within Scottish art which relate to political developments up to the 1979 devolution referendum in relation to the imaginative practices which develop in the 1980s and beyond. The publications explore how such political and cultural contexts contributed to models of self-determination and collective agency during this period, within which artistic and curatorial identities are formed through association, affiliation and belonging.

CONTENTS

APPENDICES

List of Submitted Publications (2007–2016).

2016 '"IN SPITE OF HISTORY" - THE CORRESPONDING STATES OF SCOTTISH AND IRISH CONTEMPORARY ART?' *THE DROUTH* (55): 59–73. ISSN:1474-6190

2015 BORLAND, C., AND CRAIG RICHARDSON. "TALKING ABOUT A CHRISTINE BORLAND SCULPTURE: EFFECTIVE EMPATHY IN CONTEMPORARY ANATOMY ART (AND AN EMERGING COUNTERPART IN MEDICAL TRAINING?)", *THE JOURNAL OF VISUAL ART PRACTICE* VOL 14 (2): 146–61. ISSN 1758-9185 (Online)

2015 "ENGLAND 'GHOSTS' BRITISH ART - A FRIEZE", *THE DROUTH* (50): 50–67. ISSN:1474-6190

2012b. "WASTE TO MONUMENT: JOHN LATHAM'S 'NIDDRIE WOMAN' (1975–6)", *TATE PAPERS* 17. ISSN 1753-9854

2012a. "SEALAND" IN *WE LOVE REAL LIFE SCOTLAND - ART, HISTORY AND PLACE: A READER EXPLORING THE HERITAGE OF HUNTLY'S GORDONS AND OTHER SCOTTISH INCIDENCES*, (DEVERON ARTS, 2012): 132–164. ISBN: 978-1-907115-09-7

2011 *SCOTTISH ART SINCE 1960: HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS AND CONTEMPORARY OVERVIEWS (*ASHGATE). ISBN: 978-0-7546-6124-5

2010 "CONTEMPORARY SCOTTISH ART AND THE LANDSCAPE OF ABANDONMENT", *VISUAL CULTURE IN BRITAIN*, VOL. 11 (3): 391–405. ISSN:1471 -4787. / DOI:10.1080/14714787.2010.515108

2007b. "APPEARANCE OF STATE" IN *MACKENNA & JANSSEN: SHOTGUN WEDDING,* (ATOPIA PROJECTS, 2007): 2–9. ISBN: 978-0-9546156-4-2

2007a. "*ROSS SINCLAIR VERSUS SIR EDWIN LANDSEER"* (ABERDEEN ART GALLERY, 2007): FOLIO OF EVIDENCE INCLUDING RICHARDSON, C. 'SITUATING SCOTTISHNESS', IN *REGIONALISM AND IDENTITY IN BRITISH ART: HISTORY, ENVIRONMENT & CONTEMPORARY PRACTICE* (28th OCTOBER, 2006, RWA, BRISTOL).

Notes on Methodology.

The inadequate reference to the Scottish neo-avant-garde, as an important theoretical presence and through specific examples, within Scottish art literature and collections, required archival research and its dissemination as a critical rediscovery. Therefore, I intended that my scholarly research should appear in the public realm in a series of interlinking publications and to address their themes in such a form of advocacy.

Methodologically, my publications exemplify how Scotland's neo-avant-garde artworks require advocacy, particularly where the artworks in question include elements of theory which initially required critical mediation yet not provided. Where the extant literature and collections evidenced such gaps, and they are numerous, my response to the general condition meant consciously staging assertions, positively regarding the qualities of the artworks in question as well as the underlying reasons for their omission. As a stylistic stance it may be described as subjective deliberation, but it is founded upon scholarly focus and careful presentation of archival evidence. The long Introduction to *Scottish Art since 1960* (2011) is notable in this regard. It reveals and challenges the historical and contemporary institutional resistance the Scottish neo-avant-garde; its rhetoric is intended to meet and match institutional oversight, omission and rhetoric.

Archives, collections and literature.

The Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art's (SNGMA) institutional development is contained within its library and archive, which includes other project's curatorial notes and artists' files, with grant applications and decisions pertaining to other organisations. For example, the *Zenomap* (2003) files are comprised of unmediated data but provide narrative detail on the agency of artists in Glasgow. All of the institutional holdings also included exhibition brochures or press releases and operational accounts, such as Committee minutes and meeting notes.

Other significant archives consulted included the Bodleian *Scottish Arts Council* archive, Tate Britain Hyman Kreitman Centre's then uncatalogued archive of the *Artist Placement Group* including *Niddrie Woman* (1976), and The National Library of Scotland (NLS) *Nuspeak* volumes. The latter were a prelude to the opening of Glasgow's The Third Eye Centre. The Royal Commission on the

Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) holds Alan Reiach's plans for a Museum on the Mound, Edinburgh and overlaps with NLS in relevant material. In Ireland, Dublin's Trinity Irish Art Research Centre, Dublin (TRIARC), and The National Irish Visual Arts Library at the National College of Art and Design, provided equivalent data with that of Scotland's art organisational development, particularly on artist-run galleries and agencies.

As well as visiting national and international collections throughout the duration of this research, repeatedly to The Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art (SNGMA) and in other major Scottish national library and museum collections, visits to Tate Britain, the Museum Abteiberg Mönchengladbach, the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi and The Douglas Hyde Gallery, Dublin) offered insights into the curatorial structuring of national art. Rarely exhibited artworks of Scottish provenance were accessed at the National Museums Collection Centre at Granton (outside Edinburgh), or by negotiation with artists.

The literature on Scottish art expanded during the timespan under consideration. Scottish published exhibition catalogues appeared with growing frequency from the 1970s onwards, initially through the aegis of the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) notably including Oliver, Overy and Macmillan. Up to this point, usually, exhibitions were recorded in a brochure with modest reproductions and an un-credited Introduction. Such publications were available but dispersed throughout Scotland's University libraries and in The National Library of Scotland. Writing on Scottish art from the period was also published in magazines, including *Variant*, *Alba* and *Map. Edinburgh Review*, *Art Monthly*, and *Frieze* magazines also published significant critical essays on Scottish art and artists, sometimes reflecting critical positions and formed of contrasting viewpoints with those found in catalogue essays. The approaches taken in monographs in detailing post-war Scottish art is discussed in *Scottish Art since 1960* (2011). This literature review is also continued herein (enclosed supplementary essay, Appendix 4). As my monographic approach fore-fronted the presence of the neo-avant-garde it contends with all the previous approaches, in this I concur with Danto, who

identified the 1970s as 'something of a blank [yet it] may have been the most interesting and important art-historical decade of the century.'[1]

Practice-led research.

As the development of methodological diversity in the field was one of the objectives of the submitted publication's shared rationale, a preliminary project devised in 2005–7 entailed collaboration with Aberdeen Museum through practice-led research. This examined how historical affiliation can develop in contemporary art-practice and through curation in a Scottish context. My curated exhibition *Ross Sinclair Versus Sir Edwin Landseer* (2007) entailed a negotiated environmental manipulation of Aberdeen Museum and Art Gallery, within a methodology of an 'artist's embedded reinterpretation'.[2] This resulted in Sinclair's responsive artwork, made and sited in proximity to a major work by Sir Edwin Landseer (1802–73) with the latter acting as a creative source. The methodology enabled a study of creative reciprocity, framed within other scholarly and developmental approaches.[3]

Oral histories and interviews.

The rationalisation for the timeframe 1960–2003 of *Scottish Art since 1960* recognised the National Galleries of Scotland's institutionalisation of the modern, up to Scotland's formalised representation at the Venice Biennale 2003. As I had contact with those visual artists, critics, curators on whom I had centred my thesis, examples of our correspondence and interview notes appeared throughout my publications. Many of my correspondents had direct engagement with either or both The National Galleries of Scotland or SAC. I interviewed a number of artists, writers and curators, including Borland, Bradley, Breen, Dickson, Johnston, Hartley, Harding, Lawson, Murray, Oliver, Overy, Smith (A). I noticed,

[1] Ibid.
[2] "Appearance of State." In *Mackenna & Janssen: Shotgun Wedding,* (Atopia Projects, 2007): 2–9.
[3] Aspects of this curatorial research project were structured using the spectrum of research types (ranging from scholarly, pure, developmental and applied research) in Bruce Brown, Paul Gough and Jim Roddis, *Types of Research in the Creative Arts and Design - A discussion paper* (2004): 6. http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/43077/4_research.pdf (accessed 15 July, 2016).

during interviews and through correspondence, that creative practitioners combine extant knowledge with loose improvisatory or rules-based approaches. Relevant *petits récits* appeared in *Scottish Art since 1960* and in separately published interviews. The latter entailed additional verifications, *Talking about a Christine Borland sculpture* (2015) includes my footnoted archival research undertaken subsequent to our interview. Fore-fronting the voice of the artist, to capture impressions of a remembered time, has well-known shortcomings. My research includes this as it also has an ethical dimension, particularly contextualising works which encompassed a neo-avant-garde attitude (for instance, Smith's *£1512*) as verbalised in the experience of practitioners.[4]

Field visits and survey.

My research on *Niddrie Woman* (1976) centred on John Latham's *Feasibility Study* (1976), and later developed via an interview with Barbara Steveni (Latham's ex-partner). The resultant publications ascertained the contemporary value of Latham's proposals at the various stages of their reception over a twenty-year period. As a sculptural form with a dynamic surface ecology, the appearance of *Niddrie Woman* has changed too, and I continued to meet with Heritage Scotland (now Heritage Environment Scotland) on the conservation of the bing forms, as scheduled ancient monuments.

I followed the route of Latham's exploration of the region in 1975–6 and made photographic comparisons with Latham's terrestrial images of the same bings. *Niddrie Woman* can be understood through two separate avenues. In the context of art history its conceptual re-designation is considered Process Art, which began with Latham's intuitive appraisal of the site he found documented in a 1947 aerial photograph. But the site was also recorded in Latham's contemporary sequence of image / text panels with captions. Onsite it is recognised differently, now as a scheduled ancient monument (although it remains without signage). My publications utilised Latham's *a posteriori* knowledge using his contemporaneous documentation which he also included in artworks. This required multiple site visits, to contextualise Latham's *Feasibility Study*'s claims for its spatial effects

[4] See Alan Smith's comments in Richardson, Scottish Art since 1960, 59.

as well as confirming the documentation laid out by Latham in his image / text panel works.

Finally, the publications which appear after 2011 build on the chronological structuring in *Scottish Art since 1960*, with an intentionally holistic examination of the field, up to the present-day. I sometimes narrate 'in person' my environmental observations, Alan Latham 2003 is the guide in this. Alan Latham seeks to reframe 'research as creative, performative practice allows the researcher to address some novel questions about the cultures of everyday urban experience that more conventional, representationally oriented, methods fail to address adequately'[5] (Ascherson 2002 does the same). This is an approach through which my research has become thematically interwoven, an important aspect of a developing holistic approach.

[5] Alan Latham, "Research, performance, and doing human geography: some reflections on the diary-photograph, diary-interview method." *Environment and Planning A* 35 (2003): 1994.

Justification of the intellectual significance of the submission.
'THE NEO-AVANT-GARDE IN MODERN SCOTTISH ART, AND WHY IT MATTERS.'

Introduction

Neo-avant-garde artworks and attitudes are weakly positioned in the literature on post-war Scottish art and almost absent from Scottish collections.[6] The evidence of its quality and context can be found in archives, demonstrating a decisive interpolation of late-modernist Scottish art, with legacies which can be traced to contemporary Scottish art. The underlying proposition first arose in discussions with Scottish artists, academics and arts professionals. While the reasons provided for such a hypothesis were conjectural, the content of the discussions implied a contestation of what had come to represent late-modern Scottish art and what additionally should be represented. Above all, this implied a contestation of the institutional processes of cultural representation in Scotland.

In 2006 David Hopkins described the neo-avant-garde as 'a workable concept, at least for the purposes of trying to pinpoint the defining features of the cultural production of the 1950s, 60s and 70s'.[7] The submitted publications reprioritise cogent but little-known examples in a history of the practice and curation of Scottish conceptual / post-conceptual art, land-art, situational and minimalist artworks during this period and its aftermath. In *Scottish Art since 1960* this initially centres on William Turnbull, Mark Boyle, John L. Paterson, Ken Dingwall, John Latham, Alan Smith, Alan Johnston, Glen Onwin and Ian Hamilton Finlay. It develops in a discussion of the key contestations in the writings of Cordelia Oliver, Alexander Moffat and Malcolm Dickson, and in other publications through dialogue with the methods and practice of Christine Borland, Ross Sinclair, Roderick Buchanan and their peers. The broader curatorial context includes devolved institutions and new funding for the visual arts in Scotland.

[6] Interviews with Cordelia Oliver and Robert Breen revealed examples of institutional connoisseurship, thereby works which might have been central in similar national art-historical chronologies were considered tangential to Scotland's narrative.
[7] David Hopkins, *Neo-Avant-Garde, ed. David Hopkins* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 1.

The value of the avant-garde's return was, of course, not without its critics. Peter Bürger wrote that the historical avant-garde's 'refusal to provide meaning is experienced as shock by the recipient'[8] but that 'there is such a thing as expected shock.'[9] That is, 'shock is consumed' and can be packaged as such.[10] Hal Foster later summarised Peter Bürger's *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (1974) as the 'repetition of the historical avant-garde by the neo-avant-garde [which] can only turn the antiaesthetic into the artistic, the transgressive into the institutional'.[11] As neo-avant-garde art and attitudes in Scottish art were decisive, but rarely 'institutional', my research concurred with Foster's support for the Neo-Avant-Garde's transgressive approach, and its problematisation of the institution through its production of 'new aesthetic experiences, cognitive connections, and political interventions, and that these openings may make up another criterion by which art can claim to be advanced today',[12] hence his retort, "What's Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?"[13] However, the theoretical core of a Scottish neo-avant-garde has been obscured and its political edge blunted.[14] Unsurprisingly, the key works are not mainstream, contesting older assumptions, may be intentionally marginal. As such the Scottish neo-avant-garde presented difficulties for Scottish art institutions, and too often its qualities were dismissed. As 'art made in order to displace customary ways of working'[15] it nevertheless deserves scholarly research, which is a key aspect of this submission, in recognition of its contribution to Scottish art's late-modern period.

The Scottish neo-avant-garde also has an operational context. In this period, as I show in *Scottish Art since 1960*, the availability of grants for self-organising groups in the Scottish artworld meant experimental, neo-avant-garde attitudes were affirmed in self-organising groups, including those in the orbit of New 57 Gallery, or those exhibiting in *Locations Edinburgh* (1971). It was seldom reliant upon major institutions. The same structure continues today with Transmission

[8] Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1984), 80.
[9] Ibid, 81.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Hal Foster, "What's Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?" *October* 70 (1994): 13.
[12] Foster, "What's Neo?" October 70 (1994): 16.
[13] Foster, "What's Neo?" *October* 70 (1994): 5–32.
[14] To paraphrase Foster, "What's Neo?": 6.
[15] Ibid: 5.

Gallery and Generator Projects. However, the literature covering late-modern Scottish art does not typically allow for a neo-avant-garde within the narrative (excepting some Scottish-born artists' involvement in London's counter-culture of the 1960s). This may be due to authorial proclivities, neo-avant-garde artworks do require critical advocacy, key works are often intentionally 'difficult' and present a challenge to populist approaches to curation and museum collecting, and there is a limited availability of prior scholarly research.

The core publication, *Scottish Art since 1960,* enumerated my rationale through proposing exemplars, setting these within a new narrative and comparatively broad cultural and political context. While this was intended to arrest the ongoing marginalisation of a significant cultural moment, all my publications also speak to the quality of resources, poor or otherwise, supporting research into Scottish art in the present-day.[16]

In relation to my secondary concern, the reception of late-modernist Scottish art in relation to Scotland's independent national development, this revealed itself within a complex interplay, as follows. The reception in Scotland of neo-avant-garde artistic influence from Europe and the US, and the co-development or hybridisation of neo-avant-garde attitudes Scotland between 1968–78, opens chapter two of *Scottish Art since 1960*.[17] Hence, in the chapter I continue on to Alan Bold's 1971 stylisation 'Scottish Realism'[18] and its inhabitation by an anti-establishment feeling. Bold continued this line, arguing later for an 'inescapable'[19] Scottish-national cultural identity, furthering his earlier realist stylisation and at odds with the plurality of neo-avant-gardism. This is indicative of one of the means for how neo-avant-gardism was filtered out from Scotland from the early 1970s onwards; through exhortations of authenticity and a general reinforcing of Scottish-national visual traditions.

The irresolution of 1979 represents a key juncture in Scottish art in my framework, particularly as it urged Scottish artists and writers onwards to enriched Scottish-cultural expressions which were sometimes centred on concerns for the

[16]Early stages revealed that better archives and more research, methodological diversification and subjective evaluation were directions by which the field may more generally develop.
[17] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 53–61.
[18] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 58.
[19] Bold, Alan. 1980. "Contemporary Scottish Painting." *The Scottish Review* 17: 18.

viability[20] of a distinctive Scottish art and culture. This was not always successful as some of the artworks were over-dependent on institutional polemic and sanctioned within the prescriptive approaches of the Academy. However, I prioritise works including Alasdair Gray's *Lanark* (1981) and Joseph Beuys' *Poor House Door - A new beginning is in the offing* (1981) in my treatment of the 1980s, as these took as their themes the experiences and histories of Scottish life with full reference to modernist innovation. And yet before 1979, the neo-avant-garde artworks I reprioritise are also comprised of an enriched cultural expression. As John Latham described *Niddrie Woman,* it 'could speak for Scotland round the world, as a very *contemporary* statement'.[21] This is a distinctive Scottish art insofar as it conveys international influence; the visiting artist engaged with resident artists and culture and the engagement informed the hybrid nature of Latham's art practice. The central point here is that when both the 1970s and 1980s are considered *together*, not separately as is normally the case, and notwithstanding the visual-cultural conservatism of the 1980s, it presents a complex interplay with Scotland's unknown national-political direction with the 1979 referendum as a juncture. It is a period characterised by a shared concern for the fundamental loss of Scotland's cultural distinctiveness in all its facets, and is pivotal to the formation of a modern typology of Scottish art, diverging from the meta-narrative of 'British Art'.[22]

This reflective exposition further develops my rationale; a neo-avant-garde presence in its proper place and how it may 'speak for Scotland'. It is discussed as a critical skeleton comprising four themes, presented as a developing typology of Scottish art of the late-modern period. The first theme is the reflexive nature of *advocating* 'Scottish Art' in the late-modern period. Three other themes are de-institutionalisation; representations of landscape; and how the Scottish artworld affiliates - by internationalism and with an extended sense of belonging-ness.

[20] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 105–10 for extended discussion, including Alexander Moffat, 'Artists in Exile', *Edinburgh Review* 72 (1986–7): 82. See also Duncan Macmillan, 'Scottish Art Now - But For How Long?', *Scottish Art Now* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1982), 9.
[21] John Latham, "APG Feasibility Study" (Artist Placement Group Archive. Hyman Kreitman Centre, Tate Britain, 1976), unpaginated.
[22] Richardson, "England 'Ghosts' British Art - a Frieze" *The Drouth*, 50 (2015).

Scottish Art since 1960 – Advocacy and Continuity

In 1960 the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art was borne of the 'problem of advocacy *and* estate'.[23] That it failed to advocate late-modernism is a core argument of *Scottish Art since 1960*. However, such failures can also be considered in the context of another lack, which as recently as 2003 Murdo Macdonald observed, 'research into Scottish art is still extraordinarily lacking in […] scholarly monograph[s]'.[24]

With the broad frame of Macmillan 1990 followed by Macmillan 1994 (revised in 2001), a broad structuring of modern and contemporary Scottish art was made possible. Murdo Macdonald's *Scottish Art* (2000) provided another chronology, with interweaving strands and qualities traced through a long time-span. Macmillan 1994 was highly selective in his discussion of the late-modernist conditions of display and practice, but the backdrop was an evidently strengthening cultural nationalism, more explicitly advocated in Macmillan and Macdonald's other writing.

It is with the precedent of Normand 2000, attentive to Scottish interwar modernism, that the absence of an index and frame for late-modern neo-avant-garde Scottish art became a noticeable academic gap. I intended to publish such a framing, to deepen knowledge of Scottish art's international significance *prior* to its recent ubiquity and provide historical information, added to which would be qualitative research (given many of the key actors remained professionally active).

While researching *Scottish Art since 1960 - Historical Reflections and Contemporary Overviews* (2011) the volume of salient exemplars (set against the number of historical omissions in the extant literature), as discussed in the second chapter of *Scottish Art since 1960,* accumulated a body of knowledge which could not be discussed in isolation. As I sought to exemplify and reify 'Scottish art' through its neo-avant-garde meanings my research sought to understand why its inadequate representation might have occurred, against which the alternate history could be written.

[23] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 31.
[24] Murdo Macdonald, *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 82 /1 (2003): 168.

The answer seemed to be the lack of monographs. Until Macmillan 1994, 'Scottish art' appeared to be maintained by the connoisseurship of the National Galleries of Scotland. However, the archives revealed how the ongoing construction of its meaning in the late-modernist period had accumulated, but differently, within the articulacy or artists, curators, arts officers and critics. Not only those artists of the neo-avant-garde, but of the many others who benefitted from SAC's new systems of support from 1967 onwards. [25] Indeed, one of polemics of the period, Sandy Moffat 1976's demand that 'Scottish art should get up off the floor',[26] which was indicative of a desire to self-identify as a 'Scottish artist', insisting on a collective national-cultural identity with which many could affiliate. This occurred in a transitional moment during which intermediary gate-keeping, as expressed in Scottish national museum exhibitions and collecting, was regarded as increasingly ineffective. These changes further diminished the institutional constructs which underpinned the expression of aesthetic judgement in Scotland.

As *Scottish Art since 1960* shows, from Douglas Hall writing in 1976 that 'everyone is affected by the confusion and loss of direction and impetus in art so evident in the mid 70s'[27] to the doubtfulness of Richard Calvocoressi 1987, 'With notable exceptions, the succeeding waves of post-war international avant-garde have passed Scotland by […] the time may not be ripe for engaging in international dialogue' [28] Scotland's institutional politics had manifested as a bewilderment[29] or belligerence towards the neo-avant-garde. The exegesis of this institutional behavior, which contributed to the relative invisibility of the Scottish neo-avant-garde, required an alternative history. I established this using evidence from across a wide range of sources, of professional activities, publications, artworks and curation.

---

[25] This is evidenced within information and viewpoints sourced in reviews, press releases, committee minutes and a range of other primary sources, and example of which is Sandy Moffat purporting 'without doubt a new sense of identity and a wish amongst artists that Scottish art should get up off the floor and make its presence felt, at home and abroad.' See Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 57.
Also, Alexander Moffat, *Scottish Artists* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council / AIR Gallery London ,1976), 3.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Douglas Hall, 'Future with a past: the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art', *Art Monthly*, issue 1 (October 1976): 17.
[28] Richard Calvocoressi, *The Vigorous Imagination* (1987), 11.
[29] See Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 57.

In relation to my secondary concern, the 'reception of late-modernist Scottish art in relation to Scotland's independent national development', the relative absence of the neo-avant-garde in the 1970s in extant publications initially inhibited my forming of a chronological overview. As one of the major continuities of the period was Scotland's unresolved political-national status, this marked some of the practices which formed Scottish art in the 1970s and 1980s, and was explicitly evident in some of the accompanying discourses. For instance, Macmillan 1982 warned against cultural colonisation and was concerned with the viability of institutions of Scottish art. Even where such polemic tended to supplant an iteration of a culturally distinctive art[30] the reading of the situation was partially correct. During the 1980s, institutional and smaller organisations acknowledged 1979 as a watershed but no single cultural body provided leadership regarding *national* representation. However, some Scottish commentators, such as Sandy Moffat, insisted that the conditions following the 1979 referendum required a different, dynamic cultural direction,[31] although these continued to focus on the Scottish-*national* dimension, similar to that earlier evident within some art published commentaries from the previous decade.[32] As *Scottish Art since 1960* shows, how this develops includes a contestation of internationalism, in which innovation and neo-avant-gardism were displaced, in favour of re-finding visual national-traditions.

The way in which I develop this argument is sketched out here. In the 1970s, the received influence of international art movements, exemplified by Joseph Beuys and John Latham, was welcomed and sometimes hybridised by resident practitioners. In *Scottish Art since 1960* I note how transformation was an important key to understanding Scottish conceptualism, for instance Alan Smith's *£1512* (1977), the conversion of unspent funds in a bank account into a work of art to be retained *in perpetuity* as a work of art and whose value would literally

[30] Macmillan concludes the essay with 'The crisis of modern art as a whole is one of values and so of function. In Scotland the analogy between that crisis and the crisis of the nation itself as without leadership […] is peculiarly sharp.' Macmillan, *Scottish Art Now*, 9.
[31] See Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 107–112 and 123–8.
[32] See Alexander Moffat, *Scottish Artists* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council / AIR Gallery London December 1976); Lindsay Gordon, *Inscape* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council / The Fruit Market Gallery, 1976); Knox, *A Choice Selection* (1975), in Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 59.

rise exponentially. Following 1979, Scotland's new cultural priorities included a zeitgeist neo-expressionism, but its effectiveness was trivialised when Scottish painting was conflated with the Scottish nation. This conflation mishandled the nuances in Steven Campbell's paintings and his depiction of a mired culture as a landscape filled with curious signifiers. In Scotland the reception of neo-expressionism was sometimes as a resistance to internationalism and argued as bold insular thinking, indicated by Calvocoressi 1987. Yet, one could also read in Campbell's paintings the problem of being reconfigured as the archetypal Scottish artist. I describe his paintings as 'allegorical displays of the paradoxical position in which [he] found himself ensnared, actively participating and mired within the over-determination of 'a Scottish artist'.'[33] SNGMA's Patrick Elliott's slightly later version of Scottish art was also 'very much part of a wider, international current'[34] and this signalled an institutional *volte-face* and return to the plurality of the 1970s.

To conclude this section, *Scottish Art since 1960* shows how the 'authenticity' of Scottish art practice during the late-modernist period often entailed a subtle hybridisation of internationalism and traditionalism. This is one of the central continuities of the period and this includes the neo-avant-garde of Scottish art. The transitions of the period intertwined global influences with their local dimensions, crucially, within the discourse of a nation's irresolute status. The conditions in the irresolute aftermath of 1979 prompted artists to reform Scottish cultural belongingness and yet both decades demonstrate innovative individual imagination, collectivism, and international affiliation.[35]

Landscape and environment

In my second theme, the symbolic[36] importance of landscape to Scottish culture is emphasised in my focus on environment and land art within *Scottish Art since*

[33] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 120.
[34] Patrick Elliott, "The Twentieth Century." In *Scotland's Pictures* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990), 73.
[35] See David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: the sociology of a nation* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 172.
[36] Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone, "Imagining the nation: Symbols of national culture in England and Scotland", *Ethnicities* 13(5) (2012): 555. This lists Scottish symbols by respondent importance as Scottish landscape; Scottish music and arts; Scottish sense of equality; Scottish language i.e. Gaelic or Scots; Flag (St Andrew's Cross); Scottish sport.

1960, on wilderness in "Landscape of Abandonment" (2010)[37] and on the post-industrial landscapes of *Niddrie Woman* and within "England 'Ghosts' British Art - a frieze" (2015).

"Landscape of Abandonment" details a landscape art formed of subjective accounts. The limits of this earlier appeared in Ascherson 2002, as he sought answers to the contradictory stance of the Scottish people's instincts for independence, against their democratic preference for devolved powers, from northern Scottish landscapes. He described this landscape as mysterious, a 'closed door'.[38]

"Landscape of Abandonment" positions Scottish wilderness, or emptiness, in relation to its metropolitan counterpoint; and how the practice of Scottish landscape art can connote movement from the city towards the periphery. It is as if the contemporary Scottish artists' metaphysical responses I discuss reversed the direction of Scotland's inward and downward migration, particularly the great Highland migration to the Central Lowlands which occurred between 1760–1860.[39] The artworks I consider were informed by late-modernism but became a localised hybrid, binding with references to specific histories or the mythic. In all of this, I refute the banality of Scotland as a northern *retreat*, reconstructed through falsities such as 'breathing space',[40] which avoids an acknowledgement that the north is populated sparsely but richly so by history.

As contemporary reflections on (temporal) historical dislocation, the internal migratory practices I discuss in "Landscape of Abandonment" can also be theorised through 'spectro-geographies.' Of particular relevance is Maddern and Adey 2008's focus on Benedict Anderson's 'hidden politics that haunts spaces in intimate and complex ways [continuing] to animate silenced agencies and forgotten voices and histories, while also attending to the political aspects of those

[37] "Landscape of Abandonment" introduces George Orwell as a subject in my research, and developed from conference paper ('The Night Minds', *Northerness: Ideas and Images of the North in Visual Culture* Conference, University of Northumbria, Newcastle upon Tyne, 26 June, 2009) which outlined the themes in Scottish Art since 1960 supplemented with discussion of a desertification and the Scottish north (Katie Paterson), Thomas Joshua Cooper's modus operandi, and Douglas Gordon's early work.
[38] Neal Ascherson, *Stone Voices: The Search for Scotland*. (London: Granta), 26.
[39] Tom Devine, "Highland Migration to Lowland Scotland, 1760–1860", *Scottish Historical Review* 62, 2, no. 174 (1983): 137–149.
[40] Craig Richardson, "Breathing Space," in *Free Association* (Glasgow, 2006): 46–51.

voices and histories.'[41] Peripherally forgotten voices and histories appear across my publication's narration of 'ghost estates',[42] post-colonial sites, or in my contemporary curation "Ross Sinclair Versus Sir Edwin Landseer" (2007), including Edwin Landseer's 1860 depiction of Scottish crofters huddling in terror at a rising floodwater.

While my contiguously published *Scottish Art since 1960* is faithful to the development of Scottish landscape art in the modern era as it moved towards abstraction, in Cordelia Oliver's description of Ian Mackenzie Smith 'forever attuned to the oriental ideal of "less is more"',[43] my research became more interested in a progressive landscape art. This develops in my reading of Beuys' or Thomas Joshua Cooper's metaphysical engagement with Rannoch Moor's primeval bog-lands or Scotland's hinterlands, towards a concern for works influenced by the environmentalist genre of Smithson, including Latham's reconceived derelict shale bings, or Onwin on naturally eroding saltmarshes.

In "Landscape of Abandonment" the central model of practice is Cooper's *modus operandi,* his arduous journeying into Scotland's landscape culminates in a subjective response as much as it does in an artistic output, he seeks answers to the question of what distinguishes northernness as a quality. Cooper soliloquised the existential challenge of encountering emptiness, 'of a lived silence and stillness so vast that it more than fully fills all the apparently unoccupied landscape. Silence abounds there and is endured...'.[44] His inward gaze then connects imaginatively to geographic points beyond the visual, 'Glasgow and Scotland to Western Europe along the rim of a vast ocean with *mysterious thresholds*. [my italics]'.[45]

Scottish Art since 1960 also traces this elusive concept through precedents in exhibitions which took place in Scotland during the 1970s, particularly Ken Dingwall and in the environmental concerns of Paul Overy's curated *Inscape*

---

[41] Jo Frances Maddern and Peter Adey, "Editorial: spectro-geographies", *Cultural Geographies* 15 (2008): 293.
[42] Richardson, "In Spite of History": 67.
[43] Cordelia Oliver, *Ten Artists From North-East Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum, 1979), unpaginated. (Exhibition Aberdeen Art Gallery, 8 – 29 September 1979 and Bergens KunstForenening , 13 October – 3 November 1979).
[44] Thomas Joshua Cooper, *Dreaming the Gokstadt: Northern Lands and Islands* (Edinburgh: Graeme Murray, 1988, limited edn. of 3000 copies), unpaginated.
[45] Richardson, "Landscape of Abandonment": 392.

(1976), preoccupied with the 'interior relations of natural things'.[46] However, Cooper's sense of the marginal and peripheral with 'points of no return', for which any response will seem inadequate, also implied that the returning traveller will return transformed by the contiguity of landscape and inscape. He shares this with other migratory creative practitioners who, in becoming temporarily un-anchored from their place as modern-day *peregrini*, travel northwards and westwards in search of an *impossible* 'emptiness'. What they encounter is an empty landscape's horizon and the metaphoric appearance of a *further* north.

Considering the first of two related publications in detail, in which the social and environmental concerns come to the fore in landscape art practices, "Sealand" (2012a) is an extended case study of a contemporary practitioner's northward's movement. This positions Ross Sinclair's contemporary performativity as embodying Scottish practitioners' engagement with the 'abandoned landscape' and what this means for his socially-engaged practice. Sinclair's methods use specific historical contexts, however his performative method is to position himself between viewer and subject (often a landscape or urban landmark) as an intervallic figure with a rückenfigur (back-figure) stance. I argue that the seeming contradiction of turning one's back within a socially-engaged practice is contextually relevant in an existential landscape. His landscape-based works reimagine Scotland as a place of continual remaking, through the figure which looks outwards beyond an imaginary threshold.

In "Waste to Monument" (2012a), I focus on the history of John Latham's re-envisioning or reconception of a derelict environment, and which enabled the transformation of shale bings, from post-industrial neglect into Scottish national heritage. *Niddrie Woman* is the largest sculpture in Scotland and central to Latham's oeuvre. Latham intended the reconception to become a site of reverie for local people and visitors, having established that bings matter to people in elemental ways despite their immovable waste-disposal issues.

As the article explains, Latham's reimagining of the landscape is a pivotal example of reciprocal influence in the formation of the Scottish neo-avant-garde. Aspects of his *Feasibility Study* (1976) referred to the Scotland's neo-avant-gardism concurrent with his 1975–6 Edinburgh residency, including Ian Hamilton

[46] See Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 62–64, for a discussion of the exhibition's work and aims.

Finlay's *Stonypath* / *Little Sparta* and *Video – towards defining an aesthetic* (1976)[47] organised by Tamara Krikorian and Lesley Greene. My archival research further reveals knowledge which confirms that the cluster of shale bings which Latham re-termed *Niddrie Woman* received a sufficiently assertive civic 'recognition' of its human-formed landscape *as* sculpture. My publications on this have shown how this can be sustained by an argument consisting of how late-modern conceptual artists in Scotland have responded to the specificities and character of regional landscape and environment in Scotland.[48] As 'part scheduled monument, part site of biological diversity, part disappearing'[49] the neglect of *Niddrie Woman* continues to have implications for Scottish art scholarship.

The de-institutionalisation of Scottish art

De-institutionalisation refers to my publications' discussion of Scottish visual arts' development within the agency of Scotland's lower-funded strata of city-based arts organisations, contrasting with the National Galleries of Scotland. It also connotes late-modern and contemporary artists' embedded engagement with the museum as creative site of knowledge.

As critical early-career agencies, Scotland's artist-run organisations encouraged local participation and had a practical basis for the production of Scottish art, holding exhibitions of new work. During the 1970s, smaller organisations had a supportive relationship with the Scottish Arts Council Gallery (SAC). *Scottish Art since 1960* presents this as a schematic restructuring of Scottish art's organisational hierarchies as a distinguishing facet of Scotland's visual art identity. Often provocative, these smaller organisations[50] demonstrated a strong sense of purpose, often providing a foundation stone in Scottish artists' careers. This posed a problem for Scottish art's national institutional remits, especially when a contention is that after 1979 Scotland's visual art institutions

[47] Installations and single screens works, including Roger Barnard, Ron Carr, David Critchley, David Hall, Brian Hoey, Tamara Krikorian, Stuart Marshall, Steve Partridge and Tony Sinden.
[48] Including Glen Onwin's *Saltmarsh* (1975), temporal works such as Merilyn Smith's *Mountain* (1972) and then later in Bustard, Cutts and Murray's exhibition publication *The Unpainted Landscape* (1987).
[49] Craig Richardson (2010, 2012b) discussed in Daryl Martin, "Translating Space: the Politics of Ruins, the Remote and Peripheral Places", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38. 2014; 1102–119.
[50] See Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 7–8.

could no longer innovate[51] and, as Macmillan 1982 identified, amidst the failure of SNGMA 'to make any significant impact on the artistic life of the nation'.[52]

While the historical record spoke of the formation of a SNGMA which was attentive to the modern, this then tended towards caution, unlike the stance taken by SAC. As I identified in archives and oral history, SAC supported smaller organisations in the 1970s whilst engaging with the international neo-avant-garde, in the instance of Dan Flavin, sometimes in its own gallery. *Scottish Art since 1960* brings renewed attention to exhibitions such as SAC Gallery's interactive *Open Circuit* (1973) or the innovative site-specific deployments in the artist-led *Locations Edinburgh* (1971), intended to shun 'pre-determined interpretations of context.'[53] SNGMA, meanwhile, increasingly believed it could not meaningfully engage with a neo-avant-garde at this time, presuming public disapproval and anxiety for the potential loss of public sector funding which would follow.

During a meeting in 2009 I arranged with Keith Hartley, curator at SNGMA, intended to affirm this finding, and in earlier correspondence with SAC officer Robert Breen in 2005, their historical knowledge of Scottish art practices from the late-modernist phase was intact. Scotland had produced an effective neo-avant-garde, in dialogue with an international neo-avant-garde, and evidently working through or alongside the agency of initially SNGMA, and artist-run organisations but also with SAC's support. My findings show that SNGMA was increasingly alienated by or, at the very least, slow to recognise[54] the dynamism of this new and sometimes autonomous context.

---

[51] As scholarship had previously been *over-reliant on the incompleteness of the SNGMA's collection of paintings by Scottish artists and over-dependent upon the membership of the Scottish Royal Scottish Academy*, artist's activism also sought to counter a loss of historical knowledge. For instance, the mid-1980s repetition of a male-only representation of Glasgow's painting presented the ideal conditions for a feminist critique of Scottish art at this time, countered in Jude Burkhauser's historic survey *Glasgow Girls* (1990) and in events organised by Women in Profile during the same period.

[52] Duncan Macmillan, "Scottish Art Now - But for How Long?" in *Scottish Art Now* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1982), 9.

[53] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 76.

[54] I use the word 'recognise' in both senses, meaning to identify and acknowledge. The institutions may very well have understood precisely the extent of institutional critique underway during the late 1960s, as Foster (1994): 21 writes 'artists like Broodthaers, Buren, Asher, and Haacke in the late 1960s, develop the critique of the conventions of the traditional mediums, as performed by Dada, Constructivism, and other historical avant-gardes, into an investigation of the institution of art, its perceptual and cognitive, structural and discursive parameters.'

I now discuss de-institutionalism from the examples provided within my publications of practitioner's engagement with museums as a form of institutional critique, however I will preface this with a view that institutional critique in late-modern and contemporary Scottish art has been underworked. In my view. This is due to the primary focus on identity issues surrounding nationality, with other identity issues including race, sexuality and class (better defined as inequality) less often discussed in Scottish art. I discuss some of the recent activities addressing gender representativeness in national visual cultures in 'England "Ghosts' British Art' and '"In Spite of History"' (2016).

In terms of national identity and visual art, the 2007 tercentenary commemoration of the Act of Union of 1707 offered a fascinating array of distinctive, artistic museum engagements in Scotland. But as *Scottish Art since 1960* proposes, while contemporary Scottish artists are rationalists and often analytical in their approach, museum engagements have signalled a dark interest. The approach to analysing resident museological knowledge in Scotland differs from the better-known institutional critique found in Hans Haacke or Fred Wilson. Patrizio 1999 provides a psychological index for this Scottish artistic museum engagement, 'trauma, extreme states of mind' [and] 'the non-rational, the shifting and unfixed interior landscape',[55] rationalised through 'the taxonomy of museums, ethnographic displays'.[56]

My reading of Patrizio's psychological index suggested that Scottish artists deployed the rational taxonomies of museums to reconfigure non-rational ideas, to conduct analytical thinking within an otherwise intuitive practice. For example, the topic of my interview Borland and Richardson 2015 "Talking About a Christine Borland Sculpture", was Borland's manipulation of John Goodsir's early Victorian fibreglass replica *Cast from Nature* (1845) from the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. Our discussion arrived at the valuable role empathy plays in medicine and art, including recent innovations in patient-donor training which promote empathy over of the norms of clinical practice. But as we examine the specificity of Goodsir's cast, extracted from its museum setting, the artist's darker

[55] Andrew Patrizio, *Contemporary Sculpture in Scotland*. (Australia: Craftsman House, 1999), 14.
[56] Ibid.

interest appeared. As it is a plaster-cast of another plaster-cast which was taken directly from a dead body, its implications raised substantial ethical concerns.

The Scottish artists I discuss also work through a methodology which I term as 'embedded reinterpretation', particularly those who have engaged with cultural heritage via the environment of the museum and its collection. As one of the institutionally-directed questions posed in my "Appearance of State" (2007b) relates to the 'accommodation' of contemporary art within the 'completion' of museum historic collections, in which 'literally and metaphorically no space remains for creative addition',[57] this is concerned with historical interpretation generally, and in particular the methods by which artists' applied research can challenge conventional scholarly understanding. This methodology also requires collaboration with museum curators. Such was the contention of my confrontational pairing of an emblematic Scottish painting by Sir Edwin Landseer (1802–1873) and commissioned new work from Ross Sinclair, for Aberdeen Museum and its MacDonald Room's historic collection.[58] This embedded reinterpretation was intended to investigate the contemporary relevance of Landseer's *Flood in the Highlands* (1860) and its despondent landscape, depicted as an urgent melee of drowning animals and wild-eyed, marooned crofters. This became a visual backdrop to, and conceptual source for, a contemporary incorporation of utilitarian objects in the museum. Notably it included Ross Sinclair's reworked Land-Rover vehicle covered in neon lights, with an audio-video cacophony of ballad singing, interrupting the normal, respectfully silent, environment.

The broader relevance of 'embedded reinterpretation' to my research is its potential to form a meta-critique of Scottish-formed knowledge and resources, and, through this, to form 'a Scottish artist with a Scottish project'. I retrospectively applied this to Tracy Mackenna and Edwin Janssen's SNPG exhibition *Shotgun Wedding* (Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 2007) in my catalogue essay "Appearance of State" which later documented their exhibition. I consider this within contemporary artist's inflections of the resident corpus of

[57] Richardson, "Appearance of State", 2.
[58] The method is further appraised in "Appearance of State" and discussed in 2006 in "Situating Scottishness". Paper presented at 'Regionalism and Identity in British Art: History, Environment & Contemporary Practice', Royal West Academy, Bristol, 28 October, 2006. Organised by the Regional History Centre, University West of England

Scottish cultural iconography,[59] in practice and curation.[60] In this I further relate how a number of contemporary Scottish-based artists have re-engaged museum visitors with representations of iconic Scottish identity from different era, including asking how does the Scottish museum in the Scottish tercentenary of the Union engage with historification, and British 'executive power and its acolytes'.[61]

Belongingness and shared legacies.

My final theme recognises that the cultural diaspora to London, once a determinative aspect of Scottish art, effectively halted during the late 1980s. However, criteria regarding the 'rules' of inclusion in Scottish art, which may appear within selective processes of national representation, reveal that the question of inclusivity remains 'notoriously difficult'.[62] Criteria for who and what belongs to a historical Scottish art appeared in Macmillan 1990. His workable parameters were;

"art produced by Scottish artists, by artists in Scotland who have settled and become part of the culture of place, or, in the earlier period, art produced for Scottish patrons, though through a nexus of expatriates and Scottish overseas connections."[63]

Just as many artists have based themselves in Scotland in recent decades and bolster the perception of a strong and sustaining Scottish visual arts, in terms of art's national representation, anyone resident can be 'Scottish'. Concurrently, the transnational presence of Scottish art means it joins with other flows in an interconnected context. Noticeably, high-profile Scottish participation in The Venice Biennale from 2003 onwards has been qualitative-based, selection through permanent residency or birth-place are not evident criteria, as if the framework

[59] Including Roderick Buchanan's *Histrionics* (2007, Gallery of Modern Art, Glasgow) and Graham Fagen's *Downpresserer* (2007, Gallery of Modern Art, Glasgow).
[60] The participatory model is appropriately defined by Brecht's 'dialektisches Theater' ('dialectic Theatre') in which the audience was a critical participant in the action 'on stage' as it were. Artifice is essential for the impact of this dramaturgy, the audience is made aware of the fact that this is 'a play is a play', an experience intended to stimulate thought processes which should then be applied to socio-political practice.
[61] Richardson, "Appearance of State", 5.
[62] Patrick Elliott, "The Twentieth Century." In *Scotland's Pictures* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990), 73.
[63] Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460–1990* (Mainstream, 1990), 10.

itself is entirely contingent on an aspiration of freedom of movement and residency 'by choice'.[64] With reference to this, in *Scottish Art since 1960* I formed my own inclusive parameters to assist my typology of Scottish art. A Scottish art which has no centre or easily discernible boundaries,

Scotland's internationally received cultural identity is better understood as a form of fragments or a palimpsest, a federation of geographic regions with varied landscapes, cultural and political priorities, and languages. I promote an inclusive Scottish art which cannot simply be defined by birth or place of residence or any other simple census measure.[65]

The relevance of the point is that the inclusive condition has not yet been cast nor is it likely to be - unless externally forced by changes to the UK polity. 'England "Ghosts" British Art' and '" In Spite of History"' discussed these ongoing changes and Scottish art's points of connection in the modern period across national boundaries, with "'In Spite of History'" contending with the approach to separation in James Elkins 2003 (for *Circa*) and his idea of 'measured difference'.[66] My rationale is to contextualise non-resident artists in my research, prior to the 21st century's now familiar transnationalism, and in recognition of the choices Scottish artists have made through affiliation, including the scope of near-international movement undertaken by Scottish artists in the formation of English art and Irish art. This expansive approach to inclusivity is not unconditional but it is intended to mitigate against a falsely *separated* Scottish art. To over-determine the criteria of inclusion in a national art history would not reflect Scotland's open borders to Europe. And, as recent political events (EVEL, Brexit) have propelled my current research yet to be published, my inclusive conditions concur with McCrone 2001 and the lack of serious debate on the concept of socio-cultural belonging in Scotland.[67]

---

[64] For example, how Duncan Campbell's representation in Scotland's Venice Biennale was noted in Scotland's Culture Minister Fiona Hyslop's in a speech in 2013, 'Past, Present & Future: Culture & Heritage in an Independent Scotland' - 'the Scotland + Venice Exhibition at the Venice Biennale is represented by artists […] not Scottish by birth but representing this nation by choice'. See Richardson "'In Spite of History'" (2016): 72: footnote xxx.

[65] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 2.

[66] James Elkins, "The State of Irish Art History", *Circa* 106 (2003): 57.

[67] 'There has been no serious debate about who can and who cannot be Scottish in the past half-century.' McCrone, *Understanding Scotland,* 172.

In "England 'Ghosts' British Art" I preface my argument with Alan Riach's reading of Andrew McNeillie's poem *Cynefin Glossed*, which defined a typical situation of national belongingness in the modern period. McNellie is of Scottish parents, raised in England but lived in Ireland for a long period. The Welsh word 'Cynefin' is commonly, if insufficiently, translated into English as 'habitat' or 'place'. But it is intended to convey a sense of cultural, geographic or tribal belonging-ness, irrespective of where we are. Using this it is possible to reposition artists in a national chronology who may only be considered influential via their local patronage, but marginalised in the narrative for other reasons. Beuys and Latham impacted on the cultural attitudes of Scotland, through their meaningful engagement with its resources, its emblems, its citizens. Specifically, both developed new thinking about Scotland's landscape and environment and vice versa, to produce major works which exemplified what Scotland's visual culture and environment can mean to others. For a time, they were Scotland's artists and some of their works remain Scottish.

How such Scottish art's belongingness belongs to a shared *British* culture is a related question. "England 'Ghosts'" proposes that Britishness, as conveyed through 'British art', suggests a spectrum of alliance and an assumption of complicity (with Britishness) which has become untenable in the context of the increasing devolution for Scotland. This argument concludes with my contemporary representation of a changing Union, 'like sticks of magnet, one side repels while the other side attracts; the nations are all facing North, and England increasingly with its back to Europe.'[68] But the essay argues for a distinctive Scottish art history as one with a significant overlap with England (the latter operating under the guise of 'British Art') as its key international dimension.

"England 'Ghosts'" also outlines a multivalent English art, with imminent changes underway in the United Kingdom's national partnership which have intensified the examination of Britain's art institutions,[69] national emblems and archetypes. In this I argue that the culture of the United Kingdom is made up of dominant regional-national inflections which often prevail over the Union. The

[68] See Craig Richardson, "England 'Ghosts' British Art - a frieze", *The Drouth* 50, 65.

[69] The article was concurrently published with "'Wet Paint' - Visual Culture in a Changing Britain –a round table' discussion" of the interregional and international partnerships that constitute Great Britain.

intention here is to advance the idea of a progressive English Art, ergo the possibility of a progressive Scottish art, with which it has shared legacies. My over-arching contention is that Ireland and Scotland share with England a contemporary visual culture, as a consequence of movement of people between and across their realms, and as north-western European peripheries, but once again that this needs investigation and narration.

On another side to this argument, a provocative aim of my research has been to more precisely anchor contemporary 'Scottish art' from its present condition as a floating signifier. In "England 'Ghosts' British Art - a Frieze"[70] I discuss the difficulties of over-asserting Scottish art as a national art pace Nikolaus Pevsner 1955, *The Englishness of English Art.* Even today, as "England 'Ghosts'" points out, there is also little agreement as to what constitutes Scottish art or Irish art or English art, even if the regional adjective functions well in other cultural forms, including English literature. In fact, 'British art', which is synonymous with 'English art', retains a use because the term 'English art' has a tendency to produce critical disquiet, particularly so when deployed in England.'[71] It is not my intention to over-define Scottishness as a precise index of national characteristics. Caution *is* required yet, for all its failings, Pevsner was able to draw upon the sustained scholarship of the images, paradigms and themes of that vast reserve known as 'British art'.

Conclusion

This reflective exposition shows how late-modern Scottish art cannot be satisfactorily expressed simply as a regional variant in a meta-narrative of 'British art'. Its distinctive dynamics include an institutionally contested Scottish neo-avant-garde; effective collectivism; and an international connectedness. Scottish art has a narrative of shared patronage and legacies. Scottish art's distinctiveness can also be reiterated using self-created values within Scotland, such as its comprehension within the deinstitutionalised condition of artist-led galleries. All of which support the formation of Scottish national identity in the late-modern period.

[70] Richardson, "England 'Ghosts'", 50–67.
[71] Ibid., 57.

As the divergence of Scottish art from ‘British art’ was evident in Scotland after the irresolution of 1979, this divergence earlier appeared in avant-garde practices of the 1970s, of which more could be known. As late-modernist Scottish art is revealed in archives, or oral histories, this represents a recovery of lost knowledge. While contested, the Scottish neo-avant-garde was often a formed of artistic hybridisation, informed by the mutual exchange of ideas, and which preceded the popularisation of the idea of postmodernist attentiveness to the indigenous and the vernacular.

APPENDIX 1

Bibliography.

Monographs and Chapters

Abrioux, Yves, and Bann, Stephen. 1985. *Ian Hamilton Finlay: A Visual Primer*. London: Reaktion Books.

Araeen, Rasheed. 1988. "The Emergence of Black Consciousness in Contemporary Art in Britain: Seventeen years of Neglected History." *The Essential Black Art,* exhibition catalogue. London: Chisenhale Gallery / Black Umbrella / Kala Press.

Arnold, Bruce. 1969. *Irish Art: A Concise History.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Ascherson, Neal. 2002. *Stone Voices: The Search for Scotland*. London: Granta.

Bann, Stephen. 1972. *Ian Hamilton Finlay - An Illustrated Essay.* Edinburgh: Wild Hawthorn Press.

Becher, Hilla. 2007. "Documenting Industrial History by Photography." In *Bernd and Hllla Becher.* edited by Susanne Lange. Cambridge MA: MIT.

Beveridge, Craig and Turnbull, Ronnie. 1997. *Scotland After Enlightenment – Image and Tradition in Modern Scottish Culture.* Edinburgh: Polygon.

Birrell, Ross and Alec Finlay, eds. 2002. *Justified Sinners - an archaeology of Scottish counter- culture (1960–2000)*. Edited by Ross Birrell, Alec Finlay, A. Edinburgh: Canongate Venture.

Bowker, Gordon. 2003. *George Orwell*. London: Little Brown.

Bradley, Fiona, Greg Hilty, and Ulrich Loock. 2005. *Louise Hopkins - Freedom of Information*. Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.

British Council. 2013. *Homelands - A 21st Century Story of Home, Away, and All the Places in Between*: *Contemporary Art from the British Council Collection*. IGNCA, Delhi and touring.

Brown, David. 1975. *Glen Onwin - Saltmarsh*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Arts Council Gallery.

Brown, Katrina, Jonathan Jones, and Christine Borland. 2001. *Progressive Disorder*. Dundee / London: Dundee Contemporary Arts / Bookworks.

Brown, Stephanie. 1987. *Sam Ainsley - Why I Choose Red*. Glasgow: The Third Eye Centre.

Bürger, Peter. 1984. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Translated by Michael Shaw. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.

Calvocoressi, Richard, Keith Hartley, Henry Meyric Hughes, Clare Henry, and Anthony Jones. 1987. *The Vigorous Imagination.* Edinburgh: The National Galleries of Scotland.

Chambers, Eddie. 2003. "The Art of Donald Rodney." *Donald Rodney: Doublethink*. London: Autograph.

Clarke, Ben. 2007. "Englishness." In *Orwell in Context: Communities, Myths, Values*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Conzen-Meairs, Ina. 1992. "Actions and performances." In *John Latham - Art After Physics*. Oxford: Museum of Modern Art Oxford.

Cooper, Thomas Joshua. 1985. *Between Dark and Dark*. Edinburgh: Graeme Murray Gallery.

Cooper, Thomas Joshua. 1988. *Dreaming the Gokstadt: Northern Lands and Islands*. Edinburgh: Graeme Murray.

Coracle Press. 1987. *The Unpainted Landscape*. Coracle Press / Scottish Arts Council / Graeme Murray Gallery.

Cullen, Fintan, and John Morrison. 2005. *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Danto, Arthur C. 1997. *After the End of Art*: *Contemporary Art and the Pale of History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Danto, Arthur. C. 2000. *The Madonna of the Future - essays in a pluralistic art world*. California: University of California Press.

Davie, George Elder. 1986. *The Crisis of the Democratic Intellect.* Edinburgh: Polygon Books. [n.b. Appendix 2 uses 1987, New Jersey: Barnes and Noble]

Deuchar, Stephen, 2000. *Representing Britain 1500-2000.* London: Tate.

Dundee Contemporary Arts. 2001. *Here and Now: Scottish Art 1990 - 2001*. Dundee: Dundee Contemporary Arts.

Dunn, Alan. 1991. *Bellgrove Billboard Project*. Glasgow.

Elliott, Patrick, and William Sylvester. 1995. *William Turnbull - Sculptures and Paintings*. London: Merrell Holberton in association with Serpentine Gallery.

Errington, Lindsay, Patrick Elliott and Duncan Thompson. 1990. *Scotland's Pictures.* Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland.

Fagen, Graham. 1998. *Peek - A - Jobby*. London: Matts Gallery.
Fagen, Graham, Murdo Macdonald and Jeremy Millar. 2002. *Graham Fagen - Love is Lovely*. Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.
Finlay, Ian. 1945. *Scottish art*. London: Pub. for the British Council by Longmans, Green.
Fisher, Jean. 2009. "So Different… and Yet." In *James Coleman*. 35–47. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art.
Floud, Roderick, and Donald McCloskey. 1994. *The Economic history of Britain since 1700, vol.* 3: 1939-1992. 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Foulis Press. 1997. *Decadent (Public Art: Contentious Term and Contested Practice)*. Edited by David Harding and Pavel Büchler. Glasgow: Foulis Press.
The Fruitmarket Gallery. 2006. Christine Borland - Preserves. Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.

Gibbons, Luke. 1996. "Unapproved Roads: Ireland and Post-Colonial Identity." In *Transformations in Irish Culture*: 171–180. Cork: Cork University Press.
Gibbons, Luke. 1996. "Narratives of No Return: James Coleman's guaiRE." In *Transformations in Irish Culture*: 130. Cork: Cork University Press.
Gage, Edward. 1977. *The Eye in The Wind: Contemporary Scottish Painting since 1945*. London: Collins.
Gooding, Mel. 1990. *Bruce McLean*. London: Phaidon.
Gray, Alasdair. 1981. *Lanark*. Edinburgh: Canongate.
Graeme Murray Gallery at the Serpentine. 1984. Edinburgh: Graeme Murray Gallery.
Greene, Lesley. 1976. *Video - towards defining an aesthetic*. Glasgow: The Third Eye Centre.

Hall, Douglas. 1965. *Contemporary Scottish Painters*. Edinburgh: The National Galleries of Scotland.

Hall, Douglas, and William Buchanan. 1969. *Modern Art from Scottish Houses*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.
Hall, Douglas. 1980. *The First Twenty Years*. Edinburgh: Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art.
Hare, Bill. 1992. *Contemporary Painting in Scotland*. Sydney: Craftsman House Publishers.
Harries, Susie. 2011. *Nikolaus Pevsner: The Life*. London: Chatto and Windus.
Hartley, Keith. 1989. *Scottish Art since 1900*. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland.
Harvie, Christopher, ed. 1993. *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Hopkins, David, ed. 2006. *Neo-Avant-Garde,* (Amsterdam: Rodopi)
Houston, Robert, A. and William Knox, eds. *History of Scotland*. 2001. London: Penguin.
Holloway, James. 1999. "Introduction." In *A Companion Guide to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland.

Johnston, Alan. www.northernmirror.com
Johnston, Alan, Joseph Masheck, Murdo Macdonald, and Mel Gooding. 1999. *Haus Wittgenstein-Inverleith House*. Edinburgh: Royal Botanical Gardens Edinburgh.

Kuspit, Donald. 1993. *The New Subjectivism - art in the 1980s*. New York: De Capo Press.

Langford, Paul. 2000. *Englishness Defined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Latham, John. 2005. *Story of Rio*. London: CV / Visual Arts Research 77.
Lawson, Thomas. 2004. *Mining For Gold: Selected Writings (1976–2002)*. Compiled by Lionel Bovier and Fabrice Stroun. Zurich / Dijon: JRP / Ringier & Les Presses du Reel.
Levan, Kim. 1999. "Poetics, Politics and Irish Art: Thirteen Questions." In *Irish Art Now - From the Poetic to the Political*. London: Merrell Holberton; New York: Independent Curators International, in association with Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art.

Lippard, Lucy R. 1993. *Overlay. Contemporary Art and the Art of Prehistory.* New York: The New Press.
Lowndes, Sarah. 2003. *Social Sculpture - Art, Performance and Music in Glasgow*. Glasgow: Stopstop.
Lucie-Smith, Edward. 1990. *Art in the Eighties*. Oxford: Phaidon.

McArthur, Euan. 2013. *Scotland, CEMA and the Arts Council, 1919-1967: Background, Politics and Visual Art Policy.* Aldershot: Ashgate.
MacCaig, Norman. 2005. *The Poems of Norman MacCaig*. Edited by Ewen MacCaig. Edinburgh: Polygon.
Macdonald, Murdo. 2000. *Scottish art*. London: Thames & Hudson.
Mackenna, Tracy and Edwin Janssen. 2001. *A Perfect Image of Ourselves.* Glasgow: Centre for Contemporary Arts.
Macmillan, Duncan., Greenberg, Clement. 1977. *Four Abstract Artists: Abercrombie, Gouk, McLean and Pollock*. Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.
McCrone, David. 2001 (revised). *Understanding Scotland: the sociology of a nation*. London; New York: Routledge.
Macmillan, Duncan. 1990. *Scottish Art 1460 - 1990*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.
Macmillan, Duncan. 1992. *Symbols of Survival: The Art of Will Maclean*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.
Macmillan, Duncan. 1994. 2001 (revised). *Scottish Art in the 20th Century*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.
Moffat, Alexander. 1976. *Scottish Artists*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council / AIR Gallery London.
Moffat, Alexander. 1985. *New Image Glasgow*. Glasgow: The Third Eye Centre.
Moffat, Alexander, and Riach, Alan and MacDonald-Lewis, Linda. 2008. *Arts of Resistance: Poets, Portraits and Landscapes in Modern Scotland.* Edinburgh: Luath.
Alexander Moffat and Alan Riach. 2014. *Arts of Independence: The cultural argument and why it matters most.* Edinburgh: Luath.
Moffat, Alexander, and Alan Riach. 2014. *Paintings as Arguments*. Peacock: Aberdeen.
Morgan, Stuart. 1985. “Steven Campbell: Between Oxford and Salisbury.” In *Steven Campbell New Paintings.* Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.

Moore-McCann, Brenda. 2009. *Brian O'Doherty / Patrick Ireland: Beyond Categories*. Lund Humphries.
Morphet, Richard. 1973. *William Turnbull: sculpture and painting*. London: The Tate Gallery Publications.
Mulholland, Neil. 2003. *The Cultural Devolution: Art in Britain in the Late Twentieth Century.* Aldershot: Ashgate.
Murray, Graeme, ed. 1992. *Poesis*. Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.

Nairn, Tom. 1981. *The Break-Up of Britain (second edition)*. London: NLB.
Newman, Michael, and Jon Bird. 1999. *Rewriting Conceptual Art*. London: Reaktion.
Normand, Tom. 2000. *The modern Scot - Modernism and Nationalism in Scottish Art*, *1928–1955*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Normand, Tom. 2007. *Scottish Photography: A History*. Edinburgh: Luath Press.
Normand, Tom. 2013."Re-thinking 'Provincialism': Scotland's visual culture in the 1960s." In *The Scottish Sixties: Reading, Rebellion, Revolution?* Eleanor Bell and Linda Gunn. Netherlands: Rodopi.
Normand, Tom. 2013. "55° North 3° West A Panorama from Scotland." In *A Companion to British Art: 1600 to the Present*. Dana Arnold and David Peters Corbett. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Oliver, Cordelia. 1979. *Ten Artists From North-East Scotland*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
O'Doherty, Brian. 1999. *The Deposition of Father McGreevy*. London: Arcadia.
Ogg, Kirsty. 2000. "Claire Barclay interviewed by Kirsty Ogg." *Claire Barclay*. Edited by Maria Lind. Sweden: Moderna Museet Projekt.
Oliver, Cordelia. 1988. *Joan Eardley, RSA*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.
Oliver, Cordelia, George Wyllie, and Murdo Macdonald. 1991. *George Wyllie Scul?ture Jubilee 1966 - 1991*. Glasgow: The Third Eye Centre.
Onwin, Glen. 1978. *The Recovery of Dissolved Substances*. Edinburgh / Bristol: Glen Onwin and Arnolfini, Bristol.
Ormond, Richard. 1981. Sir Edwin Landseer. London: Thames and Hudson.
Ormond, Richard and T. Christopher Smout. 2005. The Monarch of the Glen: Landseer in the Highlands. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland.

Orwell, George. 1941. *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius*. London: Secker & Warburg.
Orwell, George. 2009. *Diaries*. Edited by Peter Davison. London: Secker & Warburg.
Orwell, George. 1950. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. New York: Penguin.
Overy, Paul. 1976. *Inscape*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council / The Fruitmarket Gallery.
Overy, Paul, and Ken Dingwall. 1977. *Ken Dingwall: Paintings, Drawings and Constructions*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Arts Council Gallery.

Parkinson, Ronald. 1998. *John Constable: the man and his art*. London: Victoria & Albert Museum.
Paterson, John. L., and William Buchanan. 1968. *New Environment*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.
Patrizio, Andrew. 1999. *Contemporary Sculpture in Scotland*. Australia: Craftsman House.
Priestley, John Boynton. 1934. *English Journey, Being a Rambling but Truthful Account of What One Man Saw and Heard and Felt and Thought During a Journey Through England During the Autumn of the Year 1933.* London: Hienemann, Gollancz.

Scott, Yvonne, ed. 2008. "Introduction." In *Jack B. Yeats - Old and New Departures*. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
Sebald, Winfried G. 1995. *The Rings of Saturn.* English translation by Michael Hulse. 1998. London: Harvill.
Siegel, Katy. 2011. *Since '45: America and the Making of Contemporary Art*. London: Reaktion Books.
Silverthorne, Jeanne. 1990. *Thomas Lawson*. Glasgow: The Third Eye Centre.
Sinclair, Ross. 1993. "The Sociable Art of Douglas Gordon." In *Douglas Gordon*. Glasgow: Tramway.
Sinclair, Ross. 1999. *Real Life And How to Live It*. Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.
Stallabrass, Julian. 1999. *Hi-Art Lite*. London: Verso.

Tawadros, Gilane. 1994. “Sweet Oblivion.” In *Trophies of Empire*. Liverpool: Bluecoat Gallery.
The Third Eye Centre. 1989. *Scatter - New Scottish Art*. Glasgow: The Third Eye Centre.
The Third Eye Centre. 1990. *Steven Campbell: On Form and Fiction*. Glasgow: Third Eye Centre.
The Third Eye Centre. 1990. *Self-Conscious State*. Glasgow: The Third Eye Centre.
Thompson, David. 1970. *Journey to the Surface of the Earth, Mark Boyle’s Atlas and Manual*. The Hague: Haags Gemeentemuseum.
Tramway. 1994. *Christine Borland*. Glasgow: Tramway.
Transmission. 2001. London: Black Dog Press.

Verwoert, Jan. 2005. “Who the hell are you?” In *Roderick Buchanan: Portraits*. Film and Video Umbrella and The British Council.
Walker, John, A. 1995. *John Latham: The Incidental Person - His Art and Ideas*. London: Middlesex University Press. *Nb sometimes catalogued as Walker 1994.*
Wood, William. 1999. “Still You Ask for More: Demand, Display and ‘The New Art’.” In *Rewriting Conceptual Art*. Edited by Michael Newman and Jon Bird. London: Reaktion.

Articles

Allthorpe-Guyton, Marjorie. 1988. “Völkisch Kitsch.” *Edinburgh Review* 78-79: 235–245.
Aughey, Arthur. 1999. “What is Britain for?” *British Politics Review* 4 (3): 4–5.

Bold, Alan. 1980. “Contemporary Scottish Painting.” *The Scottish Review* 17: 15–19.
Bracewell, Michael. 2003. “Scotland Rocks.” *Tate Magazine*: 54–61.
Bruce, George. 1980. “Glen Onwin and the Salt of the Earth.” *The Scottish Review* 17: 36–42.

Clark, Heather. 2009. “Leaving Barra, Leaving Inishmore: Islands in the Irish Protestant Imagination.” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 35 / 2: 30–35.
Cotter, Lucy. 2004. “Globalisation, Cultural Baggage and the Critical Direction of Irish Art Practice.” *Circa* http://recirca.com/cgi-bin/mysql/show_item.cgi?post_id=1731&type=articles&ps=publish (accessed 7 October, 2014).
Cotter, Lucy. 2005. “Art Stars and Plasters on the Wounds.” *Third Text* 19:5: 581–592.
Crimp, Douglas. 1979. “Pictures.” *October* 8: 75–88.
Currie, Ken. 1986. “New Glasgow painting in context.” *Edinburgh Review* 72: 71–74.
Cursiter, Stanley. 1937. “The Place of the Art Gallery in the Life of the Community.” Public Administration (UK) 15 (2): 157–167.

Demarco, Richard. 1988. “Ex-Cathedra.” *Performance magazine* 50 / 51: 34–39.
Devine, Tom M. 1983. “Highland Migration to Lowland Scotland, 1760–1860.” *Scottish Historical Review* 62 (174, part 2): 137–149.
Dickson, Malcolm. 1986. “Polemics: Glasgow Painting Now.” *Edinburgh Review* 73: 59–64.
Dickson, Malcom. 1990. “David Harding Interviewed by Malcolm Dickson.” *Variant* 8: 41–48.

Elkins, James. 2003. “The State of Irish Art History.” *Circa* 106: 56–59.
Elkins, James. 2006. “The State of Irish Art History, Revisited.” *Circa* 116: 48–56.

Foster, Hal. 1994. “What's Neo about the Neo-Avant-Garde?” *October* Vol. 70: 5–32. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Hall, Douglas. 1976. “Future with a past: The Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art.” *Art Monthly* 1: 15–16.

Iles, Chrissie. 1992. *The Nu Niddrie Heart*. London: United, Untied.

Jackson, Ellen-Raïssa & Willy Maley. 2002. “Celtic Connections: Colonialism and Culture in Irish-Scottish Modernism” *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 4 (1)*:* 68–78.

Kohn, Martin. 2011. “Performing medicine: the role of theatre in medical education”. *Medical Humanities* 37: 3–4.
Kravitz, Peter. 2001. “As it never was.” *Variant* 2 (13): 22–27.

Latham, Alan. 2003. “Research, performance, and doing human geography: some reflections on the diary-photograph, diary-interview method.” *Environment and Planning A* 35: 1993–2017.
Lawson, Thomas, and Katherine Lewis. 2005. “Waiting, Thinking, Drinking: A Conversation about Patrick Caulfield’s Interiors.” *Afterall*, 12.

McKenzie, Ray, and Peter Seddon. 1984. “We gotta get outta this place’; A real Scottish art to replace the self-satisfied parochialism of the official artists.” *Variant* 1: 3
Macmillan, Duncan. 1982. “Scottish Art Now - But For How Long?” In *Scottish Art Now*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.
Maddern, Jo Frances and Peter Adey. 2008. “Editorial: spectro-geographies.” *Cultural Geographies* 15: 291–295.

Owens, Craig. 1980. “The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism, Part 2.” *October* Vol. 13: 58–80. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Prince, Geraldine. 1992. “Early Years of the 57’.” *Variant* 12: 36–41.
Pevsner, Nikolaus. 1934. “What is English in English Art?” *Deutsche Zukunft: Wochenzeitung für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur*, 4 February.

Richardson, Craig. 2007. “Incidental Person.” *Map Magazine* 11: 26–31.
Richardson, Craig. 2007. “The Shape of Things to Come.” *The Drouth* 24: 41–49.
Richardson, Craig and Lawson, Thomas. 2007. “Thomas Lawson - Baffles, Binds and Blind Alleys.”

Journal of Visual Culture, vol. 6/3 (2007): 315–328.
Richardson, Craig et al. 2015. "Wet Paint: Visual Culture in a Changing Britain - a round table debate" (editor, contributor), *Visual Culture in Britain*, vol. 16 (1): 103–117.
Richardson, Ruth. 2011. "Cast into the light." *The Lancet* 377 (9738): 2073–2074.
Robinson, Hilary. 1991 "Artist of a Diaspora - Alastair MacLennan Interviewed by Hilary Robinson." *Alba* 1: 2.
Ruffel, Lionel. 2015. "Displaying the Contemporary / The Contemporary On Display." Trans. Robin MacKenzie. *The Drouth* 52: 5–15.

Small, Mike. 2003. "From Porridge to Pelf, Young Adam and the Mysterious Scottish Film Industry." *Variant* 18: 17.
Smith, Alan. 1985. "Polemics." *Art Monthly* 86: 32.
Wood, Paul. 1989. "The Dotage of Authenticity", *Edinburgh Review*, issue 80-1: 41–57.

Primary Sources

Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum. 2000. *Expressions: Scottish Art 1976 -1989*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum.
The Arts Council of Great Britain. 1984. *The British Art Show - Old Allegiances and New Directions 1979–1984*. 1984. London: Orbis / The Arts Council of Great Britain.

The Boyle Family: www.boylefamily.co.uk
Brown, Katrina. 2004. "Ross Sinclair interviewed by Katrina M. Brown." In *Ross Sinclair: If North was South And East was West*. Edited by Angelika Stepken. Badischer Kunstverein.
Brown, Gordon. 2004. "The golden thread that runs through our history." *The Guardian*, 8 July. Accessed 8 August 2016. http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/jul/08/britishidentity.economy
Byrne, Noreen, Carroll Bridget, and Ward, Michael. 2006. "Artists' co-operatives and their potential to contribute to the development of the visual arts sector in Ireland." Edited by Olive McCarthy and Ian MacPherson. *Review of International Co-operation* 99 (1): 29–35.

Campbell,Duncan:www.afterall.org/online/artists.at.work.duncan.campbell.in.conversation.with.stuart.comer

Dalziel, Matthew and Louise Scullion: www.dalzielscullion.com

Deller, Jeremy. 2014. "Stonehenge you can bounce on." BBC News. Accessed 8 August, 2016. http://www.bbc.co.uk/go/em/fr/-/news/entertainment-arts-17777997

Demarco, Richard. 1997. "Kunst = Kapital: Art = Wealth." Paper presented for 1995 Adam Smith Lecture. London: Kingston University.

Devine, Tom M. 2014. "Why I now say Yes to independence for Scotland." theconversation.com Accessed 3 October, 2014. http://theconversation.com/tom-devine-why-i-now-say-yes-to-independence-for-scotland-30733

Finlay, Ian Hamilton. 2001. "The Death of Piety (in conversation with Nagy Rashwan)." *Jacket Magazine* 15, jacketmagazine.com: unpaginated.

Flavin, Dan. 1976. *Installations in fluorescent light Part 1 & Part 2*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Arts Council Gallery.

Groys, Boris. 2002. "Boris Groys in conversation with Kathrin Rhomberg." In *Ausgeträumt*, Secession Wien.

Hall, David. 1990. "Fields and Frames." In *19:4:90 Television Interventions*. London: Channel 4 TV.

Harding, David. 2005. "Memories and Vagaries: Art and Context." Accessed 1 June, 2014. www.davidharding.org

Harvie, Barbra. 2005. *West Lothian Local Biodiversity Action Plan: Study Commissioned by West Lothian Council - Oil-Shale Bings*. Edinburgh: on behalf of West Lothian Local Biodiversity Action Plan partnership, by West Lothian Council, Linlithgow.

Holden, John. 2015. *The Ecology of Culture - A Report commissioned by the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Cultural Value Project.* AHRC.

Johnston, Alan. 1974. *Grey Marks in the Village*. Wuppertal: Van Der Heydt Museum.
Johnston, Alan. 1978. Oxford: Museum of Modern Art Oxford.
Johnston, Alan. 1989. *Wall Drawings Yamaguchi*. Yamaguchi: Gallery Shimada.
Johnstone, Isobel. 1978. "Public Sculpture in Scotland." In *Objects and Constructions - Selected Contemporary Scottish Sculpture.* Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.

Knox, Jack, and Robert Breen. 1975. *A Choice Selection*. Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.

Latham, John. 1976. "APG Feasibility Study". In *Artist Placement Group Archive*. Hyman Kreitman Centre, Tate Britain unpublished Documents as part of APG Feasibility Study 'Scottish Office', Box 9.2, no. 28., 1976.
Latham, John, and Melanie Roberts. 2004. "John Latham interviewed by Melanie Roberts." *Artists' Lives*. London: British Library. Recording dates: 26 March, 1998, 6 April, 1998, 19 February 1999, and 18 July, 2000.
Lawson, Thomas, and Ross Sinclair *et al.* 1992. *Guilt By Association*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art.
Leigh-Doyle and Associates. 2010. *Joint Research Project into the Living and Working Conditions of Artists in Ireland - Context Paper*. Accessed 8 August, 2016. www.artscouncil.ie/uploadedFiles/LWCA_Study_-_Final_2010.pdf
Lyddon, Derek. 1976. "Summary of Feasibility Study for Scottish Office by John Latham as Given by, Chief Planner, Scottish Development Department, Edinburgh 1976, Point 2". Tate Archive TGA 20042.

McGrath, Tom. Undated (circa mid-1970s). *Nuspeak* edns. 1–12. National Library of Scotland, Shelf no. P.el.123PEK
MacDiarmid, Hugh. 1963. *Paintings by William Johnstone O.B.E.* Newcastle upon Tyne: The Stone Gallery.
Murdo Macdonald. 2001. *Walk On – Six Artists from Scotland.* New York: Jack Tilton Gallery.
Macintosh, Alastair. 1971. *Locations Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.

Map Magazine: www.mapmagazine.co.uk
McKee, Francis. 2000. *Claire Barclay Interviewed by Francis McKee - Take to the Ground.* London: The Showroom Gallery.
McKenzie, Ray. 1986. *The Eye of the Storm*. Stirling: Smith Art Gallery and Museum.
Metzger, Gustav. 1965. *Auto-Destructive Art: Expanded version of a talk given at the Architectural Association on 24th February 1965.* London: Architectural Association. Re-published by London: Bedford Press, 2015.
Myerscough, John. *2011 Cultural Statistics Digest* (2011). Accessed 8 August 2016. www.glasgowlife.org.uk/policy-research/Documents/GCSD 2013 - with Overview.pdf
1965 to 1972 - when attitudes became form. 1984. Edinburgh / Cambridge: Kettles Yard / Fruitmarket Gallery.

O' Callaghan, Cian. "Memories of the everyday present: Haunting, absence, and the spectral performance of everyday life in the Irish Ghost Estate." Accessed 8 August, 2016. http://research.ie/intro_slide/memories-everyday-present-haunting-absence-and-spectral-performance-everyday-life-irish-
O'Conner, Joseph. 2010 "The Irish are angry. We feel frightened, alone and unled." *The Guardian* 19, November, p. 44.
Oliver, Cordelia. 1978. *Painters in Parallel*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.

Riach, Alan. 2007. *Was there ever a 'British' Literature?* Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies.
The Richard Demarco Digital Archives: www.demarco-archive.ac.uk
The Scottish Arts Council. 1973. *Open Circuit*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Arts Council Gallery.
Scottish Arts Council. 1974. *Aachen International 70–74.* Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.
Scottish Arts Council. 1974. *Recent Paintings, Sculptures, and Prints by William Turnbull*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Arts Council.
The Scottish Arts Council. 1976. *Open Cinema*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Arts Council Gallery.

The Scottish Arts Council. 1976. *Video Symposium: The Future of Video in Scotland Conference Transcript Glasgow Film Theatre.* Scottish Arts Council and The Scottish Film Council. National Library of Scotland Shelf no. HP2.77.72.
Scottish Arts Council. 1976. *New Acquisitions: Scottish Arts Council Collection 1975–1976*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.
Scottish Arts Council. 1978. *Objects and Constructions - Selected Contemporary Scottish Sculpture.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh College of Art / Scottish Arts Council.
Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art. 1973. *Earth Images*. Edinburgh: Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art.
Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art. 1993. *Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art - The concise catalogue.* Edinburgh: The National Galleries of Scotland.
Scottish Arts Council. 1990. *The Scottish Arts Council Review 1988 - 1989.* Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.
Scottish Arts Council. 1992. *25 Years of The Scottish Arts Council 1967–1992.* Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council.
Summerton, Janet. 1999. *Artists at Work 1999: a study of patterns and conditions of work in the Southern Arts region.* Southern Arts Board Winchester.
Sweet, Kim and Simon Starling. 1995. *Simon Starling Interviewed by Kim Sweet*. London: The Showroom Gallery.

Tate Gallery, Liverpool. 1988. *Starlit Waters: British Sculpture*. Liverpool: Tate Gallery Liverpool.

Variant magazine 1984–1994: www.variant.org.uk
Vaughan, William. 2001. "Pevsner's Art History." Paper presented at Fifty Years of The Buildings of England Conference. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, July 13 -14.

Wilson, Sue, and Fiona Pilgrim. Undated. 'Visiting Arts Scotland Cultural Profile'.www.culturalprofiles.org.uk/scotland/Directories/Scotland_Cultural_Profile
Windfall '91. 1991. Glasgow.

Ainslie Yule - Sculptures and Drawings. 1978. Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery.

Archives

Bodleian Law Library Official Papers

Scottish Arts Council (including Annual Reports, brochures, catalogues)

Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art

GMA A49 *Scottish Arts Council Artists Archive (Scottish Arts Council information files on Scottish artists; material includes CVs, printed material, photographs and slides).*

GMA A52 *57 & New 57 Gallery Archive*

GMA 04 *Ian Hamilton Finlay Archive*

GMA A37 *Richard Demarco Archive*

GMA A84 *Zenomap*

The Granton Centre for Art, Edinburgh

National collection

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Scottish Arts Council catalogues: National Library of Scotland Shelf no. HP.la.2300

The University of Dundee, Duncan of Jordanstone Library

Scottish Arts Council Collection

Hyman Kreitman Centre, Tate Britain

Artist Placement Group

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

Alan Reiach

Private Collections

Robert Breen

Graeme Murray Gallery
Cordelia Oliver
Craig Richardson

Ireland

www.theartistledarchive.com Currently housed in the National Irish Visual Arts Library (NIVAL) in the National College of Art and Design (NCAD) Dublin, as part of their special collections.

Related Conference papers, Richardson, C.

'Monuments to the period we live in', *Hybrid Practices in the Arts, Sciences, and Technology from the 1960s to Today Conference*, 10–13 March 2015, Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, USA.

'Glasgow 1990: Glasgow 1990: A 'before and after' in the Visual Arts of a European Capital of Culture', *SOUND OUT: Discussing European Capital of Culture Legacies*, National University of Ireland, Galway, 15 November, 2014.

'Broken North', *Further North Conference* University of Northumbria, 4 September, 2014.

'What are the contemporary benefits of the term "British Art"'? The University of Northumbria public lecture series, 31 May, 2012.

'Some musings on Britishness in art: Englishness Defined.' *The Great British Art Debate*, Tate Britain, 3 December, 2011.

'What are the contemporary benefits of the term 'Irish Art'? *Association of Art Historians*, The University of Warwick, 2 April, 2011.

'Waste as "Monumental Process Sculpture": John Latham and Niddrie Heart', *Art & Environment Conference*, Tate Britain, 26 June 2010.

'The Night Minds', *Northerness: Ideas and Images of the North in Visual Culture* Conference, University of Northumbria, Newcastle upon Tyne, 26 June, 2009.

'Poor. Old. Tired. Scottish Art', *Being British* Conference, The Stephen Lawrence Gallery, The University of Greenwich, 16 April, 2009.

APPENDIX 2

***Scottish Art since 1960* (2011) – summary of chapters**.[72]

Chapter One discusses the imperatives which developed into Scotland's museum of modern art. Conscious of claims of provincialism, Scottish museum directors intended progressive cultural leadership while also managing restricted national resources. A post-war prohibition on excess expenditure was challenged by Stanley Cursiter's plans for a Modern Scottish Art Gallery promoting internationalism, Scottish design and manufacturing, further in Alan Reiach's later unrealised city-centre museum plan. Reiach offered a consensual dialogue between late-modernist architecture and its heritage city setting.

A supportive apparatus for nascent modern Scottish art later appears in the formation of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art and career-support for artists with the formalisation of the Scottish Arts Council (SAC). However, just as writers are questioning contemporary authorship's links to Scotland's literary tradition, a concurrent lack of substantive critical fora (in the form of progressive galleries) and the paucity of financial support for non-commercial art contributed to the diaspora of younger artists from Scotland, continuing up to the early 1970s. With this as backdrop, the chapter offers a set of contrasts, Joan Eardley and William Johnstone as solitary loners, consciously isolated in marginal Scottish land or seascapes, with Ian Hamilton Finlay's transition from published poet to producing site concrete poetry restating the idea of a solitary intellectual pursuit. This contrasts with William Turnbull and other Scots' co-formation of the Independent Group in London, their leading role in London's counter-culture benefitting from Sylvester's early championing. This refutes simplistic narratives in which young artists move to London for career gains, rather than towards networks of affiliates intended to develop formal challenges to sculptural conventions.

Chapter Two follows the introduction of SAC public subsidy and its transformative effect on the visual arts in Scotland, and includes data on the

[72] See Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 3–10.

proliferation of grants.[73] The period 1968–1978 entails an exploration of national identity during which institutions express an anxiety of influence towards the neo-avant-garde, which museum directors deem 'confusing'.[74] The main thrust of the chapter is a revelation of exemplary neo-avant-garde practices, exhibitions, artworks and other institutional enhancements made in Scotland during the 1970s, also influenced by late-modernism, conceptualism and internationalism. A major theme throughout the period is the prevalence of new artistic approaches to landscape. John Latham's re-terming of West Lothian waste shale bings; *Niddrie Woman* (1975–6) as 'unconscious monuments - monuments to the period we live in'[75] exemplifies Scottish art's conceptualist and de-materialist inclinations. Beuys' practice at this time similarly recasts the Duchampian tradition with spiritual themes and new sociologies and Glen Onwin's *Saltmarsh* (1975) has an elemental materialism which results from his geological fascinations, an *homage* to Smithson.

Chapter Three discusses the critical direction of Scottish art in the 1980s, centred on the contestation of, or support for, an oxymoronic rediscovery of tradition. Discourse in the visual arts is frequently adversarial at this time. The chapter discusses at length the scabrous debate between Dickson, Currie, Clark, Moffat, their contributions are antagonistic and erudite, the discourse developed later in Allthorpe-Guyton and Wood's articles also for Edinburgh Review. The decade is also remarkable for art's visual intensity and new levels of international appeal.[76]

The implication of an authentic identity for Scottish art, once seemingly residual but now urgently required by some leading up to, and as a consequence of, the 1979 referendum result is a key question. Following this, post-modernist paintings' market-driven validation was critically troubling for some, especially when merged with a resurgent Academy-style art practice. For a short time, this

[73] See Euan McArthur, *Scotland, CEMA and the Arts Council, 1919–1967: Background, Politics and Visual Art Policy* (Ashgate: 2013) for an up-to-date study of pre- and post-war Scottish visual art policy including the degree to which it evolves differently from England, and how it prepares the way for the expansion of activities that marked the 1970s and thereafter.
[74] ibid.
[75] John Latham, "APG Feasibility Study "(1976), Artist Placement Group Archive, Hyman Kreitman Centre, Tate Britain. 'Scottish Office', Box 9.2, no. 28.
[76] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 117.

became the determining feature in Scottish art, although practiced without a concomitant theorisation which marked other such neo-expressionism in Germany and The United States. The Scottish institutional embrace of the superficial aspects of post-modernist painting, while free of a willful obscurantism which inhibited post-modernist discourse, was not a move towards latent criticality or a challenge to epistemological structuring. This was evident in the contemporary reception of Campbell's work, appearing on the cusp of transnationality's challenge to previous assumptions regarding the fixed nature of (self-, national-, role) identities - but rarely discussed as such.[77]

Chapter Four, 'Rational Practices', covers a period from the 1990s to 2003 during which the context of Scottish-national visual arts is internationalisation. Glasgow's commercial sector evolves from artists' collectivism, building on Glasgow's revivalist project which, by late 1994, amplifies its effect through a greater number of artists than in previous decades. *Zenomap* (2003) archives in the Dean Gallery (SNGMA) document a diversity of practices, and a renewed organisational development, accompanied with new levels of criticality and publishing, as well as commerciality. A number of significant Scottish artists are discussed including Barclay, Borland, Buchanan, Gordon, Sinclair, Starling, and their practice is cited as evidence of rational thinking. Finlay's *Little Sparta* shares the younger generation's concepts of 'self-sufficiency, productivity and learnedness'[78] and the social aspects of Scottish art continue to be informed by history.

[77] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 117–123.
[78] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960*, 193.

APPENDIX 3

The Problem of the Monograph: The contextualisation and analysis of recent Scottish art in the context of recent Scottish critical histories.

Introduction

Murdo Macdonald's 2003 review of Normand's *The modern Scot* (2000) celebrated a 'welcome addition to the literature' while averring 'research into Scottish art is still extraordinarily lacking in the […] scholarly monograph[s]'.[79] However, the subject has begun to consolidate in the contemporary period. Authors of monographs of Scottish art have been corresponding in their acknowledgements to prior and concurrent research, and there are shared critical readings as well as polemical disputations. Yet, much in Scottish art remains open to challenge and currently the field is not defined by multiple perspectives in a plurality of scholarly outputs with new vitality.

Since Macmillan 1990, systematic inquiry has been present in a variety of monographic forms but Scottish art can also be said to have been researched through practices emerging from Glasgow in the 1990s, including Christine Borland, Graham Fagen and Roderick Buchanan's engagement with cultural coordinates including museology and social observation. Macdonald's 2003 contention was with monographs, not research *per se*. If anything, his observation emphasised the relative absence of monographic overviews as part of context which, since the mid-1960s, has been doubly problematised by issue of Scotland's unresolved nation-status and the disappearance of master narratives from Western art. This text seeks to examine these contentions, foregrounding the criticality of post-1960s monographs on Scottish art.

If the substantive future of Scottish art belongs to finding answers set within problems related to practice, Macdonald was correct, significant gaps remain in its scholarly context. Scottish art also represents a contextually-specific problem, in which sits Macdonald's observation, namely the problems associated with the availability of the currently dispersed archives. However, scholarly research into Scottish art often forefronts an approach which embraces interdisciplinarity and translation across fields. Macmillan, Macdonald, Patrizio,

[79] Murdo Macdonald, *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 82 (1): 168.

Lowndes and Mulholland have all interfaced with the professional world, through curating and authoring art criticism, reviews and catalogue essays. Significant and highly visible practice in the field is conducive to interdisciplinary readings and, notably the artists referred to in the paragraph above have worked with clinicians, museologists, reggae singers, dramaturgs, sectarian bands and others. They continue to accrue knowledge from as broad a spectrum of disciplines as ethnic music to the history of science. Which is to say, none of the research or practice takes place in isolation and the researchers are not isolated by exclusivity in the field.

While not unique national circumstances, there is also a noticeable shared objective, Scottish artists, writers, musicians and others are interested in the social and political development of the country, for instance the social agency of creative practitioners, or towards self-determining their working conditions. Understanding this latter interdependency requires a different approach from those which permit a canonisation of Scottish art founded on a connoisseurship, an approach which is increasingly untenable in the contemporary period in curatorial and as well as contemporary art historical research. Yet this has been this approach which has defined the recent period in the field, and is a factor in the paucity of monographs on the subject.[80]

Between the forms - monograph and exhibition

How is knowledge shared across disciplines and between forms in Scottish art? This is a general question and requires a consideration of the relationship of monographs to significant exhibitions. These may accompany one another with the book acting as exhibition guide *ipso facto*, or arrive soon after with an exhibition detailed as a memory but now set within a text (yet rarely the other way around). Scottish art since the 1960s has been treated from such a range of vantage

[80] Therefore, my *Scottish Art since 1960* seeks to provide a revised chronology of late modern Scottish art, to prioritise artworks and critical responses which hold a *conspicuous* avant-garde position, and provide a new qualitative emphasis through examining critical art-writings that have opened out or closed down prevailing or emerging concepts of Scottish art. Within this, post-war 'Scottish art' is comprised of alternative ways of organising, critical positions or arguments which are willfully polemical. I am arguing that, in terms of monographic treatments, this means that the authorship in the field ought to be critical and to use the term 'Scottish art' critically within an overview of the conditions.

points; critical, institutional, hagiographic. But one repeatedly arrives at the selectively formed exhibition as the primary forum for the display of values. One could not say Scottish art is lacking exhibitions, hence one could flip Macdonald's observation to contend 'Research into Scottish art is extraordinarily lacking in *scholarly* exhibitions', of the kind Macmillan made in *The Golden Age in Scottish Painting* (1986), Lindsay Errington selected in *Scotland's Pictures* (1990) and Murdo Macdonald and Arthur Watson engaged Highland culture and Gaelic language foci in the context of modern and contemporary art, *Window to the West: The Rediscovery of Highland Art* (2010). This latter exhibition also offered an implicit corrective to the National Galleries of Scotland's weak staging of Scottish art, a point Macdonald has explicitly returned to in his critique of the National Galleries of Scotland's reduced representation of key Scottish works in their periodically themed exhibitions.[81]

As a form of research the importance of the scholarly exhibition is in its staging of innovative ways of looking, but more importantly on the development and testing of values. This especially important for my *Scottish art since 1960* (2011) since the subject has a regional exhibition history which, my monographic research demonstrates, continues to merit considerable attention. Time-based work and installation exhibitions means the focal point is dispersed or unfixed, however an exhibition which claims to survey *a nation*, means it must first describe the salient characteristics. The key point to stress is 'the Problem of the Monograph' is also a 'Problem of the Exhibition' especially as the latter are important loci for companionable interdisciplinary activities[82] and a central route through which the critical values of 'Scottish art' have emerged and can be tested.

---

[81] Murdo Macdonald, "The Attack on Highland Art: a Systemic Difficulty?" *The Scottish Highlands: a Historical Reassessment*, ESHSS Autumn Conference, Friday 21st and Saturday 22 September 2012, Glasgow, reformatted in https://murdomacdonald.wordpress.com/the-otherness-of-scottish-art-a-systemic-difficulty-2012/ (accessed 23 September, 2016)

[82] There are three types of such companionable activity, *collaborative, sequential* and *concurrent*:

1. Conventional art historical methods are popularised (or professionalised) through the commissioning of critical commentaries on the works of contemporary Scottish artists. Scottish galleries and Museums are major publishers and Museum-level catalogues often entail evaluative interviews, some of which are published. This feeds into the scholarly domain but the edited words of artists may also appear as interviews or features in magazine, broadcasts or in correspondence. I engaged with two practitioners in Scottish art (Christine Borland, Thomas Lawson) through this method in standalone articles, prefacing my engagement with a literature review of their output but

Scottish art is also a term which meets resistance among artists. The concern raised is that the evaluative criteria for inclusion in any exhibition should be the particular condition of their art practice, not of their Scottishness or any other regional assignment. I was witness to this (as an exhibitor) in the survey of Scottish Art *Here + Now* (2001), curated by Katrina M. Brown and Rob Tufnell. This was the first Scottish art show as survey for the generation graduating in the late-1980s but a number of the exhibitors had previously sought to avoid this type of national-definition. The exhibition was an array of works which included functionalist design and elements of pop culture including ersatz corporate logos, the recent linguistic turn, and single or multi-planar assemblages which can be described as critical abstraction. Its genesis was as the final of four survey exhibitions covering post-war Scottish art but very little could be said to be shared across the works, or with its preceding exhibitions, and in some ways it

---

also founded on a long-standing knowledge of their practice within the range of activities expected within a 'conversational community', moderated by peer-review standards in publication. This is dependent upon the articulacy of the artists but also provides them and their output with a systematised procedure of effective representation. This research / professional correspondence provides an important formal route through which sometimes separate communities *collaboratively* correspond their different approaches.

2. A professional / historical correspondence is implicit through creative practice whereby artists embed historical readings through applying their own and other scholarly outcomes within their practice, thus contributing to methodological diversity. This is an indirect activity but of a different order than artists merely being inspired by other artist's work. Values are developed *sequentially* through the reframing of historical and theoretical knowledge (in a broad sense) as well as the recontextualisation of existing knowledge. It goes further than treating the objects and images on the Museum walls as pedagogic sources, or how artworks might be considered within a set of corresponding linkages, as it is dependent upon receiving an intermediary interpretation which is present in other forms (criticism, theory).

3. Formal curatorial / professional correspondences include curatorial activity in which

a) previously unseen artwork is displayed, or known works are differently contextualised, and/or

b) through the commissioning of new artwork from artist(s) whose practices are judged to be efficacious to a defined curatorial scheme, not sequentially but *concurrently* as a juxtaposition.

In these companionable activities: 1. critical, evaluative essaying; 2. embedding scholarly knowledge; 3. a. recovery of knowledge, and b., the prioritisation of new knowledge; the output form to which these correspondences converge is always the *exhibition* but the knowledge contained within these are disseminated through the widest range of forms as well as embedded within an exhibition display. Scottish art, discussed in this way, entails an acknowledgement of this interdisciplinary approach to research but also prioritises creative practice in Scottish art as leading towards, and benefitting from, various types of extra-institutional engagement for other researchers.

demonstrated the importance of guiding principles or values when developing such national exhibitions. It exemplifies how not every survey exhibition that takes place in Scotland is relatable to my research as not every exhibition entails a process of typological research.

Exhibitions which I discuss in *Scottish Art since 1960* are usually exemplar points in an emerging typology of Scottish art and are included in my publications because they develop knowledge in and of the field after the fact. At other times they lead the field, and of the survey type, *Strategy: Get Arts* (1970), *Locations Edinburgh* (1971), *Inscape* (1976), and *Unpainted Landscape* (1987) are four of the more prominent in my monograph. The exhibition is knowledge also formed through correspondence between individuals and organisations or institutions. It entails selective criteria as understood and applied within a joint venture and is recognised by others in the field as inhabited with a critical concept. As the key critical concept which I focus upon in my research is the regional difficulties with the late-modernist idea of the neo-avant-garde, my research also focusses on exhibitions of Scottish art where conditions of judgement are present but made difficult, it is often possible to show how such judgement is highly contentious at the point at which it emerges. For instance, *The Rigorous Imagination* (1987)[83] was an explicit rejection of *The Vigorous Imagination,* replacing the value-systems of the latter's representation of conservative and anti-progressive tradition in Scottish art with that of intellectual pursuit.

The final point is prospective. If we accept that a diversity of methodologies is present in the broader context of Scottish art because it encompasses exhibitions, practice and other types of outputs; the lack of scholarly monographs and scholarly exhibitions is further problematic when the expectation of *any* field of research is an assumption that research-led outcomes will result in further recommendations for future study and research.[84] With prominent exceptions, rarely does academia or the Museum-level sector identify key areas for further research in *Scottish* art in the modern and contemporary period.

[83] See Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 128.

[84] There is a further problem of critical mass, the evidence demonstrates that much of the advancement in the field results from lone scholarship as there are no centres for research in Scottish art in the way there are in Ireland. Further problems include the curriculum of art history serving the initial levels of Scottish University education and how this progresses, or not, future cohorts of researchers into the field.

Reviewing the Literature

Here I provide an extended discussion of the important scholarly monographs covering the modern - contemporary period in Scottish art: Macmillan 1990, 1994 - revised 2001, Hartley 1989, and Normand 2000, with further references to Macdonald 2000, Gage 1975, Patrizio 1999, and Lowndes 2003. I discuss their monographic rationale as inter-related and, with my own, within the wider publishing and research environment in which these have emerged or been disseminated. Noticeably, while the bibliographies in these publications are relatively substantial, chronologies of Scottish art were rare up until the late 1980s. Prior to or concurrent with Macmillan, Normand and Macdonald, critical histories of late-modern Scottish Art were under-researched, including Edward Gage's *The Eye in the Wind, Contemporary Scottish Painting* (1977), formed of self-confessed predilections 'not intended to be a work of art historical scholarship'.[85] Andrew Gibbon Williams and Andrew Brown's *The Bigger Picture – A History of Scottish Art* (1993). Gage 1975 added little to Hartley 1989, similarly so, Williams and Brown 1993 added little to Macmillan 1994.

The analytical approach to individual works in Macmillan 1994 and Normand 2000 remain important reference points. Macmillan's *Scottish Art in the 20th Century 1890 – 2001*is a continuance of his earlier *Scottish Art 1460 – 1990* (1990), 'to present the claim that there is a distinctive Scottish tradition in the visual arts and that it is an integral part of the intellectual and imaginative heritage of the country'.[86] Unlike previous surveys, Gage 1977 and Hartley 1989, Macmillan emphasised the variety of artistic engagement with the 'intellectual life of the community that produces it.'[87] This he shares with Normand's *The Modern Scot* (2000) which also included the critical recovery of marginalised and retrospectively gained reputations, developed within an 'empirical study of the dialogue between nationalism and modernism within Scottish art in the period between the wars'.[88]

---

[85] Edward Gage, *The Eye in The Wind: Contemporary Scottish Painting since 1945* (London: Collins), 9.
[86] Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century* (revised 2001), 10.
[87] Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century* (revised 2001), 10.
[88] Normand, *The Modern Scot - Modernism and Nationalism in Scottish Art*, *1928–1955* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 6.

Macmillan and Norman expertly integrate institutional histories and artist groupings, for instance Macmillan 2001: 105–6 mentions the Clyde Group; the 57 Gallery; The Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art; Edinburgh City Art Centre; the Scottish Modern Art Society; Wild Hawthorn Press; Little Sparta; the Charing Cross Gallery; Richard Demarco's gallery; the Scottish Arts Council; the Compass Gallery; The Printmaker's Workshop; Peacock Printmakers; the Fruitmarket Gallery; the Third Eye Centre; the Hunterian art collection; the Edinburgh Group; the Society of Eight; the RSA; RGI; SSA; RSW; the Scottish Gallery. Scottish art would therefore seem to be a consequence of an organisational ordering of priorities, affiliation, membership, national advocacy, with recognised centres of publishing and production. I return to Macmillan 2001 and Normand 2000 later in this essay, in relation to Hartley 1989.

My own research is founded on some of these elements described above, particularly a community of intellects and national ideas. To develop a new post-1960s chronology I intended to forefront 'certain artworks and critical responses which hold a *conspicuous avant-garde* position – artworks, activities and art-writings that have opened out *prevailing concepts* of Scottish art [through] their maker's *sensitivity to the international climate* as well as the *critical reflections* these produced.'[89] It was also necessary, in revisiting the extant literature, to access a range of archives or literally assist in the recovery of a few key works from their dilapidated condition. Inasmuch as I was obligated to revisit the veracity of the institutionally published extant literature, I sometimes set out my opposition such as towards Hartley 1989 (as follows later in this essay). It was also important to emphasise that, while I noted Macmillan or Macdonald when I consulted primary material, I did not accept any of the extant literature's prioritisation of late-modern exemplars without recourse to archives. In the light of archival evidence, it was clear that key works were poorly established in the existing chronologies, or sometimes overwritten in a multi-layered palimpsest.

Notable routes out of the palimpsest problem are discipline-based surveys. Andrew Patrizio's *Contemporary Sculpture in Scotland* (1999) and Tom Normand's *Scottish Photography: A History* (2007) acknowledged art-forms which are inhabited with significant developments in contemporary art, including

[89] Richardson, *Scottish Art since 1960,* 1.

the leading contribution of Scottish artists. Patrizio's attention to the Scottish landscape also resonates with Neal Ascherson's *Stone Voices* (2002) proposition that the experience of formidable geographies[90] and democratic impulses combined to form a *'single cultural landscape.'*[91] A similar landscape-inspired 'cultural landscape' appears throughout Fintan Cullen and John Morrison's collection *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture* (2005). They include discussions on the race, class and union of their shared visual cultures, 'ways in which the visual operates within the context of two communities with related experiences of lost statehood yet retained nationhood'.[92]

Reminding us that the question of unresolved nationhood continues as a cultural problem, the jointly authored publications by Alexander Moffat and Alan Riach, with Linda MacDonald-Lewis, includes their advocacy of the cultural benefits of Independence. Their *Arts of Resistance* (2008) and more improvisatory *Arts of Independence* (2014) were driven by its imminence. The wider research context and literature review in *Scottish Art since 1960* included other publications which question the specific representation of Scottishness in the national art. At their best they implicitly developed a cultural theory of Scottish art, for instance Allthorpe-Guyton 1988, 235–245 or Dickson, 1986, 59–64. These often include references to the wider international context and are discussed in *Scottish Art since 1960*, 123–128.

As much as I argue for better archives and more research, methodological diversification and subjective evaluation are also routes by which the field may develop. Few of the contemporary critical overviews published since 2000 adopted Macmillan and Macdonald's broad historic approach, or Normand's theoretical analysis. Sarah Lowndes' *Social Sculpture: Art, Performance and Music in Glasgow - a Social History of Independent Practice, Exhibitions and Events Since 1971* (2003 edition), which contained significant examples of primary research, forefronted artist's individual contributions. Glasgow's art and

[90] The 'formidable geographies' appear in other of my texts including 'Contemporary Scottish Art and the Landscape of Abandonment' (Visual Culture in Britain, 2010), articles on the legacy of John Latham's reconceptualisation of shale 'bings', and the suggestion of spectro-geography in other articles and unpublished conference papers including 'Broken North' (Northumbria in Newcastle, 2014).
[91] Ascherson, *Stone Voices*, Preface p.iii.
[92] Fintan Cullen and John Morrison, (eds.) *A Shared Legacy: Essays on Irish and Scottish Art and Visual Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate:2005), 2.

music scene was also exceptionally portrayed as a living, developing environment and the monograph was a highly subjective investigation. Published in the same year, Neil Mulholland's *The Cultural Devolution: Art in Britain in the Late Twentieth Century* (2003) was not intended as a history of recent Scottish art *per se*. Mulholland's northern perspective within a theorisation of the UK's post-1970s art detailed the febrile conditions of Britain and Scotland, from the decline of the Labour power in the late 1970s to the rise of the entrepreneurial artist at the end of the twentieth-century. His was intended as a corrective to hagiographic accounts of '90s British art, providing an historical basis for its manoeuvres and episodic bouts of 'progress', bemoaning the young British artists' mind-numbing *'acceptance of commodification'*.[93] As with Lowndes, methods of social and cultural interpretation were brought to bear which challenged earlier publications, here we see the full decline of the value of connoisseurship, in place of which appeared networks of affiliation, as well as a critique of economic models including, in Mulholland 2003, the critique of the artworld's acceptance of wealth inequality.

Hartley, Macmillan, Normand

Duncan Macmillan's *Scottish Art 1460–1990* (1990) was the first attempt in forty years to provide a coherent narrative of the subject by concentrating *'on the more important artists'*[94] in their broader context. Macmillan's reissue coincided with Murdo Macdonald's *Scottish Art* (Thames and Hudson, 2000), which traced historical and thematic lineages in an appreciation of 'intellectual and stylistic textures […] to be better understand the cultural conditions of Scotland at the beginning of the twenty-first century'.[95] Macmillan provided the previously absent narrative of Scottish art as a cultural and scholarly resource but not why this had been the case. Macmillan acknowledged Macdonald's contribution in his revised edition in 2001. Concurrently, sharing Macmillan and Macdonald's nationalist interests, Tom Normand's *The Modern Scot: Modernism and Nationalism in Scottish Art, 1928-1955* (2000) provided the sole monographic examination of a

[93] Neil Mulholland, *The Cultural Devolution: Art in Britain in the Late Twentieth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 137.
[94] Duncan Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460 - 1990* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1990), 10.
[95] Murdo Macdonald, *Scottish Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 7.

core relationship in 20th-century Scottish art, namely its Modernist-Nationalist agency. Normand provided extended discussion of cogent exemplars and the salient features of key interwar Scottish artworks, while re-emphasising the importance of the diasporic (for instance McCance) and more generally the reifying centrality of visual artists to cultural developments in the interwar Scottish Renaissance movement. Normand has uniquely strengthened our understanding of the participation of leading Scottish artists in International movements.[96]

Macmillan and Normand differ significantly in their aims from Hartley 1989. Hartley's focus on painting is without much extended reference to its broader cultural environment or to institutional developments. These developments are essential to Scottish chronologies if we are to understand the complex inter-relations between artists and organisations in a relatively small nation. The 35-page essay which formed the critical element of *Scottish Art since 1900* (1989) introduced a limited number of artists aligned to the accompanying exhibition, genuflecting to J.D. Fergusson and John Bellany.

Reading the essay again, it is mired in the unresolved problematics of cultural-nationalism within a devolved administration, avoiding its topicality during the obvious passages. As the publication point was ten years after the irresolute 1979 referendum, and at a point in which no imminent sense that the question would be revisited in 2000, it is unfair to retrospectively apply a political critique - unless the field itself is in part formed by these long-term questions! Hartley attempted to describe the latter decades of the period in question as a transitional phase, with deeply problematic national and cultural identity questions lightly dismissed as 'tenable and understandable this [20th] century with the increasingly rapid spread of information'.[97]

More doubtfully, while discussing the earlier decades of the 20th century Hartley attempted to demonstrate how active Scottish artists were in the international realm but not that this condition was pressed upon them in part by a *British* cultural hegemony, with an acknowledged centre of power towards which Scots often travelled and resided. Within London, Hartley characterises Scottish

[96] Published outside my period of research, the interwar period was further researched from the perspective of Scottish cultural policy in Euan McArthur's *Scotland, CEMA and the Arts Council, 1919-1967* (Farnham: Ashgate2013).
[97] Keith Hartley, *Scottish Art since 1900* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1989), 11.

artists in passive terms; peripheral, late adopters, learners, and so on. Scottish artists are witnesses of other's modernism, *ergo* 'Colquhoun and MacBryde adopted a more international style' or 'other Scottish artists [..] also moved away […] and learnt much from the most advanced contemporary art of their time.'[98] The opportunity missed here is a disquisition of *other modernisms,* understanding how Scottish art both participated in the formation of British modern and contemporary art and how that later helped form a distinctive hybridised version in Scotland of a neo-avant-gardist approach.

Similarly, Gage 1977 was an anachronistic attempt to 'illuminate the shape of Scottish painting... its complexities, diversity, and expansion'.[99] He wrote that 'the arts do not exist in a vacuum but are constantly open to outside influences',[100] he limited the cultural scope of his survey by omitting any reference to outside influences, many of which were pivotal in 1970s Scottish art. He ignored how British art (or English art) developed through Scottish art and vice versa. Nationalism and the pre-eminence of Internationalism as decisive aspects of a dynamic context were seemingly lost to Hartley and Gage such is their studious avoidance of influence. There was a civic concern at the core of their approach - upholding the local canon. However, Hartley's 1989 frieze[101] was forced, it avoided a crucial historical juncture, and reduced the role of other highly relevant effects, that of art made in Scotland by visiting artists and the diaspora's influential internationalism.

Additionally, a comparative discussion of Macmillan 2001 and Hartley 1989 highlights the critical cultural oversight which *appeared* through the weighting given by Hartley to the subjects of his essay and how these differed from that which he illustrated (fifteen female artists are discussed, but only three illustrated). The representation of women artists in the colour plates is more inclusive, although one was just as likely to find a nude female as subject as one

[98] Hartley, *Scottish Art since 1900*, 26.
[99] Gage, *The Eye in The Wind*, 9 – 10.
[100] Gage, *The Eye in The Wind*, 9.
[101] Mackintosh (C.R.); Pryde; Peploe; Fergusson; Cursiter; Hunter; Cadell; Crozier; MacTaggart; Gillies; Redpath; Maxwell; Ewart; Colquhoun; MacBryde, Cowie, Patrick; Baird; Eardley; McCance; Johnstone; Mellis; Barns-Graham; Gear; Davie; Paolozzi; Turnbull; Philipson; Blackadder; Houston; Knox; Cina; Boyle (and with Hills); McLean (B.); Finlay (I.H.); Dingwall; Lawrence; Onwin; Bellany; Maclean; Redfern; Hughes; Hardie; Hunter; MacLaurin; Currie; Howson; Campbell; Wiszniewski; Conroy; Whiteford; Rossi; Colvin; O'Donnell; Mach; Cocker; Taylor (L.); Mackenna.

is to find a colour reproduction of an artwork by a female artist. In Hartley's 'Chronology' only one image of a female artist, Joan Eardley, appears. At the time of its writing, the critical backlash which followed from the gender under-representation in Moffat's otherwise vital exhibition *New Image: Glasgow* would have signalled to any subsequent curation of Scottish art to examine their criteria for inclusion. The paternalistic premise of *Scottish Art since 1900* is illustrated in frontispiece - Robin Philipson stares wistfully out towards Edinburgh castle from his studio in the Edinburgh College of Art, conveying the sense of an institutional achievement rather than a critical reflection.

Assuming a connoisseur function in the contemporary period, Hartley's essay was strategic canonisation, retrospectively applied to a partial national collection, excised from which were the correspondences of external influence and local interplay with other important centres of art's development. Scottish artist's international movement was downplayed, the local infrastructural support for emerging artists, such as the 57 and the New 57 galleries, The Collective, Transmission and others not contextualised, and longer-standing Scottish Arts Council funded galleries including The Third Eye Centre and The Fruitmarket, founded in the same year (1975), omitted. Historically speaking, the omissions continued; the 1938 Empire Exhibition in Bellahouston Park, Glasgow, the most popular of the four Great exhibitions, is just a footnote. The central development in devolved power restructuring, the 1979 referendum, described twelve years later by Duncan Macmillan as 'watershed in the modern Scottish consciousness',[102] was simply not discussed. As well as indicative of a regional preference, much of Hartley's lineage was formed through the type of suspect formula developed by the economist and art journalist Dr Willi Bongard whose newsletter *art aktuell* and pseudo-scientific algorithm developed a unique approach to market metrics, resulting in artist league tables in order to over-privilege patronage, placing connoisseurship above a critical understanding of arts contemporary art formed within an artworld.

In contrast, Macmillan 1994 revision in 2001's chapters such as 'The 1960s and 1970s' identified stylistic variety in the field. Macmillan provided a nuanced lineage but detailed this in such a way as to contend with master

[102] Macmillan, *Scottish Art in the 20th Century* (revised 2001), 143.

narratives. Unafraid of personal interjections, some of his comments in the revised edition were forthright. His lineage from 1960 onwards includes all that Hartley referred to, with a similar tendency to include and emphasise representational painting but also through copious references to, and unusually well illustrated examples of, Scottish sculpture in the later 20th Century.

The prominence of sculpture in Macmillan is also a recognition of Finlay and Paolozzi's prominence and acts as a repost to Hartley 1989's restricted discussion of Scottish sculptors and their leading contribution to British modern art (Paolozzi, Turnbull, McLean). As for the important works which were made by visiting artists working in Scotland during the 20th century (Beuys, Latham), he wrote 'Scotland did not share in the subsequent diversification and radical departures of sculpture in the late 1960s and 1970s'.[103] I contend that Scottish artists certainly did. Macmillan also has limits, he stopped short of recommending photographic or works of contemporary media, of a number of works using video he is particularly condemnatory, typically classing these as Duchampian in intent. Scotland's pivotal role in the development of video art from the early 1970s is discussed in *Scottish Art since 1960* and recovered this period from the dispersed archives and its absence in extant literature.

Above all, Macmillan is a cultural nationalist but without fully endorsing late-modernism. While his omissions are telling of a personal resistance to late-modernism, the authorial relation to modernism and late-modernism in Scotland's visual art is a theme which appears throughout all the extant monographic literature covering the Twentieth Century. Nationalism underpins some of the activities of key Scottish artists in the Twentieth Century, in Normand's words, there was an agitation 'to create an identifiably Scottish painting, and this became central to the emerging discourse of nationalism'.[104] This is true, however, in Hartley 1989 and Gage 1977 a figure of nationalist importance such as Grieve / MacDiarmid appears as an afterthought. That omission appeared most odd in Hartley's short section on McCance and Johnstone,[105] given they, MacDiarmid with others formed the most significant cultural national movement in Scotland. Hence, in Hartley we find out more about Herbert Read's two years at The

[103] Hartley, *Scottish Art since 1900*, 44.
[104] Normand, *The Modern Scot*, 140.
[105] Hartley, *Scottish Art since 1900*, 27.

University of Edinburgh (significant as they are to subsequent institutional development) than we do of the Scottish Renaissance movement.

Given their approaches are so markedly different, the subject of Normand's *The Modern Scot* (2000) is omitted within Hartley's approach. This approach can be described as a chronology of key works taken outside of their cultural context, thereby avoiding a critical criterion for inclusion. This mean history just happens and culture is not an agent. Hartley's false prioritisation of SNGMA's cultural canon only serves their panoptical perspective, an institution which is poorly resourced, whose estate is resolutely un-modern, burdened with a history of unadventurous policies. This matters, because as Normand reminded the reader, the primary importance of a national culture is in its series of interrelated structures[106] and important interpersonal cultural projects. For instance, Normand's section on James H. Whyte, the publisher of *Modern Scot* between 1930-6 included Whyte's abstract theory of consensual nationalism which assumed broad agreements of that history which were not racial in intent. Indeed, Normand was highly sensitive to any of his subject's racialism and is critical of its implication, and that art and nationalism are 'founded on the shifting sands of a common people's history and a common *attitude* towards that history.'[107] The continued relevance of Normand 2000's scholarly unearthing and the contemporary implication of cultural nationalism is found in many spheres of Scottish arts.[108] To close, I will contend with the one aspect I dispute, the

[106] The importance of shared / sharing institutional histories as a cultural ecology, appears in Summerton (1999); Myerscough (2011), Patrizio, Catto and Law (2003) and, notably, Holden (2014).

[107] Normand, *The Modern Scot,* 44.

[108] An obvious reference here would be Beveridge and Turnbull's paradigmatic *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture: Inferiorism and the Intellectuals* (1989), as their polemic undoubtedly activated the subject. However, Beveridge and Turnbull only touch upon visual culture as secondary source, for instance Tom Nairn's discussion of national Kitsch symbols, and no artists or artworks from any period, films, photographs and other media appear, nor prominent architecture of the modern period. Their later *Scotland After Enlightenment - Image and Tradition in Modern Scottish* (1997) does respond to these questions, the chapter 'Other Modern Scotlands' covered Scottish art, architecture and design. Beveridge and Turnbull 1997, 35 are astonished 'that a general social history of whatever 'scale' can be written without exploring the relation to the society concerned to its cultural expression', but this becomes a weakly referenced discussion in Beveridge and Turnbull, 1997 38, of a 'cultural milieu which was generally responsive to *avant garde* [sic] as well as traditional or classical tastes.'

contemporary relevance of Normand's critical focus on Celticism, and provide reasons for this.

Looking at the methodological approach of Normand's *The Modern Scot: Modernism and Nationalism in Scottish Art, 1928–1955* (2000) this was consistent with the aims and conclusions of my own programme of research. Firstly, Normand repeatedly forefronts the idea of artist's research, through their paintings, prints or sculpture and in some cases explicitly in writing, editorialising and advocacy. Normand rarely describes the modes of advocacy (practice of art, art-writing) as creating ambiguity and tension in their different approaches, even as these seem to move towards an implicit theory of modern cultural nationalism. Normand writes of the *sense* of a unified project, even when his subjects are developing a loose framework around which only a few key works might cohere to demonstrate this implicit theory, because it is a free-forming and contains a powerful dialectic. Normand's exemplars seemingly work effectively in concert and they insist upon effectively modern national institutions. In this way his subjects appear as exemplars of an interwar intellectualised practice, an avant-garde in other words, whose qualified nationalism was *also* (perhaps *always*) 'an appeal to Internationalism'.[109]

But they did not create a national school, even if individuals sought this outcome, because they had not 'desire[d] to create an identifiably Scottish painting […] central to the discourse of nationalism'[110], in contrast with the 'clamour of the Scottish Renaissance […] heard by a receptive populace.'[111]

Is this where a problem resides, the irresolution of cultural nationalism when institutions are governed by bureaucratic rather than by bold and democratic ambitions, hardly advantageous to gaining a leading edge found within the later spirit of Cursiter's plans for a new Museum? Normand later referred to this in his essay 'Re-thinking "Provincialism": Scotland's Visual Culture in the 1960s'[112] and the 'sense of provincialism [which] haunted the self-image of Scotland's opinion formers' including the Royal Scottish Academy of Art and Architecture

[109] Normand, *The Modern Scot,* 137.
[110] Normand, *The Modern Scot,* 140.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Tom Normand, 'Re-thinking 'Provincialism': Scotland's visual culture in the 1960s' in *The Scottish Sixties: Reading, Rebellion, Revolution?* Bell, E. & Gunn, L. (eds.). (2013), 285-306.

and the elect Edinburgh artists who formed its core'.[113] He described how their elitist condition 'would breed contempt amongst more radical commentators'.[114] These were the conditions which Scottish artists emerging from the 1960s[115] and 1970s inherited and confronted, indeed Normand described the beginning of the 1960s as a reduced period which, through the lens of Kenneth Clark's ideas of provincialism, can be considered 'a reduced kind of shadow culture'.[116]

But of one of Normand's exemplars, including J.D. Fergusson, whereof Fergusson's informed and one-time effective vision of modernism now, that 'which privileged the intuitive over the rational, the emotional over the analytic, the painterly over the cerebral'? [117] From the perspective of early 21st Century Scottish art an artist such as Fergusson would now seem to offer an ersatz avant-garde. Normand's subjects, positioned as key agents in an earlier cultural nationalism, aspired a culturally meaningful state or an independent Scotland, but are artists now seemingly irrelevant to the practice of self-questioning contemporary Scottish artists. Douglas Gordon makes videos referencing James Hogg, in a world-view which has no place for Fergusson. It has been thus from the 1970s, during which Scottish art would return to cerebral realisms, or the Duchampian rationalism imbued in conceptual art, or projects indicative of social reconstruction, in all of which intuitive or emotional mysticisms are downplayed. Even a *rejection* of Celticism in inter-war Scottish art is not a discourse I have found at all present within my timespan (approx. 1960–2003) such is its vestigial effect.[118]

As much as contemporary art replays the past as stylistic re-visitations, aside from Beuys' visits to Scotland, the lack of Celticism in modern and contemporary Scottish art is curious and there may be reasons beyond style which led to this. There are stylistic judgements at work in the juncture in which the

---

[113] Normand, *The Modern Scot,* 287.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Normand sees the beginnings of a period as an openness to an avant-gardism, partly initially defined by gestures of resistance such as Moffat and Bellany's open air Salon des Refusés, on Edinburgh Castle Terrace fence, west of the Academy building.
[116] Normand, "Re-thinking 'Provincialism': Scotland's visual culture in the 1960s." In *The Scottish Sixties: Reading, Rebellion, Revolution?* Eleanor Bell and Linda Gunn. Netherlands: Rodopi., 288.
[117] Normand, *The Modern Scot,* 104.
[118] There are exceptions, Patrizio (1999): p. 128 refers to the ongoing critical acclaim for Turnbull's sculptural lexicon including his interest in Celtic art from Scotland and Ireland.

Scottish avant-garde begins and the new forms of localised support appear (funding, artist-run galleries), but more fundamentally the absence of Fergusson's influence and of others, of Celticism in general, gets to the core of why the 1960s onwards marks a radical departure from the earlier period and how that plays out in an evolutionary sense. To use a word Lindsay Errington ascribed to Scottish art at the earlier juncture of 1914, 1960 marks the point at which earlier tendencies are 'due for extinction.'[119]

In 2000, Normand discussed Fergusson's agenda, a 'move towards the Celtic was a means of exploring a symbolic universe abandoned by mainstream modernism. His was a search for the Arcadian, the complete, and the whole, in the face of an avant-garde increasingly concerned with *the urban, the fragmented and the alienated.*' [My Italics][120] This latter identification of the urban alienation and fragmented nature of Scottish art could be equally applied to Normand's treatment of McCance's re-visionary painting *From Another Window in Thrums* (1928), although that was used to concur with Fergusson's attempt to invent an identifiable Scottish art including its 'wholesale rejection of Calvinism'.[121] Normand's schematic description of Fergusson Celticism was the pursuit of the lost Edenic. To paraphrase, Fergusson's pursuit was a virtuous organicism vs tragic mechanization, pastoralism against the 'failed' urban, lowland-inspired practices.

Whereas Fergusson's was a world of art in which the challenge remained a mastery of the natural appearances of light and shade on the human form, the contemporary starting point is the schismatic modern environment – urban, fragmented, alienated – in which contrasts and ambiguities dynamise the dark psychologies of the lowland city. Nordic-minded Scottish artists (Herbert Read's voiced position, 28th November 1931, BBC Radio) bear no relation to their art-historical forebears' post-Impressionistic Mediterranean hues. In this dark psychology the contemporary artists are engaged in disbelief, and with all the contradictions and failings of historical narratives and their aftermath.

Hartley 1989 stumbled towards a similar viewpoint, although he characterised its appearance in postmodern Scottish art as contradiction, not

[119] Lindsay Errington, in Errington, Lindsay, Patrick Elliott and Duncan Thompson, *Scotland's Pictures.* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990), 71.
[120] Normand, *The Modern Scot,* 138.
[121] Normand, *The Modern Scot,* 107

contrast, 'the constant intrusion of memory into perception, the ability to hold several, often contradictory ideas' [hence] 'Contemporary Scottish painting is […] rarely utopian'.[122] In Hartley's scheme Campbell's paintings were attempts to make sense of disarray (although I prefer the idea that they represent the consciously bewildering experience of such disarray, hence Campbell's doppelgangers).

More perceptively, a key passage in Patrizio 1999 provided a psychological index in a contemporary taxonomy of Scottish art, including the uses of impermanence, 'trauma, extreme states of mind' [and] 'the non-rational, the shifting and unfixed interior landscape'[123] however these extreme states are rationalised through 'the taxonomy of museums, ethnographic displays'.[124] Patrizio also referred to Macdonald's descriptors, 'the hidden, the lost, the culturally fractured, the unexpectedly manifest, the peripheralised, the fragmented.'[125] That these are all nouns reformed as adjectives through the inclusion of the definite article is telling. Macdonald is talking about the psyche in the contemporary period as well as art's developmental progression from the eye to the psyche and the privileging of personal expression. But he was also talking about the state in contemporary Scotland and the synonymous elisions in his descriptors are 'self' and 'Scotland'.

[122] Hartley, *Scottish Art since 1900*, 41.
[123] Patrizio, *Contemporary Sculpture in Scotland* (Australia: Craftsman House, 1999), 14.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Murdo Macdonald, untitled catalogue essay, *Walk On – Six Artists from Scotland* (New York: Jack Tilton Gallery, 2001), unpagnated.

APPENDIX 4

Forthcoming publications.

2018 in press 'Monuments to the period we live in', book chapter for *Hybrid Practices: Art in Collaboration with Science and Technology in the Long 1960*s (Eds. David Cateforis, Steven Duval, Shepherd Steiner), California: The University of California Press.

2018 ms submitted 'Orwell's Island Pastoral.' Book chapter in *Imagining Islands: Visual Culture in the Northern British Archipelago* (Eds. Ysanne Holt, David Martin-Jones), Farnham: Ashgate.

2017 'Artists' "embedded reinterpretation" in museums and sites of heritage.' The Journal of Visual Art Practice.