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1968

edited by
Micaela Antonucci
Sofia Nannini
Gabriele Neri
Matteo Sintini

Antonio Pizza
Ester Coen
Elena Dellapiana
Marianna Charitonidou
Andjelka Badnjar Gojnić
Kenta Matsui
Francesco Bacci
Alessandro Canevari
Gian Luca Porcile
Carolina De Falco
Vladimir Dušan Bojković
Francesca Privitera

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EDITORIAL

1968

Micaela Antonucci, Sofia Nannini, Gabriele Neri, Matteo Sintini

1968 was «the year that would subvert the world» when revolutions, the undermining of the established order and new prospects marked every aspect of the social, cultural and artistic life in the western world. In architecture, the irruption of such novelties generated movements of reaction and opposition: updates to the critique of Modernism and attempts to refounding the discipline, new fields of theoretical exploration, visionary scenarios of technological utopias, new processes in the architectural practice. At the same time, the conservative trends that will produce a "return to order" in some fundamental experiences of '70s to '80s are taking shape.

After fifty years from that pivotal date, HPA publishes a monographic issue that collects a set of original contributions on some still unexplored episodes from such an intense and meaningful moment in history. To begin with, HPA republishes an essay by Antonio Pizza, *Reflection Itinerary: Counter-cultural Polemics and Processes of Normalization* a partir de los años setenta. The text was published in the catalogue of the exhibition Arquitecturas sin lugar 1968-2008, held at the Collegi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya di Barcelona in 2009. With Franco's regime on one hand and the participation to the "International of Utopia" on the other, the Spanish landscape became a fruitful ground of experimentation, where some of the leading characters of the following years established themselves. Another exhibition, that was recently held at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea in Rome (*It's Just a Beginning. 1968*), explored the events of 1968 in Italy: its curator, Ester Coen, narrates for HPA how such an extraordinary and revolutionary excitement arrived from the

United States and Europe to Italy and how it brought about a powerful payload, among culture, society and art, that will determine changes and developments in the upcoming decades.

The "Focus" section begins with an essay by Elena Dellapiana, titled *"Architettura e/o Rivoluzione". Up at the Castle. A Self-Convened Conference in Turin* (April, 25-27, 1969). The paper explores an important, yet still not widely known, Italian episode of these years: a conference organised at the Faculty of Architecture of Turin in 1969, throughly recorded by the Journal Marcatré, that saw the participation of some of the protagonists of the "new" architecture, such as Archigram, Architecture Principe, Utopie, Yona Friedman, Archizoom, Paolo Soleri and Aldo Giurgola, together with some of the most influential figures in the artistic and architectural debates as Gianni Vattimo Carlo Olmo, Gian Mario Bravo and Aimaro Isola. The conference was a polyphonic event, focusing on the relationship between Utopia, Revolution and Architecture, and one of the key moments in the reflection on the social role of the architect and the design.

The connection to the student movements, naturally at the core of the historical events of this moment, is also narrated in *Between Urban Renewal and Nuova Dimensione: The 68 Effects Vis-à-Vis the Real*. Here, Marianna Charitonidou traces an in-depth analysis of the outcomes of 1968 student protests within the Italian and North-American architectural contexts, by dealing with the two concepts of urban renewal and "nuova dimensione". Her essay highlights the changes on the architectural pedagogy and epistemology that derived from the events of 1968, and debates the different relations of Italian and North-American architecture to the real.

Andjelka Badnjar Gojnić, in *The Collective and The Architecture of the City in Postwar Modernism* combines a key figure such as Aldo Rossi, to an important term defining the movement, that is "collective". This term is crucial to understand not only the theorical interpretation of Aldo Rossi (and, among the others, Manfredo Tafuri's contribution), but also its being a dialectic element of comparison with "the other spirit" – avant-gardist and iconoclastic - of 1968.

Aldo Rossi is also the focus of Kenta Matsui's article, entitled *Monument in Revolution: Movement and Statics in Aldo Rossi's Architectural Theory*, in which the scholar analyses the relationship between the Italian architect and the "1968 phenomenon" through the crisis of architectural schools and his program of "re-foundation" of architecture as a transmissible discipline and theoretical body. Rossi's activity as a teacher, the nexus between his urban theories and the architectural project, and lastly "the possibility of experiencing revolution as a concrete experience of monuments" are investigated, leading to a final reinterpretation of the student protests at the Milan Polytechnic.

Alessandro Canevari, Francesco Bacci and Gianluca Porcile in *Myths,*

Machines, and Words analyse the new "contamination" of architecture, that – from being mainly a building issue – became a "hybrid" discipline and obtained a central role in the theoretical and social debate. Under the pressure of the technological innovations and of social revolutions, also the discipline of architecture needed to provide an answer to the new theoretical necessities and to take control on new languages, tools and perspectives: as Hans Hollein wrote in Bau in 1968, from then onwards, "Alles ist Architektur".

The issue also holds two biographical essays on two architects that were both active in the late 1960s: Leonardo Savioli and Slobodan Vukajlović.

In her paper, entitled *Leonardo Savioli: Didactics and Projects for "Space Involvement"*, Carolina di Falco explores the teaching activity of the Florentine architect by the end of the 1960s, when he taught some of the major exponents of Radical Architecture – such as Alberto Breschi, founder of ZZiggurat, and Adolfo Natalini – and his parallel approach to design. The analysis reveals a mutual exchange and contamination, clearly visible in various projects, showing the innovation of Savioli's work and ideas within the Tuscan school.

In H*exagonal Architecture of Slobodan Vukajlović: An Example of the City Chapel in Nikšić City, Montenegro*, Vladimir Bojković, leads the readers to the less debated side of the Adriatic Sea, thus drawing an interesting picture of what was taking place in the town of Nikšić in the years around 1968, especially by highlighting the central role played by the architect Slobodan Vukajlović.

Finally, the issue also offers the readers an extra research, in *Miscellanea* section: Francesca Privitera's paper entitled *Giovanni Michelucci: Heritage of Pompeii and Post-War Reconstruction Modernism*. The author investigates the important connection between the "archeological discover" of the ancient Roman ruins made by the Florentine master and his particular declination of "organic" architecture.

Reflection Itinerary: Counter-cultural Polemics and Processes of Normalization

Antonio Pizza
Escola Tècnica Superior d'Arquitectura de Barcelona
antonio.pizza@upc.edu

Antonio Pizza is a professor of "Historia del Arte y de la Arquitectura" at the ETSAB in Barcelona. He directs a course on "Architecture and Cinema" (ETSAB), now in its eighth edition. He deals with the interrelations between arts and architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the "modern city" as the central theme of his reflections. His most recent publication, in Italian: *Paris and Baudelaire. Literature, arts and criticism in the modern city* (Milan 2017)

ABSTRACT

Throughout the nineteen-sixties, on the front line of the European architectural avant-gardes an accumulation of experiences that sought to leap the rigid barriers of disciplinary legitimacy seemed to attain its greatest volatility, forcing to the limits dimensional scales, tectonic conventions, traditional structural systems and stereotyped languages.

In fact, this ramified attitude of protest implicit in many contemporary initiatives in Europe and the rest of the world only tangentially affected the profession in Spain (and still less in Catalonia), where this *absence* is one of the distinctive features of the architectural reflection that took place in this country in those years.

In the local context, it is symptomatic that in the same period in which the emergence of 'A possible "Barcelona School"' was being mooted, R. Bofill and his office presented their ideal blueprint for *The City in Space* (1968).

Contemporary experiences were thus intended as superior models of prefiguration of a *new* life in a *new* architecture.

These were moments of a great and problematic opening up: the prospect of an essential change in the whole spectrum of ways of living imposed a redefinition of design objectives, and a productive 'fusion of the arts' seemed to point unequivocally to new roads forward.

HPA republishes in english and italian, the original text: Antonio Pizza, *Contracultura y procesos de normalización. Ideas y proyectos en Cataluña a partir de los años setenta*, in "Arquitecturas sin lugar 1968-2008", Ramon Faura Coll, Santi Ibarra, Antonio Pizza eds (Barcelona: Arts Santa Mònica, Collegi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2009), 22-65.

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Avant-garde, Total art, Experimentalism, Anti-Francoism

Throughout the nineteen-sixties, on the front line of the European architectural avant-gardes an accumulation of experiences that sought to leap the rigid barriers of disciplinary legitimacy seemed to attain its greatest volatility, forcing to the limits dimensional scales, tectonic conventions, traditional structural systems and stereotyped languages. And very specifically the so-called "utopian internationale"[1] set out to overcome the crisis of modern architecture in a positive way, opening up new horizons for the profession, pursuing not only a renewal of the instruments of actuation but also an essential contamination of the formulas of expression. In fact, this ramified attitude of protest implicit in many contemporary initiatives in Europe and the rest of the world only tangentially affected the profession in Spain (and still less in Catalonia), where this absence—as we shall see—is one of the distinctive features of the architectural reflection that took place in this country in those years.

1. The reference is to the caustic commentary on this phenomenon by Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, in their *Architettura Contemporanea II* (Milan: Electa, 1979), 347-354.

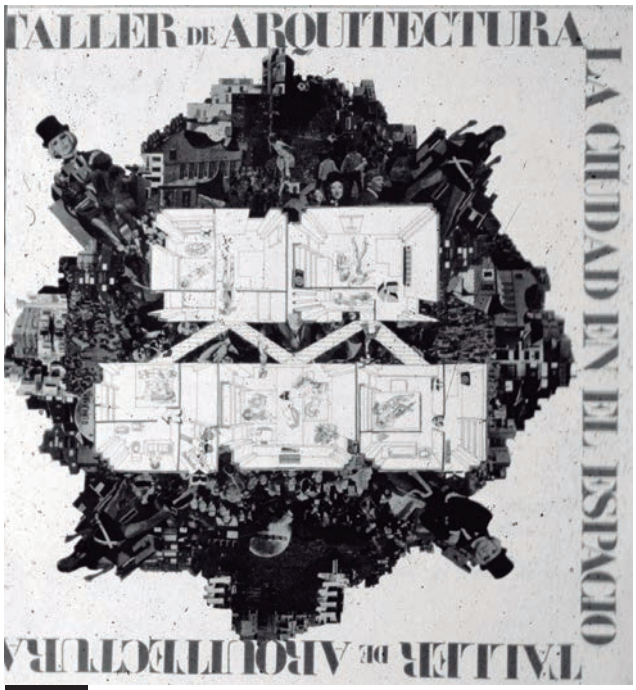


FIG. 1 *The City in Space.* Taller d'Arquitectura (R. Bofill) (1968).

One of the most prolific veins was centered primarily on the redeeming virtues of a technological universe whose *futuristic* potential was emphasized; this aspect can easily be detected in Yona Friedman's creative prefigurations of a mobile 'spatial architecture' in constant metamorphosis; in Konrad Wachsmann's studies of metal frames; in the demistyfying Pop iconography of Archigram; in the domes of different kinds designed by Buckminster Fuller, or in the megastructures of Kenzo Tange and the Japanese group Metabolism. In fact, it was precisely in those years that the physical and conceptual signification of what the language of the day defined as a megastructure was consolidated:

> … not only is it a structure of great size […] but also one that is frequently: 1. constructed with modular units; 2. capable of great or even 'unlimited' extension; 3. a structural framework into which smaller structural units (for example, rooms, houses, or small buildings of other sorts) can be built, or even 'plugged-in' or 'clipped-on', after having been prefabricated elsewhere; 4. a structural framework expected to have a useful life much longer than that of the smaller units which it might support.[2]

2. Ralph Wilcoxon, *Megastructure Bibliography* (1968), quoted in Reyner Banham, *Megastructures. Urban Futures of the Recent Past* (London: Icon, 1976) (Sp. trans. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1978, 2001), 8-9.

The 1967 Montreal Expo, the theme of which was "Man and His World", was a genuine exhibition of megastructures (from Frei Otto's tensile structures to Buckminster Fuller's geodesic roofs); its continuation and to some extent its natural conclusion was the Osaka Expo in 1970, whose theme was "Harmony and Progress for All Mankind". In this same period, at the Paris Biennale of 1967 some French architects—J. Aubert, J.-P. Jungmann and A. Stinco, members of the Utopie group—

presented inflatable structures and blow-up technologies: site-adaptable, lightweight, transportable and even capable of floating on water and in air, these celebrated the innovative virtualities of the *pneumatic*.

Architects were working, then, with combinatory techniques that served to liberate the cathartic spirit of games (the continuing currency of *Homo Ludens*, published in 1938 by J. Huizinga,[3] is reflected in the phantasmagoria of Cedric Price's Fun Palace of 1960 -1961, for example) while also extolling spectacular interventions that aimed above all to seduce visitors and users by surprising them. The truth is that the Montreal Expo was important for its spotlighting and amplifying of these approaches, both in its use of futuristic crowns on the exhibition pavilions and for Moshe Safdie's 'Habitat 67', which was conceived as an assemblage of prefabricated residential cells, with a tree-like structure and a resulting composition with a variable constitution.[4] In the local context of Catalan architecture, it is symptomatic that in the same period in which the emergence of 'A possible "Barcelona School"' was being mooted,[5] R. Bofill and his office presented their ideal blueprint for *The City in Space* (1968).[6] **[Fig. 1]** So, whereas on the one hand there were sectors which tended to support the idea of a vaguely homogeneous 'school', which seemed of necessity to be where those architects that wished to represent effective disciplinary progress should congregate, the Taller de Arquitectura,[7] by contrast, was concentrating on developing a theory of project design based on the identification of a standard industrialized cell capable of accommodating systems of unlimited aggregation through the construction and deconstruction of cubic units, thus configuring a liberational Ziggurat iconography at micro-urban scales.

In terms of construction, the application of these principles—governed by the dialectic between order and disorder, in which the existence of a rationally planned structure was not to constitute any impediment to the adaptability of this compositional skeleton to the changing circumstances of the project—had to permit the faithful translation of the utopian impetus into the lived reality. Ultimately, this was a city imagined as a collective creation, on the basis of the satisfying of individual needs, its development adapted to a logic that was organic, almost biomorphic, in continual evolution and adaptation, in which the home is full y reinstated as its soul, and invested with a renewed sociability: "It is a matter of proposing a new way of life, both for the interior space of the dwelling and for the urban design conception as such. It is a complex because it embraces a range of concepts—economic, legal, political, sociological, perhaps architectural, and so on. This may be a city in which the idea is that relations extend from the individual to be the community as a whole, directly, without passing through intermediate strata or levels—relations in which the individual can develop his personality".[8]

3. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1938). "All scholars stress the disinterested character of play. In not being "ordinary life" it lies outside the process of the immediate gratification of needs and desires. It interrupts that process. It inserts itself in it as a provisional action that is its own end, and is performed for love of the satisfaction that is found in the performance itself."

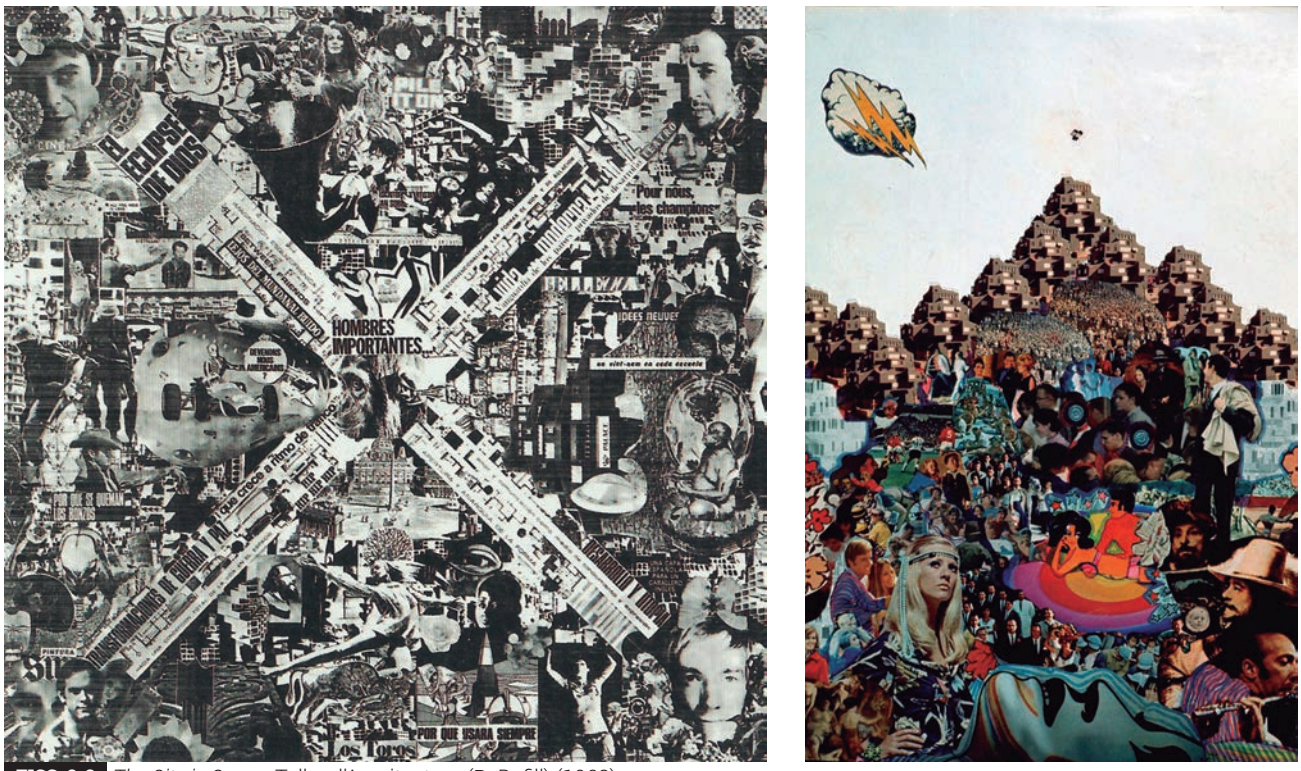
4. There is extensive coverage of the event and its architecture in number 109 (1968) of the magazine *Arquitectura* (Madrid).

5. Oriol Bohigas, "A Possible "Barcelona" School", *Arquitectura*, no. 118 (1968): 24-30. For clarification of the debates during this period see Antonio Pizza, 'Ideas de arquitectura en una cultura de oposición' ['Ideas of Architecture in a Culture of Opposition'], in Antonio Pizza and Josep Maria Rovira (eds.), *Desde Barcelona. Arquitecturas y ciudad, 1958-1975* ['From Barcelona. Architectures and City, 1958-1975'] (Barcelona: Collegi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2002).

6. Ricardo Bofill, Taller de Arquitectura, *Hacia una formalización de la ciudad en el espacio* ['Toward a Formalization of the City in Space'], (Barcelona: Blume, 1968). Among the illustrious forerunners of this idealized project is Y. Friedman's Spatial City (1958-1960).

7. In 1964, the project for the Gaudí neighborhood had given the Bofill studio the opportunity to bring in people from a variety of backgrounds, and this shaped the fundamental character of the multidisciplinary team. In 1976, the Taller de Arquitectura was constituted as follows: Ricardo Bofill, architect; A. Bofill, architect; Manuel Núñez Yanowsky, architect; Patrick Hodgkinson, architect; Jose Augustin Goytisolo, poet and writer; Salvador Clotas, essayist and literary critic; Roy Collado, architect; Serena Vergano, actress; Julien Romea, economist. Data from (various authors) *Document de travail sur le 'Taller de Arquitectura. Voyage, Architecture and Construction du 9 au 11 mai 1976*; typescript (Bofill archive).

8. Josep Maria Soria, "La "otra" arquitectura. Ricardo Bofill busca terrenos para experimentar su ciudad en el espacio" ['The "other" architecture. Ricardo Bofill looks for land to experiment with his city in space'], *Tele/eXprés* (24.3.1970). It is significant that a few years after this experiment in the realm of the alternative, Bofill said of the professional development of the studio: 'There is no architecture outside of the system. What there is, by means of architecture, are little anticipations of the system. [...] Architecture outside of the system is the architecture of the drawing and the text.' ["Informal Conversations with Ricardo Bofill"], *Ajoblanco*, no. 30 (1978).



FIGS. 2-3 *The City in Space*. Taller d'Arquitectura (R. Bofill) (1968).

The Taller also exercised this never slackened creative tension in the day-to-day business of communal life; its polemical alterity based on the inalienable rights of a *liberated* individual and the widely proclaimed mixing of disciplines implicit in the act of the project manifested a conception of architectural creation that sought to go beyond the *bourgeois vanguardism* of its moderate compatriots. The contemporary experiences of the Taller and, first and foremost, *The City in Space* [Figs. 2-3] were thus intended as superior models of prefiguration a *new* life in a *new* architecture, the characteristic features of which can be discerned in the maximum articulation of the internal pedestrian system at street level (which displaces vehicular traffic out to the periphery of the settlement), in the great number of aerial spaces for communal use, in giving each apartment individualized access from the exterior, in the variety of foreshortenings created by the different types of residential aggregations and, finally, in the conception of the whole on the basis of an intricate cubic volume that

FIG. 4 'MENTE 1. *1st* Spanish Exhibition of New Aesthetic Tendencies' exhibition. COAC (1968).

expands by branching out in space, avoiding the canonical superposing of floors stacked mechanically one on top of another.

These were moments of a great and problematic opening up: the prospect of an essential change in the whole spectrum of ways of living imposed a redefinition of design objectives, and a productive 'fusion of the arts' seemed to point unequivocally to new roads forward. It is no accident that the headquarters of the COAC Catalan architects' association should have become a venue for major exhibition events. In April 1968, *MENTE 1* (I Muestra Española de Nuevas Tendencias Estéticas) included, among other things, works by architects such as Bofill, A. Fernández Alba, R. de Leoz, O. Bohigas and J. M. Martorell. **[Fig. 4]** As D. Giralt-Miracle affirmed in his presentation of the show: "The most important contemporary aesthetic investigations are striving to create an art on the scale of the global society rather than that of the isolated individual, within the paths marked out by constructive, visual and kinetic art. […] This serves to create a sense of space as an integral part of the work in which the volumes of masses and the spaces establish a poetics of 'transformable spaces' that embraces all the arts".[9]

9. Daniel Giralt-Miracle, MENTE 1 introductory leaflet, 1968 (Vocalía de Cultura archive, COAC). Another major exhibition, presented at the COAC in May 1968, had the symptomatic title *Integration of the Arts*.

Though the investigations into form undertaken by those present (Claret, Duarte, Segarra, Sempere, Sobrino, Torner…) moved within heterogeneous spatio-temporal coordinates, they nevertheless introduced *duration* into the artistic idea, tending toward a kinetic definition of the work that sought to sublimate the conventional geometric Puritanism. It is important to note that in doing so both the visual arts and architecture privileged the modular structure 'in order to make use of variations and seriations, and thus resolve the contested issue of art's relationship with reality.'

At the same time, in necessary opposition to the obscurantist cultural climate of the Franco regime, groups of opinion begin to mobilize, most of them associated with the liberal professions, setting up discussion forums, putting forward alternative forms of thought and behaviour and organizing protests; the Bocaccio [sic] discotheque opened in 1967,[10] and its regular clientele came to be known as the *gauche divine*. The name seems to have originated in an article by Joan de Sagarra—one of the 'rumba' pieces he published in *Tele/eXprés*—who used it in reference to a group of representatives of the local cultural scene who were clearly opposed to the practices of regime and were attempting to engage, whenever possible, in moments of freedom and transgression. In fact, the absence of any genuine ideological common ground prevented the development of an effective radical critique of the *status quo*: "Those of us who dubbed ourselves the *gauche divine* were simply young professionals from the cultural sphere imbued with the dogmatism of anti-dogmatism and the schematism of anti-schematism. We were united only by the evident truth that you only live once and that you have to learn to love and live."[11]

10. "In that ground floor things happened that seemed extemporaneous. On one of those fake *Modernista* velvet sofas the idea of the Montserrat sit-in and the founding of the magazine *Arquitecturas Bis* was hatched—a night of drinks with Rosa Regàs and Enric Satué—the programmes of the Small Architecture Congresses were discussed and the collection of signatures for letters of protest and verbal or financial aid for persecuted politicians were organized." Oriol Bohigas, *Dit o Fet. Dietari de records II* ['Said or Done. Diary of Memories II'] (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1992), 291-292.

11. Manuel Vázquez Montalban, "La izquierda que nunca existió" ["The Left that Never Existed"], *Tele/eXprés* (25.5.1974): 13.

Even though the desire for radical opposition on the part of the movement of '68 could not be fully enacted in a country weighed down by the yoke of dictatorship, the cultural climate demanded an urgent adoption of clearly aligned positions, and one of the exponents of the *gauche divine*—O. Bohigas—virulently berated the conservatism of another architect of prestige—A. de Moragas—for condemning the extravagant behaviour of certain young local architects and accusing them of 'frivolity':

> Despite the complaints of Moragas, for the most lively young architecture of Catalonia we must seek among the intelligent respecters of drugs and the now venerable tradition of free love, and not among the reactionaries and the speculators, who are still half fiddling their way on the strait road of our failed bourgeois revolution."[12]

Meanwhile, increasing relevance was being attached in the debates to the attempt to interpret the *effective* role of architecture in a rapidly expanding consumer society; there was an evident concern to produce projects capable of offering an adequate response to the challenges of technology, and a great deal of attention was also being given to research into the language and communicative potential of the forms being built. It is in this context that we must situate the frequent visits to Barcelona by major international figures such as Peter Eisenman, Christopher Alexander, Umberto Eco, and various members of the English group Archigram.[13]

The year 1968 saw the publication of the first historical synthesis of current architectural production to be undertaken from Barcelona: Luís Domènech's *Arquitectura española contemporánea [Spanish Contemporary Architecture]*. In his foreword to the book Oriol Bohigas inevitably noted the country's state of underdevelopment before going on to express a desire for a redemption that could only be achieved from a 'committedly avant-garde' position, meaning behaviours explicitly in opposition to the *status quo*. In his capacity as the only foreigner invited to contribute, Vittorio Gregotti emphasized the peculiar condition of Spanish architecture, clearly governed by a *realist* attitude: "On the whole, Spanish architectural culture shows little impetus toward utopia, toward studying the unachievable, toward the exercise of theory. It is not here as in other nations, where what is most interesting is found above all in the projects."[14]

However, art in its broadest sense was capable of suggesting new avenues for integration into a reality whose substance had to be modified; a capacity for interacting with the context by activating revolutionary mechanisms with more effective potentialities than other operational instruments that were proving to be obsolete: "[…] a committed art does not seek to stand out and be the exclusive focus of attention, but rather to appraise, adapt to the context and, where appropriate, disappear into it."[15]

And it could only be the city that supplied the site destined to

12. Oriol Bohigas, "L'amor lliure i la "dreta de Mataró"" ["Free Love and the "Right of Mataró", *La Mosca* (Barcelona), no. 1 (1968).

13. Eco's 1964 *Apocalittici e integrati* was published in Castilian in 1968 as *Apocalípticos e integrados en la cultura de masas* (Barcelona: Lumen), with a prompt review of Lluís Clotet, "Aeropuerto al "kitsch". Apocalípticos e integrados en la cultura de masas" ["Airport to "kitsch". The apocalyptic and the integrated in mass culture"], *La Mosca*, no. 3 (1968). See, too, the books by Christopher Alexander: *Ensayo sobre la síntesis de la forma* [Notes on the Synthesis of Form] (Buenos Aires: Infinito, 1969); *Tres aspectos de matemática y diseño* [Three Aspects of Mathematics and Design] (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1969) and *La estructura del medio ambiente* [The Structure of the Environment] (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1971).

14. Vittorio Gregotti, "España arquitectónica 1968" ['Architectural Spain 1968'], in Luis Domènech, *Arquitectura española contemporánea* [Spanish Contemporary Architecture] (Barcelona: Blume, 1968), 25. The emphasis, then, is on a rejection of *utopian* escapism—when the idealizing impulse merges directly into the avoidance of the real problems—that was also fairly widespread in local public opinion: 'All of these utopias that proliferate on all sides in our time strike us as utterly childish, but dangerous, the product of an ideological sterility that tends toward the reactionary.' Editorial 'Utopía y evasión' ['Utopia and Escapism'], *Tele/eXpré*s (11.4.1972).

15. Xavier Rubert de Ventós, *Teoria de la sensibilitat II. Els fonaments d'una nova estética* [Theory of Sensibility II. The Foundations of a New Aesthetic], (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1969), 225.

FIG. 5 'Miró, Other' exhibition. Design by Estudio PER. COAC (1969).

accommodate a new political aesthetic with a progressive spirit of regeneration: "We need to 'invent', then, not in order to create new worlds, but to recover the city and hand it over to its inhabitants. […] To recover the city: the artistic task rediscovers once more its 'political' function, committed to and involved in the labour, not *only* aesthetic but *also* aesthetic, of giving form to public life."[16]

Further manifestations of a making that could cross borders and break down barriers in search of new semantic horizons; April 1969 saw the opening at the COAC headquarters in Barcelona of the exhibition *Miró, otro [Miró, Other]*—it is worth noting how much the terminology of the time insisted on these conjugations of *alterity*—put together by Estudio PER (Bonet, Cirici, Clotet, Tusquets). [Fig. 5] Their montage was unconventional in design, with the glass façade of the building being covered with a large mural, painted in two phases—begun by the architects and finished by the 'orchestra conductor' (Miró himself)—and destroyed by the artist at the end of the Exhibition: "This served to establish the maximum possible tension between the revulsive nature of the exhibition and Miró's work itself. The COAC architects' association considers this to be an historic day."[17]

The aim of the show was to represent the avant-garde course of the artist's career, emphasizing his participation in provocative action. The division of the exhibition itinerary into sectors made use of ambient resources which characterized, by means of specific atmospheric features, the various artistic and historical periods—in the part corresponding to the Spanish Civil War, for example, the spaces were closed and all but dark, the wooden structures emanating aggressiveness, the images reflected in distorting mirrors, and the music and projections urgent, pressing—in a treatment of the space that achieved an immediate and effective communication of its contents.[18]

At the same time, in a highly politicized context in which movements of opposition to the speculative manoeuvres of private capital and the Franco administration were multiplying, in the spring of 1970 there was strong resistance to the partial plan for the Ribera neighbourhood, which

16. Ibid, 261-262.

17. Speech by Luis Domenech, director of the Exhibitions Section of the COAC, April 30, 1969 (Vocalía de Cultura archive, COAC, Barcelona).

18. "In an exhibition, the design, in addition to resolving problems at the *presentational* and *environmental* level, offers to resolve them at the discursive level." Ramon M. Puig i Andreu, "Exposición, otra" ["Exhibition, Other"], *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, no. 72 (1969).

had been published in 1965 and approved in 1968 ('Advance of the Plan for the Ribera'). This development project, promoted by a company called Ribera SA, proposed to colonize the whole of the coastal strip as far as the Besós river with the construction of a string of 24-storey residential tower blocks giving a density of 600 people per hectare, while dissembling the operation with the euphemistic slogan 'Opening Barcelona to the Sea'.

FIG. 6 Torres Clavé Plan. Grup 2C (1971).

In February 1971 the City Council approved and publicly exhibited the project with the bureaucratic title 'Project for the Modification of the County Plan for the Urban Orientation of Barcelona affecting the Eastern Maritime Sector', amended existing regulations (industrial zone and railways), reclassified the area as an intensive residential zone and in practice leaving unchanged the speculative intentions: this provoked strong opposition, with more than three thousand objections being received, and the result was the 'Alternative Plan for the Ribera'.[19]

On the key issue of restructuring the entire seafront to the north the 2C collective also intervened, drawing up the Torres Clavé Plan (1971) [Fig. 6], which proposed as an alternative to the intentions of the City Council a linear megastructure articulated on the basis of the Gran Via axis that would allow a reorganization of the urban morphology which openly interacted with the existing historic structures (the first of these being the square grid of the Cerdà Eixample).[20]

FIG. 7 CAU, magazine of Col·legi d'Aparelladors, no. 34 (1975).

In fact, popular pressure—especially from 1972 on—was channelled through the neighbourhood associations to oppose the operational decisions of local government and private capital; these were genuine political struggles in which a clandestine opposition was forged, often with the support of broad sectors of the profession and the trade press (the most emblematic instance of which was the magazine CAU),[21] [Fig. 7] in the exercise of a participatory assembly-based democracy that not only achieved clear victories against the regime—as with the Plan for the Ribera, the saving of the Born market, Casa Golferichs [Fig. 8] and the Parque de la España Industrial [Fig. 9] and the halting of various speculative ventures in the old town—but also and above all served to form and consolidate a previously non-existent civil society, which in polemical opposition to the status quo

19. The "Ideas Competition for the Re-zoning of the Maritime Sector of Pueblo Nuevo' (nine teams submitted projects, which were exhibited together with the City Council's own scheme and the project by Ribera SA in early 1972 in the COAC headquarters in Barcelona) was won by the team of Manuel de Solà-Morales, Joan Busquets and Antoni Font, but the only part of their scheme—which sought to extract maximum public benefit from the development process—to be retained was the trajectory of the Cinturó del Litoral coastal ring road. The plan was finally approved in December 1971 as the 'Eastern Maritime Sector', but no part of it was put into practice until the subsequent restructuring of the area on the basis of the projects for the 1992 Olympics.

20. In effect, the studies of this extensive area undertaken by the group linked to the magazine *2C Construcción de la Ciudad* were to materialize in other chapters: "Collective Thesis Project", 1972; "Ideas for an Alternative Plan for the Ribera in Pueblo Nuevo", 1972; "The Barcelona Pavilion at the XV Milan Triennale", 1973; the exhibition *The Torres Clavé Plan: A Rational Alternative for Barcelona*, COAC, 1974. Issue number 0 of *2C Construcción de la Ciudad* came out in 1972; though it stressed the specificity of the architecture, and did not avoid ascribing a clear social position to the profession, it insisted on the necessary *theoretical* involvement of an approach that was to find in the 'city' its primary field for analysis and the drawing up of projects.

21. *CAU*, the magazine of the Technical Architects' and Clerks of Works, devoted whole monograph issues to "Greater Barcelona" (1971), "The Barcelona of Mayor Porcioles" (1973) and "The Struggle in the Neighborhoods" (1975), as well as running individual articles addressing specific subjects.

called for a substantial democratization of the public authorities and an active decentralization of urban management.

Meanwhile, in a context still stultified by an oppressive indifference to culture of officialdom ('in which kitsch and the subculture have enjoyed and continue to enjoy the unconditional support of the system that has adopted them as its own'),[22] within the limited sphere of movement permitted by the dictatorship certain sectors of the youth population were beginning to experiment more thoroughly with alternative ways of living and engaging in politics, in the form of what were then referred to as 'countercultural' attitudes and behaviours—an affirmation of individual liberty directed toward communitarian objectives and the demand for change, in which an essentially optimistic and confident spirit sought to create entirely *new* and *different* life forms characterized by full recognition of the rights of the individual, social justice and racial and sexual equality.

FIG. 8 'Volem el xalet per al barri' ['We want the house for the neighbourhood']. Sant Antoni Local Residents' Association (1973).

FIG. 9 'La España Industrial Per quan...? La necessitem ara' ['La España Industrial. When's it going to be? We need it now']. Local Residents' Associations and organizations of Sants, Hostafrancs and la Bordeta (1979).

This affected all of the disciplines of representation, not only art but also architecture, in being responsible for the environmental parameters in which we are obliged to live and would like to see radically transformed:

> A day will come when the Publivia advertising slogan will be a poem that will delight the passers-by on the wide pavements of the city recovered. A poem that will not exhort them to buy anything. And the form or the image will be an unexpectedly modified tree or a streetlight turned into a bejewelled lady or the flight of a kite of a girl's curls. And that will be art. And this will be literature. Urban and human landscape."[23] [Figs. 10-11]

This experimental and subversive aspiration was to find an outlet in the pages of an apparently secondary locally published magazine, *Mobelart* (1972-1975), which ran a series of articles on the history of utopian visions ('Arquitectura Utopía', no. 4, 1973), and, taking up the lines being pursued by international architecture (in addition to those already mentioned, we might note here the self-supporting dome structures of D. G. Emmerich

22. Pedro Altares, "Mitos y cultura kitsch en la España del desarrollo" [Myths and Kitsch Culture in a Developing Spain], *Triunfo*, no. 533 (16.12.1972).

23. Manuel Vázquez Montalban, "El arte en la calle. El mes loco de una galería de arte" ['Art on the Street. The Crazy Month of an Art Gallery'], *Triunfo*, no. 487 (29.1.1972).

FIG. 10 'Essays toward the formalization of different ways of life'. *Mobelart*, no. 7 (1973).

FIG. 11 'Arquitectura Utopía'. *Mobelart*, no. 4 (1973).

[1958-1970]), provided instructions for do-it-yourself geodesic domes,[24] alongside pieces about inflatables ('Arquitectura Estructuras neumáticas', no. 7, 1973; 'Las cúpulas neumáticas de Prada Poole', no. 25, 1975). *Mobelart* also published 'Ensayos hacia la formalización de distintas formas de vida' (G. Fuentes, C. Ferrater, S. Roqueta and X. Bago; no. 7, 1973) and 'Falansterios del ocio' (Donato + Geest, 1969; no. 6, 1973):

> A temporary habitat in which can camp a century of this decadent nomadic army that wanders in search of the pastures of lost felicity and the soothing of its frayed consciousness. For them, for the mendicants of the little individual utopia, for the grandchildren of that Romantic bourgeoisie, the monastic and military architecture formalization of this monastery of corrugated sheeting."[25]

From October 14 to 16, 1971, the ICSID (International Council of Societies of Industrial Design) **[Fig. 12]** held its 8th Congress in Cala Sant Miquel on Ibiza, during which an *ideological* divide was physically materialized, while the bored and boring bourgeois technocrats stayed at the Hotel Cartago, the alternative movement camped happily in the Instant City (designed by F. Bendito, C. Ferrater and J. Prada): a continuous, coloured pneumatic dome that extended out in all directions like a rhizome, the fruit of the particles that could be added without limit to the main core.

Indeed, there was even a third 'city', still more nomadic and unstructured (the 'protest at the protest'): that of those (hippies) that climbed up on the surrounding rocks to pitch their tents and to spread out on any more or less level patch those genuine primary individual capsule-dwellings—absolutely elementary and carried on the user's back until required—otherwise known as sleeping bags.

In any case, though, *instant city*, based by definition on principles that contradict the premises of traditional town planning: a mobile, flexible,

24. These episodes also found empirical application in the many projects for roofs by M. Pedrol's team, or in the house in La Floresta by J. M. Berenguer.

25. Donato + Geest, 1969, "Convento o cámping... Campamento o falansterio" ['Convent or Campsite… Encampment or Phalanstère'], *Mobelart* (Barcelona), no. 6 (March 1973): 40.

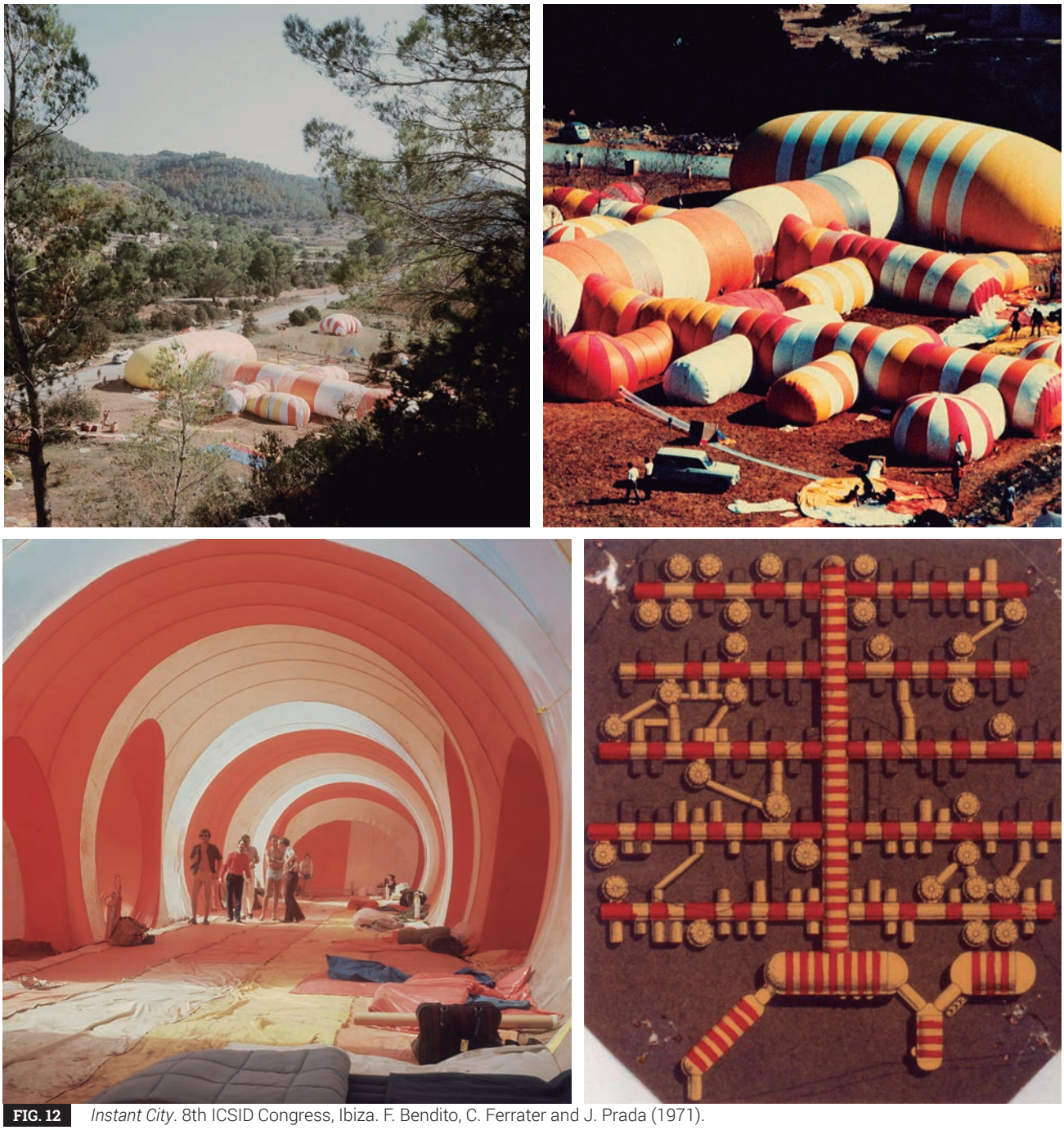


FIG. 12 *Instant City*. 8th ICSID Congress, Ibiza. F. Bendito, C. Ferrater and J. Prada (1971).

lightweight city, capable of being randomly composed in a thousand different ways, prefabricated from rigorously modular units that could suggest an existential model in which each person can delimit their own individual space, in harmony with a community life that respects the great diversity of people's backgrounds: "Hippies, students, communities from various other countries, the curious who find in an exotic place an unusual (hard to recapture) experience, the uprooted of all species."[26]

An unusual configuration of dwelling that privileged the users' sense of touch—there was a general tendency among all visitors, once they had got over the first moment of shock, to start feeling the plastic walls—and utilized the pneumatic structure for a new spatial experience.

26. Felix Cabrero, "El congreso de diseño de Ibiza. Participación y autodiseño" ["The Ibiza Design Congress. Participation and DIY Design"], *Arquitectura*, no. 155 (1971).

But what we have here, of course, beyond all the 'protest' formats, is a genuine materialization of a place intended for leisure and free time (it is no accident that it provided the setting for a number of parties, celebrations and happenings),[27] in which Christopher Alexander's critiques of modern urbanism converged with calls to implement 'The Right to the City' formulated by Henri Lefebvre.[28] This semantic space also includes the legacy of Archigram—whose *Instant City* was to take shape between 1968 and 1970; as of the mid sixties (Capsule Homes, 1964; Living-Pod, 1966) the researches of this British group were centred on the design of minimal capsule-homes based on sophisticated prefabrication which transformed the residential unit into a futuristic object, just another of the basic domestic appliances of an advanced consumer society.[29]

It is also important to recall that the fascinating futuristic hypertech iconography of Archigram's Instant City, with its easily transportable units designed to be installed anywhere, was primarily a producer of spectacular events whose primary purpose was 'to involve the public, stimulating their imagination, called on them to take part as author, promoter and actor of unforeseen events.'[30] And in the leaflet inviting people to the Instant City on Ibiza, which was distributed internationally, we read:

> We, the young people of the New Culture, will meet in Ibiza to be together, listen to music, dance and construct the space in which we will live for a few days. We ask designers all around the world to help us physically create the instant city that our heads will form during these days. In an environmental design happening, behaviour and form can come together for a week of design, construction, music, mime, fairground, festival and improvisation."[31]

So an instant city was made on Ibiza: people let themselves be seduced by Ponsatí's aerial sculptures; a multicolour ritual party was held (yellow, red, blue and green) with the participation of Miralda, D. Selz, B. Rossell and J. Xifra, and the Muntadas installation *Vacuflex-3* was assembled; in other words, initiatives linked to the themes of the habitable space and a practice of exchanges with the natural landscape.

There is no doubt, however, that the most emblematic icon was the huge inflatable constructed by J. Ponsatí, the follow-up to the one the same artist had presented to the Primer Concurs d'Art Jove competition in Granollers: a pneumatic installation, consisting of white plastic modules filled with helium, capable of reaching a maximum length of 41 metres. This clearly reveals the ludic nature of the act, in which process assumes primary importance, stimulating public participation in the construction and in raising the thing into the air, with the variable, organic, living configuration responding to the laws of an unpredictable motion and interacting with the landscape thanks to its monumental, albeit ephemeral and mortal scale. Outside of the rules of the market, and of any prejudice with regard to materials or serial production, elemental in its execution and in its visibility,

27. The project report, signed by Fernando Bendito and Carlos Ferrater, reads: "This posits the rejection of the city that sets to designing and mapping out the behaviour of its inhabitants, and at the same time the awakening of a new awareness reclaims the leisure that is the product of present-day technology in order to convert it into the specific work of human nature that is creation. […] Success or failure matters little; the essential thing is knowledge.' Museu d'Arts Decoratives, ADI FAD/ICSID archive, 1971. It is important to remember that in the extensive literature on the subject, some writers—albeit a minority—were very critical of this urban experiment: "A free city that proposes imaginative and creative ways of living, claiming to reject the institutionalized and the integrated, cannot support itself opportunistically on the elements or the mechanisms of established society. We believe that these processes are not prefabricated […]. We therefore insist that the whole set-up rings false." Editorial "Plastic-Love-City-Trip-Pop-Pot o donde la ciudad cambia de nombre" ["Plastic-Love-City-Trip-Pop-Pot or Where the City Changes Its Name"], *Tele/eXprés* (13.7.1971).

28. Lefebvre's 1968 *Le Droit à la ville* was published in Castilian translation in 1969 by Ediciones Peninsula as *El derecho a la ciudad*.

29. These aspects are reflected in the project "Ceplástica 2000. A Dwelling for the Future", by Miquel Alvarez Trincado, published in issue no. 4 of *Boden*, 1972.

30. Bruno Zevi, "Archigram Beat. Inventano l'Instant City", *Cronache di Architettur*a (Bari: Laterza), vol. VII, no. 768 (1970), 318.

31. Ad hoc committee for the instant city, *Instant City*, 1971, Giralt-Miracle archive.

FIG. 13 Inflatable. 8th ICSID Congress, Ibiza. J. Ponsatí (1971).

the inflatable becomes *opera aperta*, self-signifying. [Fig. 13]

Meanwhile, in 1970, a short article-cum-manifesto by L. Clotet—evidently inspired by Italian writers such as Umberto Eco or Vittorio Gregotti—put forward once again issues that had already been debated in local architectural circles: this was 'In Barcelona: For an Architecture of Evocation': "A long way from the optimism of a possible direct and positive impact, we are drawn to the possibilities of an architecture that seeks to denounce what it can hardly change […]."[32]

Therefore, while there was a diffuse dabbling in studies linked to semiotics,[33] Bohigas reiterated Catalan architecture's total rejection of any utopian temptation and the of captivating but unproductive fascination of idealization; he also dismissed as disposable the 'demagogic' proposals of Yona Friedman,[34] the rebellious phantasmagorias of the Situationists, and the captiously optimistic visions of Archigram:

> It will be easier to change society with genuinely revolutionary instruments than to construct the 'wish machine' for a 'spatial city' on the roofs of old Paris or a group of plug-in houses on the bank of the Thames, or cover Manhattan with a great geodesic dome such as the dreamer Fuller announces. […] The technological utopia is the last trap of the established system."[35]

It can plausibly be claimed that the naive technological optimism of some of these approaches distorts the data of capitalist reality, softens them, dodges around their sharp imbalances, being as it is a victim of a misunderstood consumerist democracy. However, the alternative that is put forward is not much stronger, especially in view of the difficulty of understanding why it should only be 'from inside' the language of architecture—the realm of disciplinary signification—that the contradictions of the present system can be exposed in an effectively subversive direction. There began to emerge, amid the general mood of semiological inebriation,[36] an explicit desire to mark a distance from the 'Barcelona School' on the part of younger generations, many of whom were drawn to American ways of

32. Lluis Clotet, "En Barcelona: por una arquitectura de la evocación" ["To Barcelona: for An Architecture of Evocation"], CAU (Barcelona), no. 2-3 (1970), 108. This manifesto was read out at a meeting held in La Garriga in 1970, organized by Estudio PER (founded in 1964 by Lluis Clotet, Oscar Tusquets, Pep Bonet and Cristian Cirici), which was attended by a large number of Spanish and Portuguese architects. Centred on reflections that gave priority to questions of 'language', it was the subject of a lucid critique by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán: "The efficacy of this language for destroying the very mechanism of the law of supply and demand has not been revealed, nor does it seem plausible that a social class capable of creating mechanisms to defend it against more powerful languages should be affected by rebellious constructions that say no. Even those 'protest' constructions that permit themselves fewest assimilable displays hardly affect a minority sensitized to the question." Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, "Racionalismo, arquitectura, butifarras y música dispersa" ["Rationalism, Architecture, Butifarras and Dispersed Music"], *Triunfo*, no. 416 (23.5.1970): 16.

33. "I have heard you are working on the subject of behaviourist semiotics. It so happens that I too am very interested in that. […] I am trying to put pressure on Edicions 62 and Ediciones Peninsula to publish something along these lines." Letter from Oriol Bohigas to Tomas Llorens, 27.11.1970 (Bohigas archive).

34. Lecture by Yona Friedman at the COAC headquarters in Barcelona, 13.3.1970: "Experiences in the Application of Objective Methods, Based on Graph Theory."

35. Oriol Bohigas, "Tribuna Abierta. La utopía tecnológica" ["Open Platform. The Technological Utopia"], *Destino* (Barcelona), no. 1, 707 (20.6.1970): 11.

36. The high point of this passion for semiotics was the study seminar held in Castelldefels from the 14th to the 18th of March, 1972; among the non-Spanish participants at the symposium were Juan Pablo Bont, Alan Colquhoun, Froncoise Choay, Peter Eisenman, Charles Jencks, Nuno Portas and Maria Luisa Scalvini. Tomàs Llorens (ed.), *Arquitectura, historia y teoría de los signos* ["Architecture, History and the Theory of Signs"] (Barcelona: La Gaya Ciencia, 1974).

life and the theoretical output of Robert Venturi.[37] Venturi's observations exerted a powerful influence on a contemporary sensibility that threw itself into replacing attitudes that had come to seem old-fashioned or overly dogmatic, compared to which what was coming in from the other side of the ocean seemed to offer the pleasure of a surprising 'discovery' of the underlying nature of everyday life, and none provided by the official culture. The recovery of spontaneous and popular expressions was a response, therefore, to the demand for an architecture that, going beyond hackneyed linguistic formulas, was able to encounter, even with the ambiguity of the sources and the intentional absence of value judgements, greater symbolic and communicative capacity.

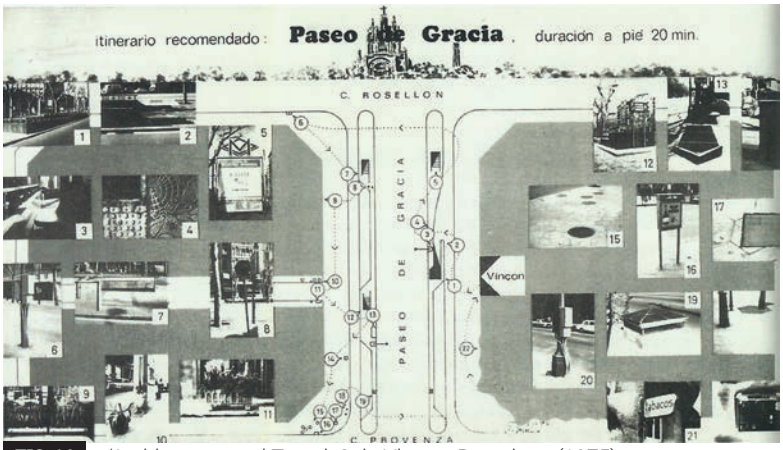


FIG. 14 'Architecture and Tears'. Sala Vinçon, Barcelona (1975).

The work of Estudio PER during these years was increasingly characterized by a tendency to eclecticism and irony, through the standardization of elements close to the figurative language of Pop. At the same time X. Sust, who was actively involved with the Tusquets publishing house, was championing the indispensable need for creative design to accommodate the desires of its users, casting off formal dogmatism and attending instead to the stimuli provided by a world as complex and heterogeneous as that of mass consumerism.[38]

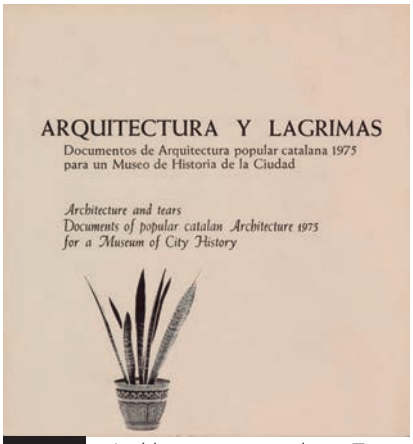


FIG. 15 Architecture and Tears. *Documents of Catalan Popular Architecture 1975 for a City History Museum.*

Venturian premises inspired the analyses developed by the PER team, with their taste for provocation, on the basis of such seemingly trivial construction elements as the terrace (about which G. Herralde even made a short film, the 1973 *Mi terraza*, screened at the XV Milan Triennale); elevated to the status of formal protagonists of the present-day landscape, with the whole range of symbolic implications that serve to identify the social class and the mindset of its users, the terrace embodies all the contradictions and ambiguities of the society that generates it.

A little later, in 1975, the architects of Estudio PER worked with X. Sust and the photographer L. Pomés on the researching and registering architectural details, furniture and objects, presented at an exhibition in the Sala Vinçon and in the catalogue *Architecture and Tears. Documents of Popular Catalan Architecture 1975 for a Museum of City History*. [Figs. 14-15] In part this was a reflection about the undeservedly mistreated 'silly spaces' scorned by a univocal functionalist rhetoric ('we know that orthodox-modern architecture, Boy Scout architecture, cannot bear ambiguity');[39] by contrast, they can introduce a substantial revision of the referential parameters, inhibiting above all any attempt at standardization.

In this context one of the major influences was Pop art, which had obvious

37. Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (Cast. trans. *Complejidad y contradicción en la arquitectura*, Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1972).

38. Xavier Sust, L*as estrellas de la arquitectura* ["The Stars of Architecture"] (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1975), 136. In 1971 the Tusquets Editor collection directed by Sust brought out an anthology of articles by Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi which constituted the first serious presentation of these two American authors to the Spanish public: Denise Scott Brown, Robert Venturi, *Aprendiendo de todas las cosas* [Learning from Everything] (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1971).

39. Oscar Tusquets, "Elogio de los espacios tontos" ["In Praise of Silly Spaces"], *Nuevo Ambiente*, no. 16.

connections with experiences that can fall within the sphere of so-called 'radical architecture',[40] then firmly implanted in specific geographic areas such as England (Archigram, Peter Cook), Italy (Archizoom, Superstudio), the United States (AntFarm), Austria (Coop Himmelblau, Hans Hollein). In fact, Hollein was the subject of a major exhibition which opened in December 1975 at the COAC, though this had a limited impact on the local level, despite the optimistic predictions of his mentor, Alessandro Mendini: "Hollein's visit to Barcelona is shocking, and is sure to leave its mark. […] The revolutionary method, heresy applied to architectural composition: this is one possible lesson from Hans Hollein in Spain."[41] [Fig. 16]

FIG. 16 Hans Hollein exhibition at the COAC (December 1975).

Be that as it may, the seventies mark the high point of a radical groundswell that was to take on different facets both in the systems of representation and in lifestyles; a peculiar juncture, one which reproduced the generational revolt that had shaken the world's major cities, rejecting all dogmatism and calling for maximum individual liberty as an indisputable affirmation of subjectivity. The new youth personality—one of whose literary reference was Susan Sontag's *Against Interpretation* (1966; Castilian translation published 1969)—contained anarchic elements in which 'psychedelic irrationalism, dandyism, camp taste, Pop and neo-Liberty [were] accepted, perhaps as a scandalizing act of libertarian affirmation.'[42]

This world in turmoil was centred on the Rambla, chosen as the preferred scenario for all kinds of performance, or was exhibited in areas in and around the historic centre which certain strata of the population

40. Various authors, *Arquitectura radical* [Radical Architecture], (Valencia: MUVIM, 2001).

41. Alessandro Mendini, "Barcellona chiama Vienna", *Spettacoli & Società* (Milan), no. 3 (21.1.1976).

42. Alexandre Cirici, "La generació dels seixanta" ["The '60s Generation"], *Serra d'Or* (Barcelona) (15.10.1969).

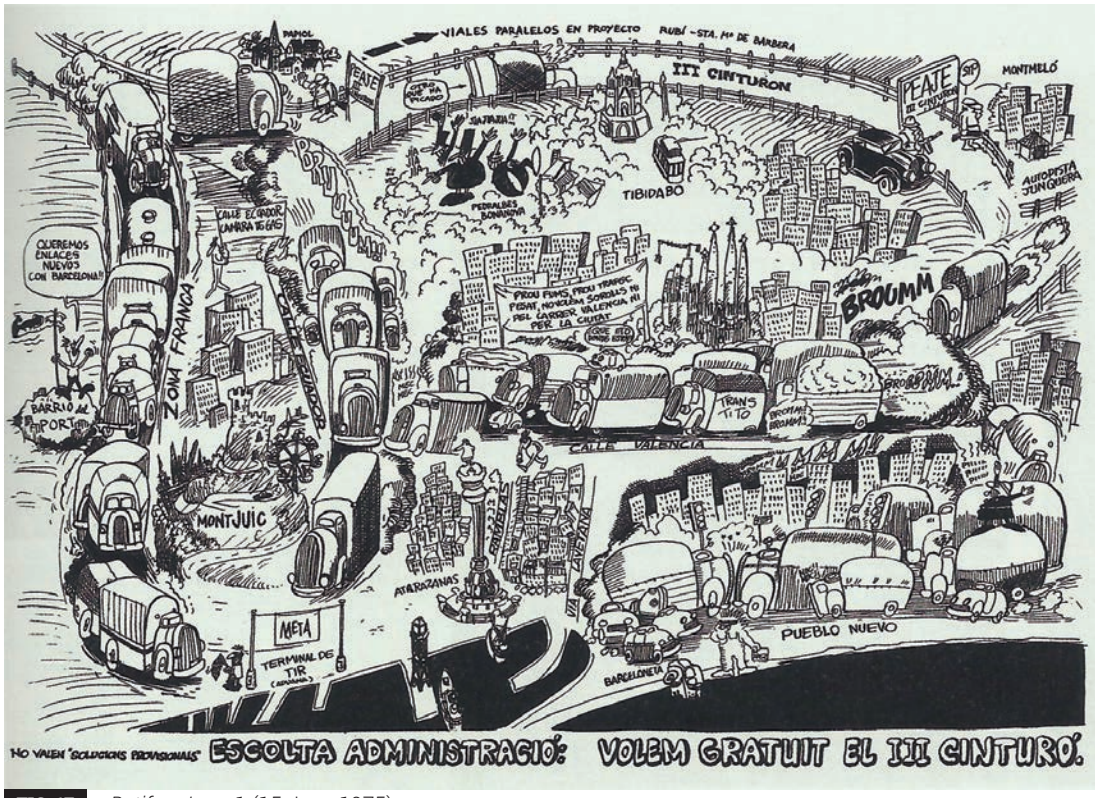


FIG. 17 *Butifarra!*, no. 1 (15 June 1975).

were starting to 'recover':

> The connections between social classes and urban worlds were amazing; everything was moving around the electric Rambla and you never knew a priori where or with whom you might end up. […] Bourgeois distrust and fear of strangers were banished even from the vocabulary. During that summer (1977) when anarchy conquered the streets and Nazario invented Anarcoma, there were few police, little violence and the anti-bourgeois spirit annihilated the conventions of the *progre* ['trendy/permissive/progressive'] generation. The *gauche divine* of the Bocaccio and the political leaders up in the Sant Gervasi district never filled their homes or their private parties with people who sympathized with the streets.[43]

FIG. 18 *Butifarra!*, special issue, (March 1977).

That blend of singular, against-the-tide experiences that constituted the essence of the contemporary Rambla gave rise to such clearly underground initiatives as the magazines *El Rrollo Enmascarado* (October 1973), directly influenced by the American iconoclasts and animated by a heterogeneous collective that included Mariscal, Nazario and J. Farriol;[44] *Star* (July 1974) and *Butifarra* (1975); this last depicted in the most uncompromisingly raw cartoons the problems of the working class and of life in the housing schemes, lending its weight to the anti-speculation protests and demonstrations mounted by neighbourhood associations and demonstrating that comics could carry a strongly ideological charge. Indeed, one of Butifarra's quarterly special-issue albums was entitled *El urbanismo feroz* [Ferocious Urbanism] (1979) [Figs. 17-18-19]; by means of a corrosive humour the publication set out to highlight the inherent contradictions of urban capitalism and its harmful consequences both in

43. Josè Ribas, *Los 70 a destajo. Ajoblanco y libertad* [The '70s Piecework. *Ajoblanco* and Liberty], (Barcelona: RBA, 2007), 480-481.

44. The editor A. Martin subsequently recalled the members of the group: "They all have the same look: necklaces, lots of rings, long manes of more or less fuzzy hair, strange eye-catching clothes, and Nazario beats them all […]; hippie behaviour and a tone of voice somewhere between a singsing buzz and a purr, though most of them are too shy to speak." (www.tebeosfera.com).

FIG. 19 *Butifarra!*, no. 1 (15 June 1975).

the property sector and for other areas of society.

The idea of alternative communities, Situationist dérives and psychogeography, surrealist bumming and circuits of shared hallucination came together in a whole new logic of use of the urban space, in which the common conviction, assimilated and put into practice, was that 'the street is a party'. Among the key protagonists of this revolution in mores were transvestites and the gay collective in general, then highly active in the cause of liberation; to some extent these were all sectors that had traditionally been excluded from full participation in civic life and were now striving to win a long-dreamed-of freedom: "Barcelona's transvestites provided the city with points of visual, moral, historical reference. The transvestites came out onto the streets of this city after the rain of history was over, like snails."[45]

FIG. 20 Comediants: *cercavila* street processions with Odin Theatre. Canet de Mar (14 May 1977).

45. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *Barcelones* [Barcelonas] (Barcelona: Empúries, 1990), 305.

This reappropriation of the open was also supported by the members of the theatre group Els Comediants: the theatre was transformed into a party, and the party was literally out on the streets. Beginning with shows like *Catacroc* (1972-1973), *Moros y cristianos* (1975) or *Plou i fa sol* (1976) [Figs. 20-21], the company opened up a transitive conduct to the public —'participants' more than 'spectators'—and restored a liberating communitarian value to the spaces of the unbuilt city, maintained for decades under the strict surveillance of authoritarian order or, literally, under curfew. By taking on the role of real 'urban guerrillas' Els Comediants—using animation, costumes, urban staging, festive ceremony, fireworks, music and improvisation—carried out a genuine strategy of creative reconquest and democratic reuse of what would subsequently be defined later, in more disciplinary terms, as 'the public space'.

FIG. 21 Comediants: *cercavila* street processions workshops. Esparreguera (8 October 1976).

> Franco's death opened up a period of uncertainty […] Els Comediants, then more than ever, took the streets with their cercavila processions, a morning, afternoon or evening spectacle that would vary with the time and place but whose common denominator was the defence and exaltation of the street as a place for fun, encounters and exchanges.[46]

46. Santiago Fondevila, "Una forma de vida" ["A Way of Life"], in *Comediants 15 años* [Comediants 15 Years] (Madrid: El Público–Centro de Documentación Teatral, 1988), 41.

This practice of recovery links the initiatives of the theatre group to other contemporary manifestations (from the various Canet Rock festivals—starting with Sis *hores de cançó* in 1973—to the 'Libertarian Days' in Park Güell in July 1977) **[Fig. 22]** in which a heterogeneous mass of people united by a markedly anti-conventional spirit experienced, albeit only on such occasions, new forms of *libertarian* life.

It should be borne in mind that there were different ways of going against the Franco regime: by striving at all costs to invent novelty and transgression in opposition to the sickly local climate, or by championing the authentic tradition, that 'true' past that had to be rescued in opposition to folklore or traditionalist ideologies; however, this option seemed to be favoured by the most moderate and integrated sectors of indigenous culture.

It is significant that, when *Ajoblanco* (a magazine highly critical of the so-called *gauche divine*) was launched in 1974, **[Fig. 23]** the editorial in its first issue stating strongly: "Why this new magazine? 1. Because we do not want a culture of imbecilisms. 2. Because we are tired of divinities, priesthoods and culture-industry elites. 3. Because we want to intervene, lead, facilitate and use a creative culture. 4. Because we are still Utopians."[47]

Ajoblanco was to be the champion of the marginal and the alternative, the magazine in which L. Racionero, steeped in Californian underground culture, would write about ecology and urbanism, fighting for a more human architecture based on the values of a utopian socialism, capable of balancing 'individual peculiarity and cooperative association'. Racionero was an out-and-out defender of a humanist urbanism that rested primarily on decentralization at all levels and, abjuring the profile of the current identity of design activity, inspired a voluminous dossier under the provocative slogan 'Against Architecture': "We are only trying to open a window to ventilate architecture. […] We want an architecture of participation. […] We *are* not architects, but we *are* citizens. And some day we will live in a new house and a new city. And if not, in time. We are young."[48]

Meanwhile, the proliferation of activities such as happenings, environments, kinetics-based interventions, installations and actions of all kinds, with a high degree of conceptualism that relegated the corresponding formalization to the background and prioritized in its place the processes of implementation, characterized a series of artistic initiatives in which hybrid contributions merged—experiments with a propensity to destructure traditional identities, adapting to an itinerary of breaching the canonical boundaries between disciplines and essentially directed to eradicating the boundaries between art and life.

All of this is discernible in the initiatives sponsored by the Board of the

FIG. 22 International Libertarian Conference (1977).

47. Editorial, "¿Por qué esta nueva revista?" ['Why This New Magazine?'] *Ajoblanco* (Barcelona), no. 1 (1974).

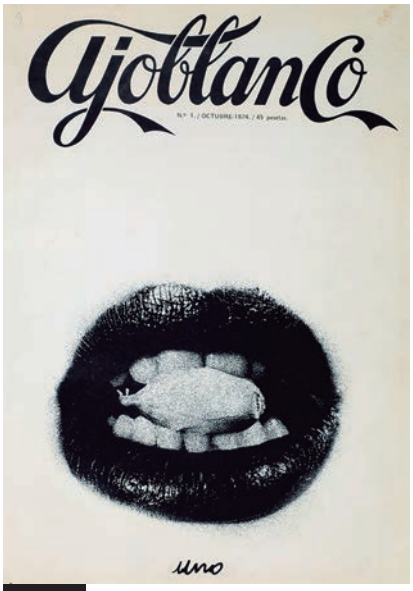
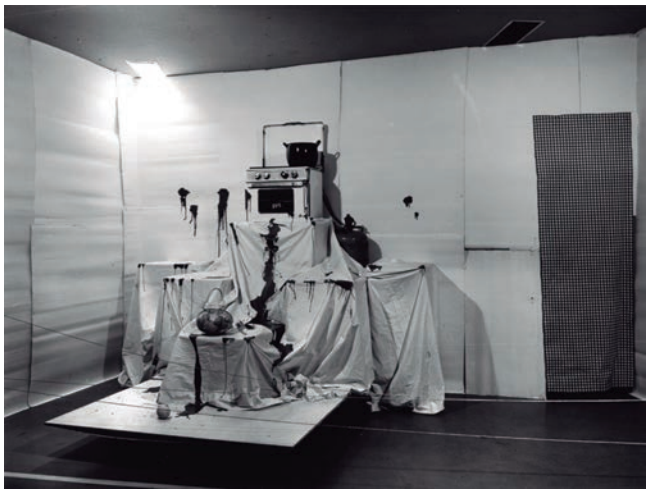


FIG. 23 *Ajoblanco*, no. 1 (1974).

48. Ajoblanco Collective, "Dossier contra la arquitectura" ['Dossier against Architecture'], *Ajoblanco*, no. 27 (1977).



COAC in Barcelona during these years, under the auspices of an advisory committee made up of C. Rodríguez Aguilera, J. Corredor-Matheos and A. Cirici. In April 1972 the COAC put on the exhibition *Impulsos: arte y computador. Grafismos–Plástica–Música–Cine*, with the participation of Max Bense, Joan Margarit and Christopher Alexander, the aim of which was to explore how developments in the new information technologies might end up modifying the genesis of the artistic product. Then in June and July it presented *Piso soleado, tres dormitorios y gran comedor-living. Constructores: Arranz-Bravo Bartolozzi* [Fig. 24], a provocative reading of the decorative stereotypes of a bourgeois apartment—complete with *progre* icons—reproduced in surreal fashion, grotesque, off-scale, even gruesome in its configuration.[49] In March-April 1973 it was the turn of TRA 73 [Fig. 25], an exhibition devoted to the work of a handful of young avant-garde Catalan artists who more or less belonged in the field of conceptual art (F. Abad, J. Benedito, S. Gubern, A. Jové, A. Llena, R. Llimós, A. Muntadas…); this show made extensive use of new media—basically photographs and video—in keeping with a shared perception of the dematerialization of the conventional product.

FIG. 24 The exhibition 'Sunny Flat, Three Bedrooms and Large Living/ Dining Room'. Arranz-Bravo + Bartolozzi. COAC (1972).

These initiatives ran parallel to those of the Sala Vinçon exhibition space, which, at its opening, outlined its programme as follows: "Content: Presentation of the empty room, painted white, with the necessary infrastructure for an exhibition space (light bulbs, rails for spotlights…). The various artists that will be presented in this room will have total freedom to manipulate its appearance and create the setting that is best suited to their specific needs."[50]

The room did indeed host a series of experiences centred on the possible modifications of the concrete environment and the variable interrelationships established between objects, people, sounds, movements, light, colour and space: L. Utrilla, *Lectura tàctil d'un espai* [Figs. 26-27]; Bigas Luna, *Mobles amb grup de teatre i polaroids* [Fig. 28]; J. Navarro Baldeweg, *La habitación vacante. Luz y metals* [Fig. 29]; A. Mendini,

49. Josep Maria de Sagarra commented as follows: "One must summon up one's courage and go to see the exhibition, the flat of these smart alecks; it cannot be helped: intelligence dwells there. It is a "negative", "destructive" intelligence; it is the intelligence of the authentic child that patiently, methodically shows us the flat, his flat. […] Here are the intestines of the flat openly decomposing, spilling out, first in a trickle, then in a cataract, onto the floor, walls, leaving everything 'a bloody mess'. A decomposing flat that reeks, with blood stains, dried blood, everywhere." Josep de Sagarra, "Benvinguts" ["Welcome"], *Tele/eXprés* (21.6.1972).

50. Presentation leaflet, 23.3.1973, Sala Vinçon archive.

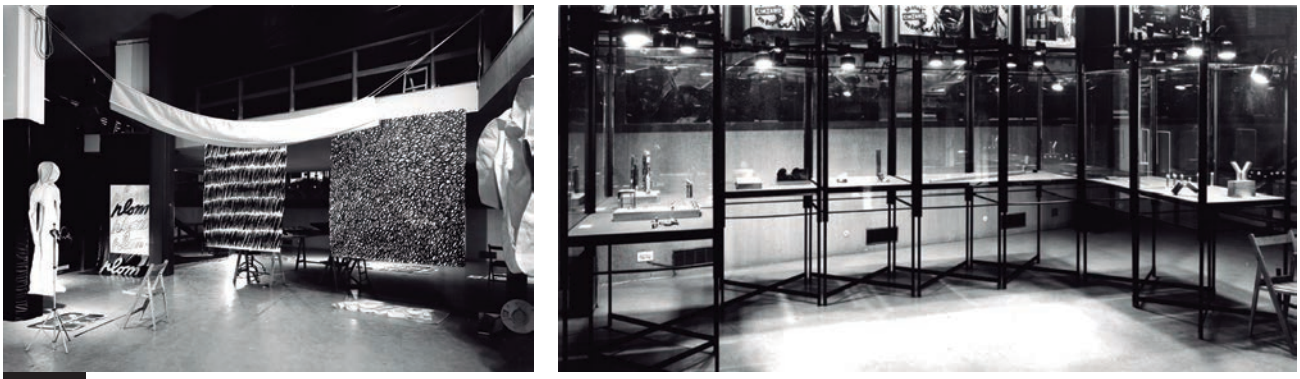


FIG. 25 'TRA 73 group'. COAC (1973).

Mobili impossibili. All of these exhibitions took place between 1973 and 1976.

On the other hand, to return to a more specifically architectural sphere, while J. Muntañola tried to forge a path between fidelity to his Mumfordian historical background and sociological experiments,[51] H. Piñón was opening up new territories of theoretical investigation, which provided the foundation for and led to the rapid consolidation of *Arquitecturas Bis* as one of the privileged platforms for discussion.[52] The magazine did not aim to defend a programmatic line or a disciplinary dogmatism, but sought instead to voice the demand for knowledge that was open to dialogue with the complex cultural conditions of the context—a premise that led Ignasi de Solà-Morales to talk of an 'architecture of art and experiment'.[53]

After Franco's death in 1975, the holding of the first municipal elections (1979) and the PSOE victory in the parliamentary elections (1982) sparked an historic moment of profound change in the cultural and social life of Spain. The objective democratization of mechanisms of politics and government resulted in the coming to power of people who had until then been committed opponents of the former regime (Bohigas, for example, served as Barcelona's Councillor for Urbanism between 1980 and 1984, and as Councillor for Culture between 1991 and 1994). "With the installing of the Socialists in municipal power, many of the intellectuals and professional people who had been critical of the previous period could stop 'thinking' the city and start 'making' it, enter into the temple of real management, and the collision between reality and desire forced a pragmatic synthesis.[54]

To put it another way, this was an historic new phase in which intellectual activity at all levels ceased to rely on the nutritional substrate formerly represented by civil *society*—with all its nuances, but always within a common dimension that consisted in being *against* the various manifestations of totalitarianism—to become, if not directly in a practice of *State*, a thought that was grounded in (and represented) the institutions, converting the intellectual from critical to organic and tending inevitably to an interpretation of society in terms of official sanction.

51. At this time Josep Muntañola gave two lectures at the COAC in Barcelona (8 and 9.11.1972): these were entitled "The Architecture of the Counterculture" and "Architecture as a Place to Live".

52. Helio Piñón, "Actitudes teóricas en la reciente arquitectura de Barcelona" ["Theoretical Attitudes in Recent Barcelona architecture"] *Arquitecturas Bis* (Barcelona), no. 13-14 (1976).

53. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "Arquitectura de la razón. Arquitectura del sentido" ["Architecture of Reason. Architecture of Sense"], *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, no. 117/120-2 (1976).

54. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *Barcelona*, 327.

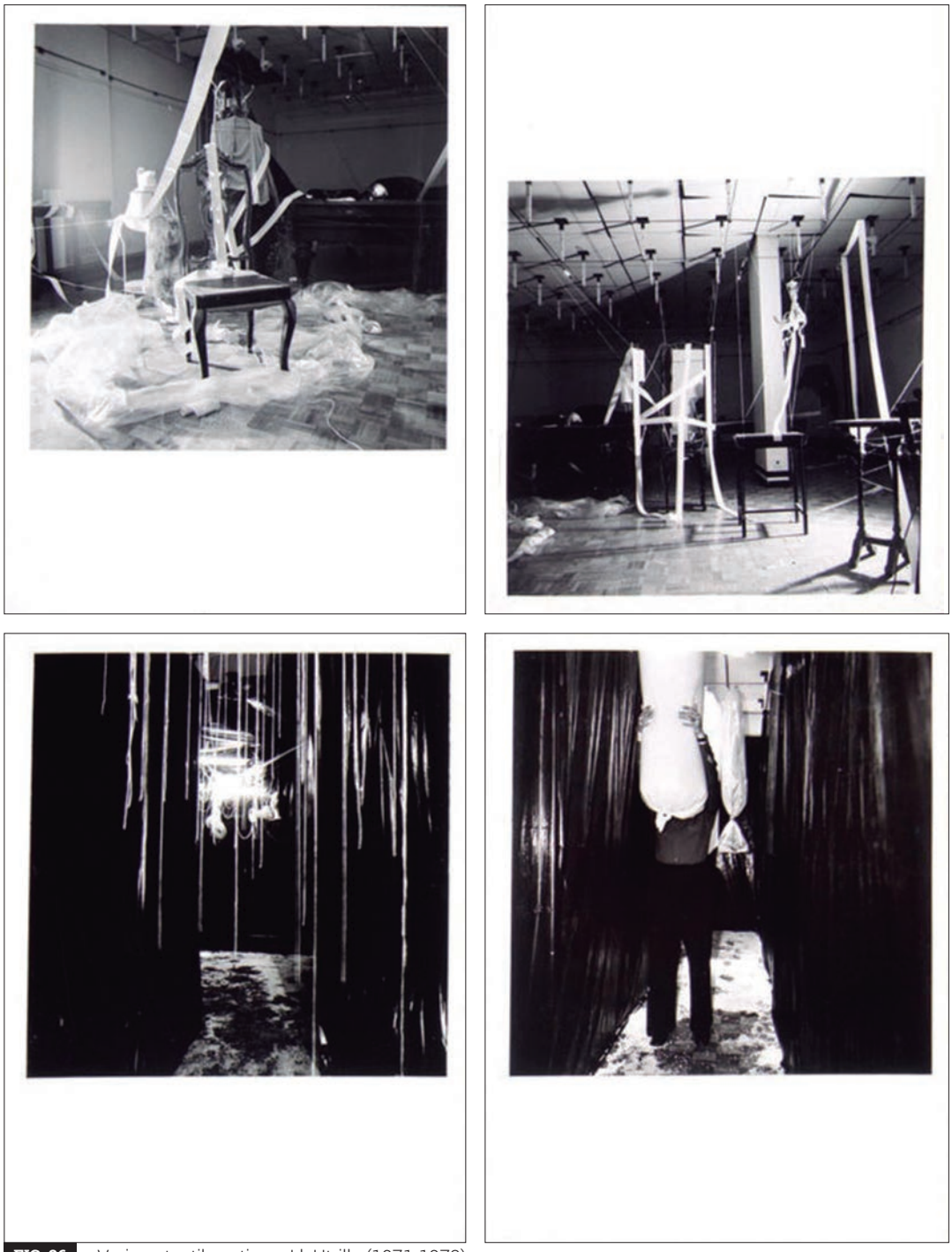


FIG. 26 Various tactile actions. Ll. Utrilla (1971-1973).

This was the triumphal entry of democratic Spain into the aura of *modernity*, under the aegis of a pragmatic rationalism that conceived of a 'designable' social-democratic city that was gradually but irreversibly to end up meshing perfectly with the cogs of liberal capitalism in the omnivorous system of globalization.

The 'imagined' city, with all its proactive idealistic charge, was cannibalized by the realistically 'transformed' city; the baggage of social criticism—and, at times, of extremist protest—was lightened by the mechanisms of the Administration; 'creative' marginality was metabolized into museum aesthetics or art paper poetics.

FIG. 27 Tactile action. Ll. Utrilla, Escola Eina (1972).

In Barcelona it all began with the consecration of the one-off intervention, the prioritizing of the individual architectural project over the general plan. These were the days of the civic reappropriation of many public spaces (what had previously been *conquered* was now *designed*); in most cases these were unused spaces—squares, streets, gardens, parks, gap sites, etc—which were given a collective use according to a strategy that called for 'a return to a city formalized on the basis of the public space, conceived as the result of the architecture.'[55]

55. Bohigas's theoretical summary of this policy is of great benefit in identifying its programmatic points: Oriol Bohigas, *Reconstrucció de Barcelona* [Reconstruction of Barcelona] (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1985).

And then came the crucial year of 1986, when Barcelona was appointed to host the 1992 Olympic Games; that same year Spain concluded the process of becoming a member of the European Union, with the consequent availability of funding from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for large-scale infrastructural and urban projects, generating

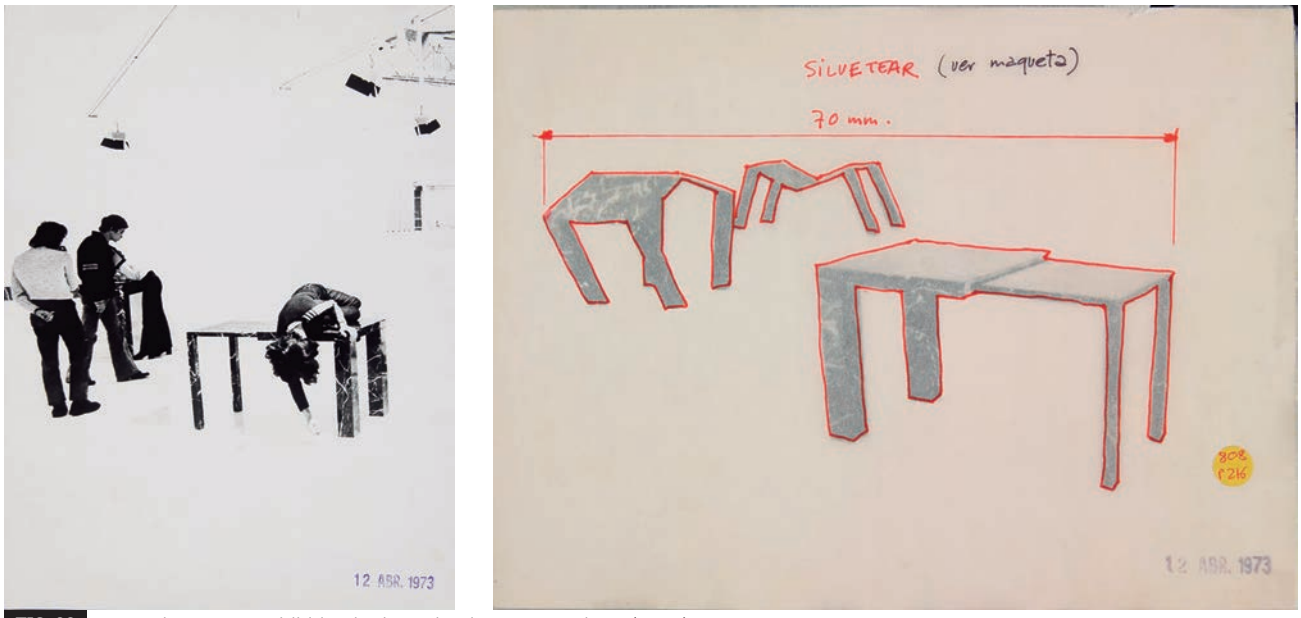


FIG. 28 J.J. Bigas Luna exhibition in the Sala Vinçon, Barcelona (1973).

FIG. 29 'The Vacant Room. Light and Metals'. J. Navarro Baldeweg exhibition in the Sala Vinçon, Barcelona (1976).

far-reaching developments that modified the existential metropolitan environment: a process that still goes on today with other resources and referents, in most cases determined by the operational predominance of private capital.

A gradual shift began toward a new logic of actuation in the urban reality, with the definition of a completely different overall system of transformations; and very different, too, the field of ideal experiences that we might define as 'thinking of possibilities', whose object would be to draw profiles and destinies for the future city…:

> Despite the prospect of the Olympic Games, the city had fallen into a kind of uncomfortable sadness. The conversations flagged, the meetings were boring. […] The present was polluting the past: when people looked back they reinterpreted their actions in a cold and critical light and the idealism of previous years now seemed like something stupid, if not hypocritical. […] The intellectuals kept their mouths shut for fear of reprisals, or from ambition, selling their silence and even their complicity in return for money or a short-lived provincial fame.[56]

56. Eduardo Mendoza, *Mauricio o las elecciones primarias* [Mauritius or Primary Elections] (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 2006), 229.

Itinerari di riflessione: polemiche controculturali e processi di normalizzazione

ABSTRACT

Nel corso degli anni 60, sul fronte delle cosiddette avanguardie architettoniche, sembra giungere a massima effervescenza un coacervo di esperienze che intendono superare le rigide barriere delle legittimità disciplinari, forzando oltremisura scale dimensionali, convenzioni tettoniche, sistemi strutturali tradizionali, linguaggi stereotipati.

In realtà, tale ramificata e contestataria attitudine, sottesa a molte iniziative europee e del resto del mondo, lambirá molto marginalmente l'universo professionale spagnolo (e ancor meno quello catalano), costituendo tale "assenza" uno dei risvolti peculiari della riflessione architettonica di questo paese. A Barcellona, nello stesso momento in cui si ipotizzava la nascita di «Una possibile 'Escuela de Barcelona'», lo studio di R. Bofill (Taller de Arquitectura) presentava il suo diagramma ideale de *La ciudad en el Espacio* (1968).

Esperienze che pretendono essere modelli superiori di prefigurazione di una "nuova" vita in una "nuova" città. Sono momenti di grande apertura problematica: la prospettiva di un imprescindibile rivolgimento delle forme di vita nella sua totalità esige una ridefinizione degli obiettivi disciplinari; e una produttiva "fusione delle arti" sembra indicare i nuovi percorsi del rinnovamento.

Nel corso degli anni 60, sul fronte delle cosiddette avanguardie architettoniche, sembra giungere a massima effervescenza un coacervo di esperienze che intendono superare le rigide barriere delle legittimità disciplinari, forzando oltremisura scale dimensionali, convenzioni tettoniche, sistemi strutturali tradizionali, linguaggi stereotipati.

Nell'ottica di superare in positivo la crisi dell'architettura moderna, la cosiddetta «internazionale dell'utopia»[1] apriva nuovi orizzonti alla professione, perseguendo non solo un rinnovamento degli strumenti attuativi, ma anche una essenziale contaminazione delle formule espressive. In realtà, tale ramificata e contestataria attitudine, sottesa a molte iniziative europee e del resto del mondo, lambirá molto marginalmente l'universo professionale spagnolo (e ancor meno quello catalano), costituendo tale "assenza" -come vedremo- uno dei risvolti peculiari della riflessione architettonica di questo paese.

E sicuramente uno dei filoni più prolifici fu quello focalizzato ad esaltare le virtú redentrici di un futurista universo tecnologico, come si può ravvisare nelle prefigurazioni immaginifiche di Yona Friedman, relative a un' "architettura spaziale" mobile ed in costante metamorfosi, negli studi su strutture metalliche di Konrad Wachsmann, nella dissacrante iconografia Pop degli Archigram, nelle cupole di varia natura ideate da Bukminster Fuller o nelle megastrutture a carico di Kenzo Tange e del gruppo giapponese Metabolism. D'altro canto, in questi anni si consolida il significato fisico e concettuale di quanto nel linguaggio dell'epoca si individuava come "megastruttura":

1. Il riferimento é al commento, nettamente caustico, che su tale fenomeno espressero M.Tafuri e F. Dal Co, nel loro *Architettura Contemporanea II*, Milano, Electa, 1979, pp. 347-354; a parte l'uso di giudizi perentori -tipo "l'accademia dell'utopia"-, si delinea invece un trattamento eccessivamente sbrigativo del tema.

> " [...] non solo è una struttura di grande dimensione, ma [...] anche una struttura che di frequente: 1. è costruita con unità modulari; 2. è capace di accrescersi in modo "illimitato"; 3. è uno scheletro strutturale su cui si possono costruire, innestare, sostenere, dopo essere state prefabbricate in un altro luogo, unità strutturali minori; 4. è un'impalcatura strutturale la cui vita utile è presumibilmente molto più lunga di quella che i componenti minori possono sopportare".[2]

In effetti, la scadenza espositiva del 1967 a Montreal, intitolata "La terra agli uomini", costituì una vera e propria esibizione di "megastrutture" (dalle tensostrutture di Frei Otto alle coperture geodetiche di Fuller), e trovò naturale seguito e in qualche maniera conclusione in quella realizzata ad Osaka nel 1970, "Armonia e Progresso per l'Umanità".

Alla Biennale di Parigi del 1967 alcuni architetti francesi (J. Aubert, J.-P. Jungmann e A. Stinco), membri dell'Utopie Group, presenteranno strutture gonfiabili e tecnologie del *blow-up*, adattabili al luogo, leggere, trasportabili, e finanche galleggianti (in acqua come in aria), in un'esaltazione delle virtualità innovatrici della "pneumaticità".

Insistenza su tecniche combinatorie che libererebbero lo spirito catartico del *gioco* (l'attualità dell'*Homo ludens*, tratteggiato nel 1938 da Huizinga, é per esempio rappreso dalle fantasmagorie del Fun Palace di Cedric Price, 1960-61), mentre esaltano restituzioni spettacolari che ambiscono soprattutto a sedurre per sorpresa visitatori e utenti; sicuramente la Expo di Montreal fu una valida testimonianza e celebrazione di siffatti approcci, sia per l'utilizzo degli avveniristici coronamenti dei padiglioni fieristici quanto per l'"Habitat 67" di Moshe Safdie, concepito come un insieme assemblato di cellule residenziali prefabbricate dalla struttura arborescente.[3]

A Barcellona, nello stesso momento in cui si ipotizzava la nascita di «Una possibile 'Escuela de Barcelona'»,[4] lo studio di R. Bofill presentava il suo diagramma ideale de *La ciudad en el Espacio*[5] [Fig. 1]. Se, quindi, da parte di alcuni settori si tendeva a rafforzare l'ipotesi di una "Escuela" vagamente omogenea, in cui pareva dovessero necessariamente ritrovarsi gli architetti che rappresentavano un effettivo progresso nella disciplina, il "Taller de Arquitectura",[6] invece, si concentrerà in questo periodo sull'elaborazione di una teoria progettuale incentrata sull'individuazione di una cellula-tipo industrializzata, in grado di sviluppare illimitati sistemi aggregativi a partire dalla costruzione e decostruzione di unità cubiche, arrivando a conformare a scale microurbane una iconografia liberatoria da ziggurat.

Nella costruzione dello spazio, l'applicazione di tali principi, retti dalla dialettica fra ordine e disordine, in cui l'esistenza di un'armatura programmata razionalmente non intendeva comunque essere di impedimento all'adattabilità di tale scheletro compositivo alle variabili

2. R. Wilcoxon, *Megastructure Bibliography* (1968) citato in: R. Banham, *Megastructuras. Futuro urbano del pasado reciente*, Barcelona, G. Gili, 2001(1978), pp. 8-9.

3. Un ampio reportage sull'evento fieristico e le sue architetture lo troviamo sul numero 109 (1968) della rivista "Arquitectura" di Madrid.

4. O. Bohigas, *Una posible "Escuela de Barcelona"*, in "Arquitectura", 1968, No. 118, pp. 24-30. Per chiarimenti sulle discussioni disciplinari del periodo, si rimanda a: A. Pizza, *Ideas de arquitectura en una cultura de oposición*, in A. Pizza, J. M. Rovira (a cura di), *Desde Barcelona. Arquitecturas y Ciudad. 1958-1975*, Barcelona, Collegi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, 2002.

5. R. Bofill, Taller de Arquitectura, *Hacia una formalización de la ciudad en el espacio*, Barcelona, Editorial Blume, 1968.

6. Nel 1964, l'occasione offerta dalla progettazione del quartiere Gaudi aveva permesso l'incorporazione nello studio Bofill di persone dalla diversa estrazione, cominciando a configurare quello che sará il fondamentale carattere interdisciplinare dell'equipe. Nel 1976 il "Taller" era cosí composto: R. Bofill, architetto; A. Bofill, architetto; M. Nuñez Yanowsky, architetto; P. Hodgkinson, architetto; J.A.Goytisolo, poeta e scrittore; S. Clotas, saggista e critico letterario; R. Collado, architetto; S. Vergano, attrice; J. Romea, economista. Dati tratti da: AA.VV., *Document de travail sur le 'Taller de Arquitectura'*, Voyage Architecture et Construction du 9 au 11 mai 1976; dattiloscritto (archivio Bofill)

circostanze progettuali, avrebbe dovuto consentire la traduzione veridica dell'empito utopico nella realtà vissuta; una città immaginata come creazione collettiva, a partire comunque da istanze individuali soddisfatte, e che si adatta a una logica di sviluppo organica, quasi biologica, in continua evoluzione ed adattamento, divenendo l'abitazione un elemento di riscatto pieno, nerbo pregnante di una nuova società:

> Si tratta di proporre una nuovo modo di vita, tanto per quanto riguarda lo spazio interno della cellula abitativa, quanto della loro stessa concezione urbanistica. È un complesso in cui entrano concetti economici, giuridici, politici, sociologici e, magari, architettonici, ecc. Forse è una città destinata a che le relazioni vadano dall'individuo alla collettività, direttamente, senza passare per strati o livelli intermedi. Relazioni in cui l'individuo può sviluppare la sua personalità.[7]

7. J.M. Soria, *La "otra" arquitectura. Ricardo Bofill busca terrenos para experimentar su ciudad en el espacio*, in "Tele/eXpres", 24 de marzo de 1970. Significativamente, pochi anni dopo questo saggio nel terreno dell'*alternativa*, Bofill sostiene: «Non esiste un'architettura fuori dal sistema. Attraverso l'architettura, sono proponibili le anticipazioni del sistema. […] un'architettura fuori dal sistema può essere solo l'architettura del disegno e del testo scritto» *Conversaciones informales con Ricardo Bofill*, in "Ajoblanco", No. 30, 1978.

La mai sopita tensione inventiva, esercitata dal Taller anche nella vita quotidiana comunitaria, la sua polemica alterità basata sui diritti inalienabili di un individuo *liberato*, la riaffermata interdisciplinarità dell'atto progettuale, risaltano una concezione della creazione architettonica che pretende andare oltre l'*avanguardismo borghese* dei moderati conterranei. Le esperienze contemporanee del Taller, e in primo luogo *La ciudad en el espacio* [Figg. 2, 3], pretendono essere, quindi, modelli superiori di prefigurazione di una "nuova" vita in una "nuova" architettura i cui elementi caratterizzanti sono rintracciabili nella massima articolazione del sistema interno pedonale a piano terra -che lascia la circolazione automobilistica alla periferia dell'insediamento-, la grande quantità di spazi aerei destinati ad usi collettivi, l'accesso individualizzato dall'esterno agli appartamenti, la varietà di scorci generati dai diversi tipi di aggruppamenti residenziali, la concezione dell'insieme a partire da un volume cubico che si sviluppa spazialmente in maniera ramificata e non per la sovrapposizione stereotipata di piani.

Sono momenti di grande apertura problematica: la prospettiva di un imprescindibile rivolgimento delle forme di vita nella sua totalità esige una ridefinizione degli obiettivi disciplinari; e la produttiva "fusione delle arti" sembra indicare i nuovi percorsi del rinnovamento, per non voler dire esageratamente della rivoluzione. Non a caso la sede del Colegio de Arquitectos si trasforma in luogo di importanti scadenze espositive: nell'Aprile del 1968 si tiene la mostra MENTE 1 (I Muestra Española de Nuevas Tendencias Estéticas), con opere, fra gli architetti, di Bofill, A. Fernández Alba, R. de Leoz, O. Bohigas, J. M. Martorell [Fig. 4]. D. Giralt Miracle dichiara nella presentazione:

> Le più importanti ricerche sull'estetica contemporanea discutono su come creare un arte alla scala della società globale e non del singolo individuo, all'interno dei percorsi dell'arte costruttivo, visuale, cinetico (…) Si crea così una nozione di spazio come

> parte integrante dell'opera, in cui i volumi delle masse e gli spazi stabiliscono la poetica degli "spazi trasformabili" che coinvolge tutte le arti.[8]

Le ricerche plastiche presenti (Claret, Duarte, Segarra, Sempere, Sobrino, Torner,...) si muovono in un contesto marcatamente spazio-temporale, introducendo la durata nella ideazione artistica, verso una definizione cinetica che intende superare il puritanesimo geometrico. Sia le arti visive che l'architettura privilegiano, in questo caso, la struttura modulare «per avvalerci delle variazioni e della serialità e poter così risolvere il dibattuto problema delle relazioni tra arte e realtà.»

Nell'oscurantista clima franchista gruppi di opinione, vincolati alle professioni cosiddette liberali, cominciano a muoversi, ad incontrarsi, a elaborare pensieri e comportamenti alternativi, ad organizzarsi; nel 1967 si apre la discoteca Bocaccio[9] e i suoi frequentatori abituali verranno marchiati con il distintivo di *gauche divine*. A quanto pare tutto nacque da un intervento giornalistico di J. de Sagarra – in una delle sue *rumbes* che si pubblicavano su "Tele/eXpres" –, che utilizzò il termine per distinguere un gruppo di rappresentanti della cultura autoctona, in netta opposizione alle convenzioni del regime e che tentavano di praticare, nei limiti del possibile, momenti di libertà e trasgressione. In realtà, l'assenza di un vero e proprio collante, di un'effettiva coerenza ideologica, impedirà il decantarsi di una critica radicale e operativa dell'esistente:

> Per quanti ci addossarono il nomignolo di "sinistra divina" non eravamo più che dei giovani professionisti imbevuti del dogmatismo dell'antidogmatismo e dello schematismo dell'antischematismo. Solo ci univa l'evidenza che si vive una volta sola, e che bisogna imparare ad amare e vivere.[10]

Malgrado, ovviamente, l'empito radicalmente contestatario del movimento del 68 non possa essere affatto percepito in un paese sottomesso al giogo dittattoriale, tuttavia la temperie storica sembra richiedere con urgenza prese di posizione, schieramenti netti e discriminanti; e con virulenza uno degli esponenti della *gauche divine* (O. Bohigas) stroncherà il conservatorismo di A. de Moragas, restio ad accettare alcuni comportamenti di giovani architetti locali, accusati di "frivolezza":

> Nonostante le lamentele di Moragas, bisogna cercare la giovane architettura più viva di Catalogna tra gli intelligenti propensi alle droghe e alla venerabile tradizione dell'amore libero, e non tra retrogradi e speculatori immobiliari che ancora perseguono, ingannandosi, la stretta via della nostra infruttuosa rivoluzione borghese.[11]

D'altro canto, va acquistando rilievo nelle discussioni o studi in corso il tentativo di interpretare il ruolo dell'architettura nella contemporanea

8. D. Giralt Miracle, folleto de presentación MENTE 1, 1968, Archivo Vocalía de Cultura, COAC. Un'altra significativa esposizione, presentata nel COAC a maggio del 1968 si intitolerà: "Integración de las artes".

9. «In quel piano terra succedevano cose che sembravano estemporanee. Su quei divani di velluto in falso stile modernista prendeva corpo l'idea della "serrata" nel convento di Montserrat e della fondazione della rivista "Aquitecturas bis"; durante una notte di bevute con Rosa Regàs e Enric Satué, si discutevano i programmi dei "Pequeños Congresos de Arquitectura" e si organizzava la raccolta delle firme e le successive lettere di protesta o i supporti mediatici ed economici ai politici perseguitati.» O. Bohigas, *Dit o Fet. Dietari de records II*, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1992, pp. 291-292.

10. M. Vázquez Montalban, *La izquierda que nunca existió*, in "Tele/eXpres", 25-5-1974, p. 13.

11. O. Bohigas, *L'amor lliure i la 'dreta de Mataró'*, in "La Mosca", 1968, No. 1.

società di consumo in rapida espansione; si avverte la preoccupazione per una progettualità in grado di rispondere adeguatamente alle sfide della tecnologia, mantenendosi viva l'attenzione per le ricerche sul linguaggio e sulle capacità comunicative della forma costruita. Sarà così frequente, in questo contesto, la presenza a Barcellona di figure internazionali di gran richiamo, come P. Eisenman, alcuni membri del gruppo inglese degli Archigram, Ch. Alexander o U. Eco.[12]

Nel 1968 uscirà, inoltre, la prima sintesi storiografica della produzione architettonica dell'attualità, realizzata da Barcellona: Ll. Domènech, *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*. Nel prologo, stilato da O. Bohigas, all'inevitabile assunzione di trovarsi immersi in una condizione nazionale di sottosviluppo, si affianca l'auspicabile riscatto attuabile solo da una posizione di "*vanguardia comprometida*", significata da atteggiamenti esplicitamente contestatari nei confronti dello *status quo*. E nell'intervento dell'unico invitato straniero, V. Gregotti, si ribadisce una condizione peculiare dell'architettura di questo paese nettamente improntata a una condotta realista:

> Nel complesso la cultura architettonica spagnola dimostra scarso impulso verso l'utopia, verso lo studio non realizzabile, verso l'esercitazione teorica. Non succede come in altre nazioni dove il maggior interesse si trova soprattutto nei progetti.[13]

E forse potrebbe essere proprio l'arte, in senso lato, ad offrire nuovi orientamenti d'integrazione in una realtà da trasformare; una attitudine in grado di interagire con il contesto e attivare meccanismi rivoluzionari, con migliori potenzialità in relazione ad altri strumenti operativi:

> [...] l'arte impegnata non cerca di spiccare, o l'esclusività, ma piuttosto preferisce dare valore e adattarsi al contesto e, in questo caso, scomparire in esso.[14]

E la città sarà il predestinato campo d'azione di questa nuova estetica politica, con propositi di rigenerazione progressista:

> Bisogna "inventare", dunque, non per creare nuovi mondi ma per recuperare la città e consegnarla ai suoi abitanti (...) Recuperare la città: il compito dell'arte ritrova, una volta di più, la sua funzione "pubblica", impegnata in un lavoro, non *solo* estetico ma *anche* estetico, di dare 'forma alla vita pubblica'.[15]

Nuove manifestazioni di un "fare" che travalica confini, compartimenti stagni e ricerca nuovi orizzonti di significato; ad Aprile del 1969 si inaugura nella sede dell'Ordine degli Architetti l'esposizione *Mirò, otro* (e bisogna sottolineare come, nella terminologia del momento, si insiste su queste declinazioni dell'*alterità*), allestita dallo studio PER (Bonet, Cirici, Clotet, Tusquets). [Fig. 5] Un allestimento anticonvenzionale nella disposizione interna, mentre sulle facciate vetrate dell'edificio campeggerà il grande murale, dipinto in

12. Di Eco si pubblica in spagnolo nel 1968 *Apocalípticos e integrados en la cultura de masas* (Ed.Lumen), prontamente recensito da Ll. Clotet: Ll. Clotet, *Aeropuerto al 'kitsch'. Apocalipticos e integrados en la cultura de masas*, in "La Mosca", 1968, No. 3. Vedasi, inoltre: C. Alexander, *Ensayo sobre la síntesi de la forma*, Buenos Aires, Ed.Infinito, 1969; id., *3 Aspectos de Matematica y Diseño*, Barcelona, Tusquets ed., 1969; id., *La estructura del medio ambiente*, Barcelona, Tusquets ed., 1971.

13. V.Gregotti, *España arquitecónica 1968* in Ll. Domènech, *Arquitectura Española Contemporánea*, Barcelona, Ed.Blume, 1968, p. 25. Una sorta di repulsione verso cedimenti *utopici* alquanto diffusa, laddove l'empito idealizzante é confuso direttamente con l'evasione dai problemi reali: «Tutte queste utopie che nel nostro tempo proliferano in ogni dove, ci risultano totalmente infantili ma anche pericolose, frutto di una sterilità ideologica che sfocia nel reazionario.» Red., *Utopía y evasión*, in "Tele/eXpres", 11-4-1972.

14. X. Rubert de Ventós, *Teoría de la sensibilitat II. Els fonaments d'una nova estética*, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1969, p. 225.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

due fasi –prima dagli architetti e poi concluso dal "direttore d'orchestra" (lo stesso J. Mirò) –, e distrutto dall'autore una volta conclusasi la mostra:

> Con ciò si stabilì la massima tensione tra il carattere rivoluzionario della mostra e la stessa opera mironiana. Il "Colegio de los Arquitectos" considera il giorno odierno come un giorno storico.[16]

16. Discorso di Ll. Doménech, Director de la Sección de Exposiciones del Colegio de Arquitectos, 30 de Abril de 1969, Archivo de la Vocalía de Cultura, COAC, Barcelona.

L'obiettivo sarà quello di rappresentare l'itinerario d'avanguardia dell'artista che si vuole riflesso anche nell'attualità, enfatizzando una sua partecipazione provocatoria e coinvolgente all'atto; la divisione in settori del percorso espositivo fa leva su espedienti ambientali che connotano le diverse epoche artistiche e storiche (nella parte coeva alla guerra civile, per esempio, spazi chiusi, semioscuri, aggressività formale dei telai lignei, distorsioni speculari delle immagini, musiche e proiezioni assillanti), prospettando un trattamento dello spazio che induce a una comunicazione diretta dei contenuti.[17]

17. «Nell'esposizione l'allestimento, oltre a risolvere i proplemi a livello *esplicativo* e *ambientale*, li offre a livello *narrativo*.» R.M. Puig, *Exposición, otra*, in "Cuadernos de Arquitectura", No. 72, 1969.

In una città in cui, d'altra parte, crescono i movimenti oppositivi alle volontà speculative del capitale privato e dell'amministrazione, all'inizio del decennio del 70 si sviluppa una forte sensibilizzazione pubblica contraria all'esecuzione del Plan Parcial de la Ribera, reso pubblico nel 1965 e approvato nel 1968 ("Avance de Plan de la Ribera"), promosso dall'impresa Ribera S. A., che prevedeva la colonizzazione edilizia — mistificandolo sotto il lemma "Abrimos Barcelona al mar"— di tutta la frangia litoranea verso il Besós, con la costruzione di torri abitative alte 24 piani e una densità di 600 persone per ettaro.

Nel febbraio del 1971 il Comune approva ed espone al pubblico il progetto, battezzandolo con il nome burocratico di "Proyecto de modificación del Plan Comarcal de orientación urbana de Barcelona afectante al sector marítimo oriental"; cambia i vincoli esistenti (zona industriale e ferroviaria) destinando l'area a settore residenziale intensivo, lasciando sostanzialmente inalterate nella pratica le premesse speculative e provocando di conseguenza una fortissima mobilitazione contraria, con oltre tremila contestazioni amministrative.

In seguito, la convocazione del "Concurso de Ideas de Recalificación del Sector del Pueblo Nuevo Lindante con el Mar" (con 9 gruppi partecipanti, che furono esposti, insieme al progetto dell'Ayuntamiento e a quello privato dell'impresa Ribera S.A., a principio de 1972 nel COAC) vide vincitore l'equipe di M. Solà Morales, J. Busquets e A. Font; ma, delle loro proposte, miranti a un beneficio pubblico dei processi di urbanizzazione, venne raccolto solo il tracciato del Cinturón del Litoral. Il piano fu alfine approvato nel dicembre 1971, come "Sector Marítimo Oriental".

Sul tema chiave della riconfigurazione di tutto il fronte marittimo a nord, intervenne anche il gruppo 2C, mediante la redazione del Plan Torres Clavé (1971) **[Fig. 6]** che, in alternativa alle intenzioni dell'Amministrazione, proponeva una megastruttura lineare incernierata sull'asse della Gran

Via in grado di riorganizzare la morfologia urbana barcellonese in aperta interazione con le preesistenze storiche (in primo luogo il reticolato quadrangolare della maglia Cerdà).[18]

Di fatto, in particolar modo a partire dal 1972, la pressione popolare, mediata dalle *Asociaciones de Vecinos*, si farà sentire con forza in un senso principalmente oppositivo nei confronti delle scelte operative dell'Amministrazione pubblica e del capitale privato; vere e proprie lotte politiche in cui si veicolavano i fermenti di un'opposizione clandestina, spesso sostenute dal settore professionale o dalla pubblicistica specializzata (il caso più emblematico sarà rappresentato dalla rivista *CAU*[19]) [Fig. 7] nell'esercizio di una primaria democrazia partecipativa e assembleare che non solo riusciranno ad ottenere smaccate vittorie sul regime (fra gli altri, il caso del Pla de la Ribera, il salvataggio del mercato del Born, della casa Golferichs [Fig. 8], del parco della Espanya Industrial, [Fig. 9] o alcune operazioni di freno ai processi speculativi in Ciutat Vella), ma servirono anche e soprattutto alla formazione e consolidamento di una prima inesistente società civile che rivendicava, in polemica alternativa all'esistente, una sostanziale democratizzazione dei poteri pubblici e un decentramento della gestione urbana.

In un paese in cui perdura e opprime il vuoto stantio della in-cultura ufficiale («dove il *kitsch* e la sottocultura hanno goduto e godono ancora dell'appoggio incondizionato da parte di un sistema che essi stessi hanno adottato come proprio»[20]) diverse branche della popolazione giovanile, nei limiti di movimento consentiti dal regime dittatoriale, cominciano ad esperire con maggiore impegno e determinazione pratiche vitali e politiche alternative, all'interno di quanto al momento verrà denominato come "controcultura". Una riaffermazione della libertà individuale convogliata verso obiettivi comunitari e rivendicativi, in cui uno spirito prevalentemente ottimista e fiducioso aspira a creare una società completamente "nuova" ed "altra", contrassegnata dall'equità sociale e dall'uguaglianza razziale e sessuale.

E tutte le discipline della rappresentazione ne sembrano irrimediabilmente coinvolte; per cominciare l'arte, ma anche l'architettura, responsabile peraltro principale di quelle coordinate ambientali in cui ci costringono a vivere e che si vorrebbe vedere radicalmente trasformate:

> Arriverà un giorno in cui uno slogan pubblicitario sarà un verso amato dal pedone sugli ampi marciapiedi della città restituita. Un verso che non lo obbligherà a comprare nulla. E la cui forma o immagine saranno l'albero modificato in modo imprevisto, o il lampione trasformato in una signora ingioiellata, o il volo di un aquilone di ricci femminili. E questo sarà l'arte, questa sarà la letteratura. Paesaggio urbano e umano.[21] [Figs. 10-11]

Dal 14 al 16 Ottobre 1971 si tiene nella cala San Miquel a Ibiza l'VIII congresso dell'ICSID (Congreso Internacional de Sociedades de Diseño

18. In realtà, gli studi su questa vasta area da parte del gruppo legato alla rivista *2C Construcción de la Ciudad* trovarono ulteriori sviluppi: "Proyecto colectivo final de carrera", 1972; "Concurso de ideas para un contraplan de la Ribera, en el Pueblo Nuevo", 1972; "Pabellón de Barcelona en la XV Trienal de Milán", 1973; exposición "El Plan Torres Clavé: Una alternativa racional para Barcelona", COAC 1974.

19. "Rivista del Colegio de Aparejadores" che, oltre a interventi specifici, dedicó numeri monografici a *La Gran Barcelona*"(1971), *La Barcelona de Porcioles* (1973), *La lucha en los barrios* (1975).

20. P. Altares, *Mitos y cultura kitsch en la España del desarrollo*, in "Triunfo", No. 533, 16-12-1972.

21. M. Vázquez Montalban, *El arte en la calle. El mes loco de una galería de arte*, "Triunfo", 29-1-1972, No. 487.

Industrial) [Fig. 12] in cui si materializzerà fisicamente una spaccatura ideologica; mentre i settori tacciati di tecnocrazia borghese alloggeranno noiosamente nell'hotel Cartago, i contestatari bivaccheranno e festeggeranno allegramente nella *Instant City* (progetto di F. Bendito, C. Ferrater, J. Prada): una continua volta pneumatica di plastica variopinta che si disperde nei paraggi a mó di rizoma, frutto di particelle aggregabili senza limiti al nerbo principale.

Ma esisterà anche una terza "città" ancora più nomade e destrutturata (la "contestazione della contestazione"): quella di coloro che si inerpicheranno per le rocce circostanti, piantando le loro tende e stendendo in paraggi minimamente pianeggianti quelle vere e proprie capsule abitative individuali che sono i sacchi a pelo.

E, comunque, *città istantanea* per definizione, basata su principi che contraddicono le premesse dell'urbanistica convenzionale: città mobile, flessibile, leggera, componibile aleatoriamente in mille maniere, prefabbricata a partire da unità rigorosamente modulari, atta a suggerire un modello esistenziale in cui ognuno può delimitare il suo spazio individuale, in armonia con un vivere in comunità che rispetta la forte eterogeneità delle origini:

> *Hippies*, studenti, comunità venute da diversi paesi, curiosi che trovano in un luogo esotico un'esperienza insolita (difficile da incontrare), sradicati di tutte le specie.[22]

Una inedita configurazione dell'abitare che privilegia negli utenti il senso del tatto (tendenza comune nei visitatori, una volta superato il primo momento di stupore all'entrare, era quella di cominciare a toccare le pareti plastiche) e adopera la struttura pneumatica per una nuova esperienza spaziale.

Ma, naturalmente, al di là di tutte le configurazioni "contestatarie", siamo di fronte a un'autentica materializzazione di un luogo privilegiato per l'ozio e il tempo libero (non a caso varie feste, *happenings* e celebrazioni si realizzarono proprio in questa sede)[23], in cui confluiscono le critiche all'urbanistica moderna sostenute da C. Alexander con la rivendicazione de *Le droit à la ville* difeso da H. Lefebvre[24]; in tale semantica ritroviamo a pieno titolo l'eredità dei lavori del gruppo degli Archigram, la cui Instant City prenderà forma fra il 1968-70, mentre al contempo, a partire dalla seconda metà degli anni 60 (*Capsule Homes*, 1964; *Living-Pod*, 1966) la ricerca del gruppo si stava concentrando sull'ideazione di capsule abitative minime, a partire da una sofisticata prefabbricazione che trasformava l'unità residenziale in un futurista oggetto di design, quale basilare ed ulteriore elettrodomestico di un'avanzata società dei consumi[25].

Non dimentichiamo, d'altronde, che oltre l'affascinante iconografia ipertecnologica ed avvenirista l'*Instant City*, nella sua ideazione di entità trasportabile e momentaneamente ancorabile in qualsiasi luogo, era

22. F. Cabrero, *El congreso de diseño de Ibiza. Partecipación y autodiseño*, in "Arquitectura", 1971, No. 155.

23. F. Bendito e C. Ferrater : «Si propone il rifiuto della cità capace di progettare e segnare il comportamento dei suoi abitanti, e per un altro verso, il risvegliarsi di una nuova coscienza che afferma l'ozio come il prodotto della tecnologia contemporanea per trasformarlo nel lavoro peculiare della natura umana, che è la creatività. [...] Successo o fallimento poco importa; l'essenziale è la conoscenza.» Museu art decoratives, Arxiu Adi FAD / ICSID 1971. D'altronde, nella vasta bibliografia sul tema, alcune voci – benché di minoranza – furono duramente critiche con tale saggio urbano: «Una città libera che propone forme di vita immaginative e creatrici e che vuole gettare via quelle istituzionalizzate e integrate, non può fondersi opportunisticamente sugli elementi, e nemmeno sui mezzi, della società costituita. Crediamo che questi processi non si fabbrichino [...] Per questo insistiamo sul fatto che l'intero scenario ci sembra falso.» Red., *Platic-Love-City-Trip- Pot-Pop o donde la ciudad cambia de nombre*, in "Tele/eXprees", 13 de Julio de 1971.

24. E il libro di Lefebvre (del 1968) verrà immediatamente pubblicato in spagnolo nel 1969 da Ediciones Península con il titolo *El derceho a la ciudad*.

25. Aspetti che sembrano trovare fedele riflesso nel progetto "Ceplastica 2000". Un habitáculo para el futuro" a carico di M. Alvarez Trincado, pubblicato sul numero 4 di "Boden", 1972.

soprattutto una produttrice di eventi spettacolari, con la finalità precipua di «coinvolgere il pubblico, eccitandone la fantasia, chiamandolo a collaborare come autore, promotore e attore di eventi imprevisti.»[26] E nel dépliant di invito della *Instant City* di Ibiza, diffuso internazionalmente, leggiamo:

> La gente, i giovani della Nuova Cultura ci riuniremo a Ibiza per stare insieme, sentire musica, ballare e costruire lo spazio in cui vivremo durante alcuni giorni. Chiediamo ai progettisti di tutto il mondo che ci aiutino a creare fisicamente la *città istantanea*, che le nostre teste creeranno. In un *happening* di progettazione ambientale l'uso e la forma possono convergere durante una settimana di disegno, costruzione, musica, mimo, spettacolo, festival e improvvisazione.[27]

Quindi, ad Ibiza si realizzò una *città istantanea*, si videro le proposte aeree di Ponsatí, si organizzò una festa rituale multicolore (giallo, rosso, azzurro e verde) in cui intervennero A. Miralda, D. Selz, B.Rossell e J. Xifra, e si realizzò l'installazione di A. Muntadas *Vacuflex-3*; iniziative tutte vincolate alle tematiche di uno spazio abitale e ad una interazione con il paesaggio naturale.

In ogni caso, sicuramente l'icona più rappresentativa sarà costituita dall'enorme *hinchable* (gonfiabile) realizzato da J. Ponsatí, che fa seguito a quello presentato dallo stesso artista in occasione del Primer Concurs d'Art Jove a Granollers. Un'istallazione pneumatica, costituita da moduli bianchi di plastica rigonfi d'elio, che raggiungeva una lunghezza massima di stiramento di 41m. Si evidenzia il carattere ludico dell'atto, in cui il processo assume un'importanza primaria, stimolando la partecipazione del pubblico nella costruzione e nella fase di innalzamento aereo, e dove la configurazione variabile, organica, vitale é soggetta alle leggi di un movimento imprevedibile e interagisce costitutivamente con l'ambiente paesaggistico, grazie anche alla sua scala monumentale, però effimera, peritura. Fuori dalle norme del mercato, e da qualsiasi pregiudizio nei confronti del materiale o della serialità, elementare nella sua fattura e nella sua conformazione, assurge ad *opera aperta*, autosignificante. [Fig. 13]

Intanto nel 1970, era stato pubblicato un breve articolo a carico di Ll. Clotet - manifestatamente ispirato da autori italiani quali U. Eco o V. Gregotti - , in cui si ripropongono temi già discussi, quasi alla stregua di un manifesto: "En Barcelona: por una arquitectura de la evocación":

> Lontani dall'ottimismo di una possibile influenza positiva e diretta, ci attraggono le possibilità di un'architettura che pretenda di smascherare ciò che difficilmente può cambiare [...] Da una parte la volontà di sfruttare al massimo la "razionalità possibile", dall'altra la denuncia delle limitazioni dello stato di fatto che non hanno consentito di applicarla [...] Le loro opere pretendono di essere un invito alla riflessione sul contesto in cui si realizzano.[28]

26. B. Zevi, *Archigram Beat. Inventano l'Instant City*, in "Cronache di Architettura", Vol VII, 1970, No. 768, p. 318.

27. Comité ad hoc para la ciudad instantánea, *Instant City*, 1971, Archivo Giralt-Miracle.

28. Ll. Clotet, *A Barcelona: por una arquitectura de la evocación*, in "CAU", No. 2-3, 1970, p.108. Tale "manifesto" fu letto durante un incontro svoltosi a La Garriga nel 1970, organizzato dallo studio PER (fondato nel 1964 da Ll. Clotet, O. Tusquets, P. Bonet e C. Cirici), a cui parteciparono un importante numero di architetti spagnoli e portoghesi. Centrato su riflessioni che davano comunque priorità alle questioni "linguistiche", meritó una lucida critica di M. Vázquez Montalban: «L'efficacia di questo linguaggio per distruggere il meccanismo stesso della domanda e dell'offerta non si è manifestata, e nemmeno è parso coerente che una classe sociale, capace di creare meccanismi di difesa contro linguaggi più aggressivi, possa sentirsi minimamente colpita da laboriose costruzioni che dicono "no". Comprese quelle costruzioni di "protesta" che si concedono poche ostentazioni, appena incidono su di una minoranza sensibilizzata sul tema.» M. Vázquez Montalban, *Racionalismo, arquitectura, butifarras y musica dispersa*, "Triunfo", No. 416, 23-5-1970, p. 16. L'articolo venne pubblicato anche su "Nueva Forma", 1970, No. 56.

Mentre, quindi, in maniera incontenibile si approfondiscono gli studi legati alla cultura semiotica,[29] Bohigas ribadisce l'estraneità assoluta dell'architettura catalana a qualsiasi tentazione utopica, al fascino ammaliante ed improduttivo delle idealizzazioni; e cassabili saranno, al tempo stesso, le proposte "demagogiche" di Yona Friedman[30], le fantasmagorie ribelli dei situazionisti come le visioni capziosamente ottimiste degli Archigram:

> Sarà più facile cambiare la società con strumenti autenticamente rivoluzionari che costruire "la macchina dei desideri" per una "città spaziale" sopra i tetti della vecchia Parigi o un gruppo di abitazioni *plug-in* al bordo del Tamigi, o coprire Manhattan con una grande cupola geodetica come prevede l'illuso Fuller. […] L'utopia tecnologica è l'ultima trappola del sistema consolidato.[31]

Si può plausibilmente sostenere che l'ingenuo ottimismo tecnologico avanzato da alcune di queste posizioni distorca i dati della realtà capitalistica, li edulcori, schivi i suoi lancinanti squilibri, rimanendo vittima di una malintesa democrazia consumista; però l'alternativa suggerita non risulta molto più incisiva, soprattutto perché diviene alquanto indecifrabile come solo "dall'interno" del linguaggio architettonico, dal recinto della semantica disciplinare si possa far luce sulle contraddizioni dell'attuale sistema, in una direzione operativamente eversiva.[32]

Nel bel mezzo di una generale ubriacatura semiologica,[33] comunque, comincia a farsi esplicita l'intenzione di prendere le distanze dalla "Escuela de Barcelona" da parte delle generazioni più giovani, attratte in gran parte dai modelli di vita nordamericani e dalle elaborazioni teoriche di R.Venturi. Le riflessioni di questo architetto esercitarono una grossa presa su una sensibilità contemporanea proiettata verso la sostituzione di orientamenti considerati ormai desueti o eccessivamente dogmatici, rispetto ai quali quanto proveniva da oltreoceano sembrava offrire il piacere della "scoperta" sorprendente di aspetti sottesi alla quotidiana vita ambientale e sempre osteggiati dalla cultura ufficiale. Il recupero di espressioni popolari e spontanee, pertanto, rispondeva all'istanza di un'architettura che, andando oltre le stereotipate formule linguistiche, sapesse incorporare, pur nell'ambiguità delle fonti e nell'intenzionale assenza di giudizi di valori, una maggiore capacità simbolica e comunicativa.

L'inclusivismo difeso da *Complexity and Contradiction* (1966),[34] secondo un atteggiamento intellettuale disinvolto in cui il passato diviene puro deposito di suggerimenti formali a disposizione del presente, veicolava così un opportuno senso di liberazione dalle restrizioni disciplinari; induceva una radicale ridefinizione di quanto poteva far parte delle potenzialità comunicative dell'architettura, nell'apprezzamento degli aspetti più "esterni" ed appariscenti del processo configurativo, di quanto in conclusione riportava la ricezione dell'utente a un livello prettamente percettivo.

29. «Ho saputo che stai lavorando sul tema della semiotica comportamentista. Anch'io ne sono molto attratto […] Intendo fare pressioni su Edicions 62 e Edicions Peninsula, affinchè pubblichino qualcosa sul tema.» Lettera di O. Bohigas a T. Llorens del 27-11-1970; (archivio Bohigas.)

30. Conferenza di Y. Friedman al CAOCB il 13-3-1970: "Experiencias sobre la aplicación de métodos objetivos, fundados en la teoría de grafos".

31. O. Bohigas, *Tribuna Abierta. La utopía tecnológica*, in "Destino", No.1707, 20-6-1970, p. 11.

32. «Se vogliamo partecipare nel campo ristretto e meschino del disegno, ci resta solo la possibilità di giocare a chiarire e manifestare le contraddizioni insormontabili in cui ci muoviamo, senza fare proposte per superarle all'interno del sistema stesso.» O. Bohigas, *Polèmica d'arquitectura catalana*, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1970, p. 31.

33. Momento culminante di questa passione per la semiotica sarà il seminario di studio svoltosi a Castelldefels (Sitges) dal 14 al 18 Marzo 1972; fra i partecipanti "stranieri" al Symposium: J.P. Bonta, A. Colquhoun, F. Choay, P. Eisenman, C. Jencks, N. Portas, M. L. Scalvini. T. Llorens (a cura di), *Arquitectura, Historia y teoría de los signos*, Barcelona, La Gaya Ciencia, 1974.

34. R. Venturi, *Complejidad y Contradicción en la Arquitectura*, Barcelona, G.Gili, 1972, pp. 25-26.

Durante questi anni, l'opera dello studio PER sarà sempre più caratterizzata da una tendenza ironica ed inclusiva, mediante la standardizzazione di elementi vicini al linguaggio figurativo del Pop; e X. Sust, attraverso una fitta attività pubblicistica e di collaborazioni redazionali con la casa editrice Tusquets, sosteneva l'inderogabile avvicinamento della creatività progettuale alle istanze degli utenti, eliminando i dogmatismi formali e prestando ascolto, piuttosto, agli stimoli provenienti da un mondo complesso ed eterogeneo come quello del consumismo di massa.[35]

A queste intonazioni venturiane si richiamano le analisi svolte dal gruppo PER, con certo gusto della provocazione, su elementi edilizi apparentemente triviali quale la terrazza (su cui verrà girato anche un cortometraggio di G. Herralde nel 1973, *Mi terraza*, presentato alla XV Triennale di Milano), assurta a protagonista formale del paesaggio attuale, con tutti i suoi risvolti configurativi e simbolici che permettono di identificare la classe e mentalità degli abitanti che le usano, divenendo momento di materializzazione iconica di contraddizioni ed ambiguità della stessa società che le genera.

Successivamente, nel 1975, gli architetti dello studio, con la collaborazione del fotografo L. Pomés e di X. Sust, realizzarono un processo di ricerca e registro di dettagli architettonici, oggetti, mobili, presentati in un'esposizione presso la sala Vinçon, e che costituirono il catalogo intitolato *Arquitectura y Lágrimas. Documentos de Arquitectura Popular Catalana 1975 para un Museo de historia de la Ciudad.* [Figg. 14-15] In un certo senso, si tratta di una riflessione su quegli «espacios tontos», su quanto sfugge alla univoca retorica funzionalista («sappiamo che l'architettura ortodosso-moderna, architettura da *boys-scouts*, non tollera le ambiguità»[36]), e può al contrario infondere confusione, disorientamento, inibendo qualsiasi proposito di normativizzazione.

Clima, quindi, pervaso dall'influenza Pop con ovvi richiami a quell'insieme di esperienze racchiudibili nella cosiddetta "architettura radicale", al tempo particolarmente radicata in alcune realtà geografiche quali l'Inghilterra (Archigram, P. Cook), l'Italia (Archizoom, Superstudio), la California (AntFarm), l'Austria (Coop Himme[l]blau, H. Hollein). Su quest'ultimo si tenne un'importante esposizione nel dicembre del 1975 al Colegio de Arquitectos, anche se ben limitate furono le ripercussioni sul contesto locale, malgrado i presagi ottimistici del suo mentore, A. Mendini:

> Il passaggio di Hollein da Barcellona è scioccante, lascerà certamente traccia. [...] Il metodo rivoluzionario, l'eresia applicata alla composizione architettonica: ecco una possibile lezione di Hans Hollein in Spagna."[37] [Fig. 16]

In ogni caso, i primi anni 70 saranno il momento algido di un fermento radicalmente controculturale che assumerà diverse pieghe sia nei sistemi rappresentativi che nelle forme di vita; una temperie in cui si riproduceva

35. X. Sust, *Las estrellas de la arquitectura*, Barcelona, Tusquets ed., 1975, p. 136. Nella collana di Tusquets Editor, diretta da Sust, verrá pubblicato nel 1971 una antologia di articoli di D. Scott Brown e R. Venturi che costituirá la prima importante presentazione di questi due autori nordamericani al pubblico spagnolo: D. Scott Brown, R. Venturi, *Aprendiendo de todas las cosas*, Barcelona, Tusquets ed., 1971.

36. O. Tusquets, *Elogio de los espacios tontos*, in "Nuevo Ambiente", No. 16, 1969.

37. A. Mendini, *Barcellona chiama Vienna*, in "Spettacoli & Società", No. 3, 21-1-1976.

la rivolta generazionale che scuoteva le principali capitali del mondo nel rifiuto di qualsiasi dogmatismo e nell'accettazione della massima libertà individuale quale affermazione incontestabile. Una nuova soggettività dai risvolti anarchici, che aveva fra i suoi testi di riferimento *Against interpretation* (1966; tradotto allo spagnolo nel 1969) di S. Sontag, e in cui «l'irrazionalismo psichedelico, il dandismo, il gusto *camp*, il *pop*, il *neoliberty* vengono accettati, al limite come atteggiamento scandaloso o di affermazione libertaria.» [38]

In certo qual modo da quel coacervo di esperienze singolari e alternative che costituivano l'essenza delle Ramblas contemporaneee, nascono iniziative manifestamente *underground* come le riviste: *El Rrollo Enmascarado* (ottobre 1973), influenzata direttamente dalla iconoclastia controculturale nordamericana, a cui faceva capo un collettivo eterogeneo fra cui troviamo Mariscal, Nazario, J. Farriol;[39] *Star* (luglio 1974), *Butifarra* (1975), che riportava in vignette, con estrema icasticità, le problematiche della classe lavoratrice e della vita nei quartieri periferici, associandosi alle denunce e alle mobilitazioni antispeculative delle Asociaciones de Vecinos, e mostrando come gli stessi fumetti potessero assumere valenze fortemente "ideologiche". Uno dei suoi albums trimestrali dedicati a temi monografici fu intitolato *El Urbanismo feroz* (1979); [Figg. 17-18-19] attraverso un umore corrosivo rivelava le intrinseche contraddizioni del capitalismo urbano e le sue deleterie conseguenze sul terreno immobiliare come negli aspetti sociali.

Un mondo giovanile in ebollizione che si concentrava per l'appunto sulle Ramblas scelte quale scenario privilegiato di ogni sorta di *performances*:

> Le connessioni tra le classi sociali e gli universi urbani erano incredibili; tutto si muoveva intorno a delle Ramblas in perenne eccitazione, e non si poteva mai sapere a priori dove e con chi si poteva finire […] La diffidenza borghese e la paura dell'ignoto vennero banditi dal vocabolario. Durante quell'estate (1977) in cui l'anarchia conquistò le strade e Nazario inventava Anarcoma, ci fu poca polizia, scarsa violenza e lo spirito antiborghese annientò le convinzioni della generazione progressista. La "sinistra divina" del Bocaccio e i capi politici del quartiere di Sant Gervasi giammai riempirono le loro case o le loro feste private di simpatizzanti dei movimenti di strada.[40]

Idea di comunità alternative, psicogeografia e derive situazioniste, vagabondaggio surrealista, circuiti dell'allucinazione condivisa si fondevano in una diversa logica d'uso del territorio urbano, laddove la convinzione comune era che «la calle es una fiesta». Protagonisti indubbi di tale rivoluzione dei costumi furono i travestiti, la comunità gay, allora in piena fase di liberazione:

> Barcellona ebbe nei travestiti un punto di riferimento visivo, morale, storico. Il travestito conquista la strada in questa città

38. A. Cirici, *La generació dels seixanta,* in "Serra d'Or", 15-10-1969.

39. L'editore A. Martín cosí ricordava i componenti del gruppo: «Tutti avevano lo stesso aspetto: catene, numerose anelli, capelli lunghi in chiome più o meno ondulate, indumenti strani e appariscenti, con Nazario a fare da battistrada (…); comportamenti hippies e un tono di voce tra il brusio canterino e il sussurro amorevole, benché la maggior parte restasse in silenzio per timidezza." (www.tebeosfera.com)

40. J. Ribas, *Los 70 a destajo. ajoblanco y libertad*, Barcelona, RBA libros, 2007, pp. 480-481.

> giusto dopo la pioggia storica, come le lumache. Il travestito prepara il pubblico alla necessità dell'apparenza e così il pubblico, in seguito, non si sorprenderà davanti al cambiamento di maglia e di idee inevitabile in tempi di transizione.[41]

41. M. Vázquez Montalbán, *Barcelonas*, Barcelona, Ed. Empúries, 1990, pp. 305-306.

Riappropriazione della strada di cui si faranno fautori anche i membri del gruppo teatrale Els Comediants: il teatro si trasforma in festa, e la festa si vive letteralmente per la strada. A cominciare da spettacoli quali *Catacroc* (1972-73), *Moros y Cristianos* (1975) *Plou i fa sol* (1976) [Figs. 20-21] inaugurano una condotta transitiva nei confronti del pubblico "partecipante" più che "spettatore", restituendo valore collettivo e liberatorio a quei luoghi della città inedificata, mantenuti per decenni sotto stretta vigilanza delle forze dell'ordine o, letteralmente, sotto coprifuoco. Definiti quali autentici "guerriglieri urbani", attraverso l'animazione, il travestimento, la scenificazione, la cerimonia festiva, la pirotecnia, la musica, l'improvvisazione, hanno condotto una vera e propria strategia di riconquista creativa e riutilizzo democratico di quanto più tardi verrà, in termini più disciplinari, definito come "spazio pubblico".

Una pratica di recupero che accomuna le iniziative del gruppo ad altre manifestazioni contemporanee (dai vari festivals Canet Rock - a partire dalla "sis hores de cançó" del 1973 - alle "Jornadas Libertarias" en el Parc Güell del luglio 1977) [Fig. 22] in cui una massa di persone eterogenee ma unificate da una volontà marcatamente anticonvenzionale e, in certi aspetti, finanche rivoluzionaria esperivano nuove modalità di vita in comune, come si verifica anche nella scelta di allestire in collettività la loro base esistenziale e lavorativa nella "Villa Soledad" e poi "La Vinya" di Canet de Mar.

> La morte di Franco aprì un periodo di incertezza [...] Els Comediants allora più che mai, occuparono la strada con i loro spettacoli, di mattina, di sera e di notte, che variavano secondo l'ora e il luogo, e il cui comune denominatore era l'esaltazione e rivendicazione della strada come luogo di diversione, incontro e scambio.[42]

42. S. Fondevila, *Una forma de vida*, in *Comediants 15 años*, El Público "centro de documentación teatral", Madrid, 1988, p. 41.

Nel 1973 si inaugura la sala musicale *Zeleste* e gli incaricati di disegnare il locale (A. Jové e S. Gubern) ricordano: «Dato che in questo paese questo tipo di locale non esisteva, si trattava di far intendere che quel luogo esisteva da sempre.»[43]

43. J. Guillamon, *La ciutat interrompuda. De la controcultura a la Barcelona postolímpica*, Barcelona, La Magrana, 2001, p. 30.

Contro il franchismo si poteva andare in una duplice maniera: o cercando di inventare la novità ad ogni costo, l'alternativa estrema da opporre all'ammorbante clima locale, o valorizzando la vera tradizione, l'autentico passato da rivalutare nei confronti del folclore o delle ideologie passatiste

Non a caso, d'altra parte, quando esce il primo numero di *Ajoblanco* (1974)), [Fig. 23], nell'editoriale si afferma in maniera perentoria:

> Perché questa rivista? 1. Perché non vogliamo una cultura di imbecilli. 2. Perché siamo stanchi di divinità, sacerdoti e *elites*

> industrial-culturaliste. 3. Perché vogliamo partecipare, provocare, facilitare e usare una cultura creativa. 4. Perché siamo ancora utopisti..[44]

44. Editorial, *¿Porque esta nueva revista?*, "Ajoblanco", No.1, 1974.

Sarà la rivista della rivendicazione della marginalità e dell'alternativo; laddove L. Racionero, pienamente imbevuto della cultura californiana, parlerà di ecologia e urbanistica, lottando per un'architettura più umana fondata sui valori di un socialismo utopico, capace di riunire «la peculiaridad individual y la asociación cooperativa.» Si parla di un'urbanistica umanista che farebbe leva principalmente su un decentramento a tutti i livelli e che nell'abiura dell'attuale profilo d'identità dell'attività progettuale ispirerà un corposo dossier a più voci intitolato provocatoriamente *Contra la arquitectura*:

> Pretendiamo solo di aprire una finestra per far sì che l'architettura prenda aria. [...] Vogliamo un'architettura della partecipazione. [...] Non siamo architetti ma siamo cittadini. E, un giorno o l'altro, abiteremo in una nuova casa e in una nuova città. E, se ciò non avverrà, avremo tempo. Siamo giovani.[45]

45. Colectivo Ajoblanco, *Dossier contra la arquitectura*, "Ajoblanco", No. 27, 1977.

In ogni caso, il decennio del sessanta e i primi anni settanta verranno coinvolti da un profondo processo di superamento dei confini disciplinari diretto da una volontà d'abolizione delle frontiere fra arte e vita; la proliferazione di attività quali gli *happenings*, gli *environments*, il cinetismo, le istallazioni o azioni di vario genere, sottese da una forte *concettualità* che lasciava in secondo piano la corrispondente formalizzazione e piuttosto privilegiava i processi di esecuzione, caratterizzerà una congerie di iniziative in cui si fonderanno contributi ibridi, che scardineranno le tradizionali identità.

É quanto si può riconoscere nelle iniziative patrocinate dalla sala del Colegio de los Arquitectos, in questo periodo dirette da un comitato di assessori quali C. Rodríguez Aguilera, J. Corredor-Matheos, A. Cirici. Ad Aprile del 1972 si tiene l'esposizione *Impulsos: arte y computador. Grafismos - Plástica - Música - Cine*, con la partecipazione di M. Bense, J. Margarit, C. Alexander, mirata a indagare come i primi sviluppi delle tecnologie dell'informazione possano intevenire a modificare la genesi del prodotto artistico. Fra Giugno e Luglio, invece, si allestisce *Piso soleado, tres dormitorios y gran comedor-living. Constructores: Arranz-Bravo Bartolozzi*, **[Fig. 24]** una rilettura provocatoria degli stereotipi d'arredo e decorativi di un alloggio borghese -ma con intromissioni anche di icone progressiste, restituiti surrealisticamente mediante una configurazione grottesca, fuori scala e finanche truculenta.[46] A marzo-aprile 1973 sarà la volta dell'esposizione collettiva TRA 73 **[Fig. 25]** dedicata a un manipolo di artisti appartenenti alla giovane avanguardia catalana, più o meno identificabili all'epoca nell'ambito dell'arte concettuale (F. Abad, J. Benito, S. Gubern, A. Jové, A. Llena, R. Llimós, A. Muntadas, ...) in cui si farà largo uso di nuovi materiali -principalmente fotografici e videografici- nell'ottica

46. Significativamente J. de Sagarra dirà al proposito: «Bisogna armarsi di coraggio e andare a vedere la mostra, la casa di questi uccellacci, non c'è alternativa. È un'intelligenza "negativa", "distruttiva"; è l'intelligenza del vero bambino che paziente e metodicamente, ci fa scoprire la casa, la sua casa. Sono le interiora dell'appartamento già in stato di decomposizione, disperse prima in un rivolo, poi in una cataratta, sul pavimento, lungo le pareti, lasciando tutto "in uno stato disgustoso". Un appartamento in decomposizione che puzza, con macchie di sangue, sangue già secco, dappertuttto.» J. de Sagarra, *Benvinguts*, "Tele/eXpres", 21-6-1972.

di una condivisa smaterializzazione del prodotto convenzionale.

Simili iniziative, peraltro, risultano parallele a quanto intrapreso dalla sala Vinçon che, in apertura di attività, così delineava il suo programma di lavoro:

> Contenuto: presentazione della sala vuota, tinteggiata di bianco e con l'attrezzatura necessaria per una sala di esposizioni (luci, guide per fari...). I vari artisti che si presenteranno in sala avranno tutta la libertà di modificare il proprio aspetto e di creare l'ambiente che sia adeguato ai loro bisogni concreti.[47]

47. Opuscolo di presentazione, 23-3-1973, Archivo Sala Vinçon.

La sala, di fatto, ospiterà una serie di esperienze, centrate per l'appunto sulle possibili modificazioni dell'ambiente dato e sulle interrelazioni variamente stabilite tra oggetti, persone, suoni, movimenti, luce, colori e spazio: L. Utrilla, *Lectura tàctil d'un espai*; [Figs. 26-27]; B. Luna, *Mobles amb grup de teatre y Polaroids* [Fig. 28]; J. Navarro Baldeweg, *La habitación vacante. Luz y metales* [Fig. 29]; A. Mendini, *Mobili impossibili*; tutte realizzate fra il 1973 e il 1976.

Portando a compimento, invece, ambiti di ricerca completamente differenti appare, nel 1972, il numero 0 della rivista *2C. Construcción de la Ciudad*; l'ingresso di A. Rossi in Spagna non solo diviene ufficiale, ma trova anche quelli che saranno i suoi canali di diffusione preferenziali. La teorizzazione rossiana aveva trovato un primo momento conclusivo ne *L'Architettura della città* (1966)[48]: nella sua ambizione fondativa riportava la città contemporanea a tessere un rapporto essenziale con la storia; altro contributo rilevante era la dilatazione dei limiti disciplinari che, rifacendosi agli studi francesi di geografia e morfologia urbana, tendeva a ristabilire il nesso semantico fra l'oggetto architettonico e l'insieme diacronico della città, con l'ulteriore pretesa di costruire su di esso una rinnovata teoria della progettazione.

48. A. Rossi, *La Arquitectura de la ciudad*, Barcelona, G. Gili, 1971. La fondazione della rivista e del gruppo 2 C porterá alla loro importante partecipazione alla XV Triennale di Milano (20-9 / 20-11-1973) nella "Sezione internazionale di architettura": "Barcellona. Tre epoche, tre proposte. Salvador Tarragó, Antonio Armesto, Juan Francisco Chico, Antonio Ferrer, Carlos Martí, Juan Carlos Theilaker, Alejandro Marin-Buck (Colectivo 2C): un'analisi della storia urbanistica di Barcellona attraverso piante dell'epoca, progetti, proposte urbanistiche e progetti di tipologie insediative." AAVV, *Quindicesima Triennale di Milano. Esposizione delle arti decorative e industriali moderne e dell'architettura moderna*, Milano, 1973, p. 40.

L'editoriale del numero 0 designa chiaramente il destino di una pubblicazione che, a differenza delle preesistenti, confuse fra una sorta di indeterminazione eclettica e una accondiscendenza ai discorsi ufficiali o "semi-ufficiali", dichiara senza remore una definizione di parte, con l'intenzione di ritagliarsi una "tendenza" atta a comunicare i risultati della ricerca ed a rafforzare il senso di un'identità basata più sulla logica delle operazioni intellettuali che sull'arbitrarietà di preferenze stilistiche. All'interno di una rimarcata specificità dell'architettura, senza eludere tuttavia un netto schieramento sociale da parte del professionale, si pone l'accento sull'imprescindibile coinvolgimento teorico di un'attitudine che incontrerà nella "città" il suo principale campo di analisi e di elaborazione progettuale:

> Partiamo dalla valorizzazione della dialettica, come concezione teorica generale per la formulazione di una metodologia professionale adeguata, e dalla pretesa di attribuire alla storia in

> generale per la formulazione di una metodologia professionale adeguata, e dalla pretesa di attribuire alla storia in generale, e alla storia in particolare, un ruolo strutturante e attivo nello sviluppo della pratica architettonica. Per un altro verso, intendiamo denunciare l'irrazionalità dominante all'interno delle attuali forme di lavoro professionale [....] Ci interessa l'elaborazione di una teoria della città dal punto di vista specifico della sua dimensione architettonica [...] Si tratta di procedere allo studio delle relazioni tra l'analisi urbana e la progettazione architettonica.[49]

49. AAVV, *Editorial*, in *Construcción de la Ciudad 2C* 0, Barcelona 1972; p.7. L'effettivo numero 1 della rivista verrá pubblicato solo a Febbraio del 1975. Nel suo editoriale, tuttavia, vengono ulteriormente rafforzate alcune prese di posizione: «Il ruolo di *Construcción de la Ciudad 2C* non sarà quello di "miscellanea dell'attualità, né di un "notiziario", bensì quello di uno strumento di lavoro, a sostegno di un'attività teorica di analisi e di mezzo di comunicazione culturale che interverrà nel dibattito tra le diverse fonti di opinioni.» AAVV, *Editorial*, in "2C. Construcción de la ciudad", No.1, p. 1, 1975.

E mentre J. Muntañola cerca di costruirsi un cammino liminare fra fedeltà alle sue storiche ascendenze mumfordiane ed esperimenti sociologici nella progettazione di quartieri periferici di edilizia popolare,[50] H. Piñón sanziona l'apertura di nuovi territori di ricerca "teorica", che trovano nella fondazione e rapido consolidamento di *Arquitecturas Bis* uno dei luoghi privilegiati di confronto;[51] una rivista che non pretese affatto la difesa di una linea programmatica o di un dogmatismo disciplinare, ma che piuttosto si fece portavoce di un'istanza conoscitiva aperta a dialogare con le complesse condizioni culturali del contesto; inediti propositi che indurranno I. de Solà Morales a parlare di una «arquitectura de arte y ensayo».[52]

50. Vedasi: X. Rubert de Ventós, *Arquitectura: ¿Como y para quien?*, in "Jano", 1974, No. 18. Significativamente J. Muntañola fará in questi anni due conferenze al COACB (8 e 9-11-1972) dal titolo "L'arquitectura de la controcultura", e "L'arquitectura com a lloc per viure".

51. H. Piñón, *Actitudes teóricas en la reciente arquitectura de Barcelona*, in "Arquitecturas Bis", No. 13-14, 1976.

52. I. de Solà Morales, *Arquitectura de la razón. Arquitectura del sentido*, in "Cuadernos de Arquitectura", No. 117/120-2, 1976.

Dopo la morte di Franco (1975), lo svolgimento delle prime elezioni municipali (1979) la vittoria del PSOE nelle elezioni al parlamento (1982), si apre una nuova fase nella cultura e nella vita sociale di questo paese. A fronte dell'oggettiva democratizzazione dei meccanismi d'esercizio del governo politico, si assiste alla presa del potere da parte di coloro che fino ad adesso si erano mantenuti fra le schiere dei frontali oppositori al regime (O. Bohigas, per esempio, disimpegnó il ruolo di assessore all'Urbanistica di Barcellona dal 1980 al 1984).

> La presa del potere municipale da parte dei socialisti servì a far si che gli intellettuali e i professionisti smettessero di "pensare" alla città per farla, per "entrare nel tempio" della gestione reale, e lo scontro tra realtà e desiderio produsse una sintesi pragmatica.[53]

53. M. Vázquez Montalban, *Ibid*., p. 327.

O, detto in un'altra maniera, sarà questa una fase storica in cui l'elaborazione intellettuale a tutti i livelli smette di sostenersi su quel sostrato nutritivo che era stato negli anni precedenti la "società civile", in tutte le sue sfaccettature ma pur sempre in una dimensione che era il suo essere *contro* le manifestazioni del totalitarismo, per divenire se non direttamente una pratica di "Stato" un pensiero che si appoggia sulle istituzioni (e le rappresenta), trasformando l'intellettuale da critico ad organico, e tendendo all'inevitabile omogeneizzazione della società.

É l'ingresso trionfalista della Spagna democratica nell'aura della "modernità", sviluppata sotto l'egida di un razionalismo pragmatico che concepisce una progettabile città socialdemocratica che, in maniera graduale ma irreversibile, si troverà ad essere perfettamente inserita

negli ingranaggi del capitalismo liberale e nel sistema onnivoro della globalizzazione.

La città "immaginata" viene fagocitata, con tutto il suo carico idealista e propositivo, dalla città realisticamente trasformata; il bagaglio di critica sociale e, a volte, di estremismo rivendicativo viene edulcorato dai meccanismi dell'amministrazione; la marginalità "creativa" si metabolizza in estetica museale o *vis poetica* da carta patinata.

A Barcellona, si comincerà con la consacrazione degli interventi puntuali, facenti leva su una priorità del progetto architettonico nei confronti della generalità pianificatoria. È il momento del recupero di una grande quantità di spazi aperti, in genere dismessi e in disuso (piazze, strade, giardini, parchi, aree di risulta,etc.), secondo una strategia che auspicava il «ritorno ad una città formalizzata a partire dallo spazio pubblico, concepito quale risultante dell'architettura»[54]. Interventi che miravano a soddisfare istanze collettive condivise, prima fra tutte quelle della riappropriazione da parte della cittadinanza di aree urbane che tradizionalmente si vedevano soggette a irreparabili processi di degrado ed abbandono, da interpretare invece -grazie agli interventi risanatori- quali poli di una socialità rinnovata.

E si seguirà con quanto rappresentato dalla data nodale del 1986, allorquando Barcellona sarà designata quale sede per i Giochi Olimpici del 1992; al tempo stesso, si conclude il processo d'ingresso della Spagna nell'Unione Europea, potendosi perciò disporre dei fondi europei di sviluppo (FEDER) che consentiranno il finanziamento di interventi infrastrutturali ed urbanistici a grande scala che genereranno grossissimi eventi di modificazione dell'ambito metropolitano, che ancori oggi proseguono ovviamente con altri fondi e referenti, principalmente privati. Decisamente, si entra in un'altra fase epocale della realtà urbana e di quello che riconosciamo come il "pensiero della possibilità" sui destini della città.

> Nonostante la prospettiva dei giochi olimpici, la città era caduta in una specie di scomoda tristezza. Le conversazioni languivano, gli incontri erano noiosi [...] Il presente contaminava il passato: guardandosi indietro, tutti reinterpretavano le loro azioni sotto una luce fredda e critica, e l'idealismo degli anni precedenti appariva come qualcosa di stupido o ipocrita [...] Gli intellettuali chiudevano la bocca per la paura di rappresaglie o per ambizione, vendevano il loro silenzio, così come la loro complicità, in cambio di denaro o di una notorietà passeggera e provinciale .[55]

54. Particolarmente utile per individuare i punti programmatici di tale politica é la lettura della *summa* teorica di Bohigas al riguardo: O. Bohigas, *Reconstrucció de Barcelona*, Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1985.

55. E. Mendoza, *Mauricio o las elecciones primaria*, Barcelona, Seix Barral, 2006, p. 229.

1968: It's Just a Beginning

Ester Coen
Università degli Studi dell'Aquila
ester.coen@univaq.it

An expert on Futurism, Metaphysical art and Italian and International avant-gardes in the first half of the twentieth century, her research also extends to the sixties and seventies and the contemporary scene, with numerous essays and other publications. In collaboration with Giuliano Briganti she curated the exhibition *Pittura Metafisica* (Palazzo Grassi, Venice 1979) and edited the catalogue, while with Maurizio Calvesi she edited the Catalogue Raisonné of Umberto Boccioni's works (1983). She curated with Bill Lieberman the Boccioni retrospective at the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1988 and has since been involved in many international exhibitions. She organised Richard Serra's show at the Trajan's Markets (Rome 1999), planned the Gary Hill show at the Coliseum (Rome 2005) and was one of the three committee members of the Futurism centenary exhibition (Pompidou Paris, Scuderie del Quirinale Rome and Tate Modern London) celebrating in the same year (2009) with *Futurism 100: Illuminations. Avant-gardes Compared. Italy-Germany-Russia* the anniversary at MART in Rovereto. In 2015 she focused on Matisse's fascination for decorative arts (*Arabesque*, Scuderie del Quirinale Rome) and at the end of 2017 a show organized at La Galleria Nazionale in Rome anticipated the fifty years of the 1968 "revolution".
Full professor of Modern and Contemporary Art History at the University of Aquila, she lives in Rome.

ABSTRACT

1968 marks the beginning of a social, political and cultural revolution, with all of its internal contradictions. It engulfs the artistic world on both sides of the Atlantic in a veritable transformation, a cathartic rebirth crystalized through the reconfiguration of traditional canons. This creative impulse refuses any artifice, assimilates contradictions, incorporates experience and imaginary worlds, restructures ideas about space and time, definitely severing the boundary between object and concept, while short circuiting reality and the imaginary. Inspired by codes of common origins, minimalism, conceptual art, arte povera and land art nonetheless carry diversity in their approaches and methods; yet they coexist and coalesce, in an intricate weave of exchange and rhythmic syncronicity.

English translation by Arabella Ciampi

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It's just a beginning. A time of unique revolutionary intensity.

1968: From Europe to America stylistic similitudes and analogies of varied origins cast the same message of subversion and vitality, definitely severing the boundary between object and concept.

1968: It is the beginning of a revolution. Revolution that had been fermenting for years and that explodes with great uproar and extraordinary appeal in that fateful 1968. Precisely 1968 marks the peak of a process that encompasses the desire for emancipation, self-determination and rebellion against anti-democratic rules and principles. In the arts and culture this veritable insurgency can be traced back to the first historical avant-gardes and the innovative and experimental power of their research, manifestos and works. Yet it is not through proclamations that the dynamic and vigorous challenges of a new, boundless art will be enacted; an art that conceives of new strategies in order to renew its commitment of being in the world according to a different logic, true to its very existence and evolutionary drive. A sense of identity, for long deeply violated and denied by repressive totalitarian governments, now reverberates as a widespread driving force; a sense of identity that surges, fully visible, uncovering new frontiers through the gushing vitality of engagement. Despite the diversity in their approaches and methods, minimalism, conceptual art, arte povera, land art and other artistic tendencies rapidly emerge and propagate at the speed of waves radiating into space. The awareness of a collective process that exemplifies a purifying, cathartic rebirth is clearly discernible, in the wake of a rampant freedom of forms and methods.

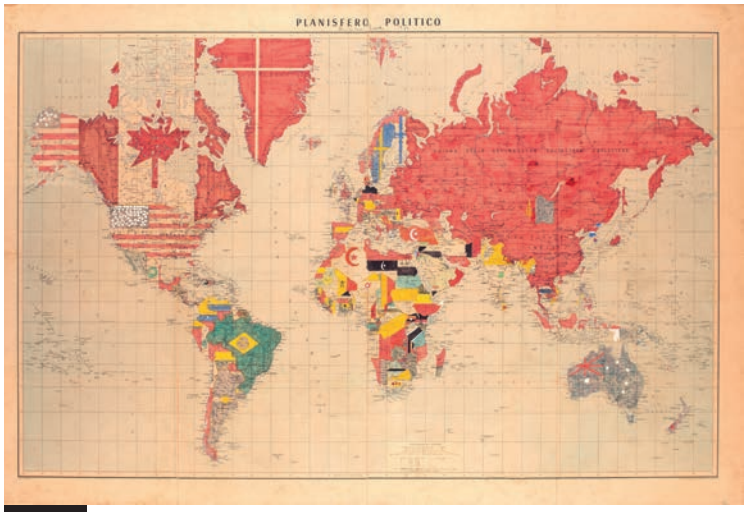

FIG. 1 Alighiero Boetti - Planisfero Politico, 1969.

What had been fostered by the most diverse sectors of society produces a short circuit, a horizontal and transversal phenomenon, a contagion that extends to the whole world, breaking the boundaries between countries, classes, races and disciplines. Longing for the other, the future, in an impulse that in science conquers the Moon and in cinema is inaugurated by the cosmic adventure of Space Odyssey. It also leads to denial and destructive fury. It raises barricades and breaks down the reassuring canons of the bourgeoisie at all levels. Heir to the fractures of the post-war period, it reaps the fruits of the Beat generation, the Nouvelle Vague and experimentalism in literature.

FIG. 2 Gilberto Zorio - Untitled, 1966

While the new sound of rock erupts on the Isle of Wight, a different humankind, previously somatically and anthropologically unimaginable, makes its debut and converges in Woodstock. A new society emerges and evolves, in art as in everyday life. It is a creative generation: it dismantles in order to reconstruct using new methods and materials, believes in the vitality of action – both political and theatrical, adopts spectacle and incorporates polarity: order and disorder, camouflage and autonomous patrols of extremist political fringes. It is a generation that protests against the Vietnam War, falls in love with iconic personalities and is not afraid of contradictions.

The reality of the sixties is fragmented, discontinuous, suspended. Revolutionary instincts and vigorous criticisms arise, fuelling the debates of young "militants". *Appunti per una guerriglia*[1] is the manifesto of this reality. Chaotic, erratic and systematically dissonant, the proclamation makes use of a parasemiological lexicon and is tinged with the colours of revolution. Looking at the world through different eyes reveals new horizons.[2] Appreciation for the new art from America becomes reason to underline a non-conflictual diversity. This marks the progression of those years in a dynamic engagement of exhibitions and plans of action with the intent of establishing a eurythmic coexistence[3] in a single domain of participation. Domain that shuns the power of artifice and is in accordance with the passing of time, the materiality of action, the magical call of the elements, the simple perception of physical phenomena, the recording of basic processes of the mind, the desire to leave a footprint as indication of a continuous flow of energy between oneself and the essence of the universe. In the exact space of its very occurrence.

Magic and sociability, spells and collective action do not assuredly evoke ideas of transcendence, but rather absorb, as if in ecstatic restlessness, the vital forces of the cosmos and draw energy from the dissymmetry of the external ordering of signs. The search for new forms is now open to "happy coincidences" where time is always dominant and where numbers, abstractions that support the visual, aim at a central fulcrum, a place of hypothetical equilibrium.

What must be overcome are the limits of painting as a practice ending with single gestures. Painting is no longer the visible action of what is imagined; painting is no longer the only visible action of what is imagined. The image retains its moral significance and its measure, both physical and metaphorical; what remains are the phantom of the fresco, the power of rhythms, the tensions in sculpture. The past is perceived as evidence of a culture that is still alive, founded on millennial roots, yet it becomes necessary to find rules to channel this tradition into new frameworks. First, that of space. The space

1. Germano Celant, "Flash Art", *Appunti per una guerriglia*, no 5, (November-December 1967): 3.

2. In the previous decade, critics, artists and gallery owners in Milan, Turin and Rome had created a dense network of relations with the United States. Suffice to recall the important activity of Mario Tazzoli and La Galatea, a formative experience for Gianenzo Sperone in Turin; that of Plinio de Martiis, Giorgio Franchetti and La Tartaruga; of the exhibitions at the Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Rome under the direction of Palma Bucarelli (Jackson Pollock, 1958, followed by Mark Rothko, 1962, and Arshile Gorky, 1967); of Toti Scialoja and Gabriella Drudi in New York in 1956. In addition to the important experimental role it had acquired since 1966, from the end of 1969 L'Attico of Fabio Sargentini becomes a fundamental international stage for the contamination between different artistic experiences: from Simone Forti's dance-constructions to Sol LeWitt's solo show, the *Danza Volo Musica Dinamite* festival with Terry Riley, La Monte Young, Steve Paxton and others, up to the famous act by Robert Smithson, *Asphalt Rundown*.

3. It is important to recall here the international exhibitions attended by many Italian artists of the time, such as *Prospect 68*, Städtische Kunsthalle and Düsseldorf, September 20-29, 1968, curated by Konrad Fischer and Hans Strelow; *When Attitudes become Form*, curated by Harald Szeeman at the Kunsthalle in Bern, March 22-April 27, 1969; the participation at the Venice Biennali, at Documenta in Kassel and the very important exposition *Contemporanea*, curated by the Incontri Internazionali d'Arte (art section by Achille Bonito Oliva), held in Rome in the parking lot of Villa Borghese from November 30, 1973 to February 1974, when Christo wrapped the Aurelian Walls. Nor should we forget that many Italian artists such as Salvatore Scarpitta, Mario Schifano, Michelangelo Pistoletto, Pier Paolo Calzolari, Gilberto Zorio, Giovanni Anselmo, Marisa Merz, Mario Merz, Luigi Ontani, to name but a few, had exhibited at the Sonnabend Gallery since the sixties, with Paula Cooper since 1968, with Marian Goodman since 1977 and later in other private and public spaces.

FIG. 3 Giovanni Anselmo - Untitled, 1968

in painting, the space of the image in the duration of the event, punctuated by temporality discernible in the very dimensions of the work.

This is the new mapping of the nascent Italian art. Space is conceived as a whole and not as truth or sublimation of fixed coordinates. Nor is it a dimension to be conquered or acted upon. It is fundamentally different from the concerns of American minimal or conceptual art and primary structures. Despite the apparent similitude of forms and volumes, absent are those archetypes on which arte povera builds the structure of its own vision. Indeed, one of the American protagonists of the momentous exhibition *Primary Structures* at the Jewish Museum in New York states in 1966: "A shape, a volume, a colour, a surface are an entity in itself. It shouldn't be concealed as part of a fairly different whole. The shapes and materials shouldn't be altered by their context."[4] While on the Mediterranean shores arte povera conceives of a more magical and cosmic vision: "Even if elementary you must exercise a spell on yourself, otherwise you are not an artist. (...) you have to start from something that concerns the ability to form. The ability to form comes before form. Form comes later."[5]

FIG. 4 Matta-Clark - Tree Dance, 1971, still from video

FIG. 5 Hans Haacke - Grass Grows, 1969

FIG. 6 Jannis Kounellis - Carboniera, 1967

Dimensions expand evoking patterns that advance at the rate of biological proliferation. If painting is speed, it is so in every way and in all directions, from the past to the present, to the future and vice versa; the starting point is in the mind of the artist. The intent is to externalize, signal a reversal of the artifice, assimilate an idea of contradiction, all through a continuous progression in organic development. And again: to observe, frame, focus, acknowledge vibrations, make visible. Ordinary gestures, simple yet incommensurable acts.

Gestures that evoke humanity's primary experiences, that speak of an age in which things spun to the rhythm of the universe, a very distant time where the breach between word, figure and action had not yet occurred. It is a search for that very rhythm, creating an idea of wholeness by combining impulse and invention together with what is logical and rational, albeit these remain imperceptible fragments, infinitesimal splinters in the wake of a great mystery. Light heavy, visible invisible, liquid solid, inert dynamic; polarities of a non paradoxical universe unearth analogous stratifications of hidden natural energy: "Europe is a very different space from America,

4. Donald Judd, *Primary Structures: Younger American and British Sculptors*, exhibition catalogue, New York City, April 27 - June 12, 1966, ed. Kynaston McShine (New York: The Jewish Museum, 1966).

5. Germano Celant (ed), *Mario Merz*, exhibition catalogue, Palazzo dei Congressi ed Esposizioni, Repubblica di San Marino, November 18, 1983 - January 22, 1984, (Milan: Mazzotta 1983), 161-162.

rather than belonging to action it belongs to the reflection of that action [...] Truthfully that is the problem of Italians, Europeans [...] it takes the intensity of who has nothing to really create something"[6] says another exponent of arte povera. Sculpture hence reinvents itself, drawing from the pure forms of nature its own compositional elements, giving life to imaginary worlds, new tautological truths of the visual system, where reality is continuously restored as a form of the imaginary. The awareness of perspective is suggested through materials or elements extraneous to art but not to history or myth. By bending the boundless repertoire of European art history, distant timeframes are forced into dialectical short circuits that embody the very same principles of representation. Having overcome the boundary of aesthetics, syncretism is achieved through permeability and dilation, encompassing new techniques, extra-European cultures and dimensions foreign to traditional perception.

FIG. 7 Jonas - Wind, 1968, still from video

FIG. 8 Luciano Fabro - Italia rovesciata, 1968

Considering the state of the arts in Italy during the post-war period, Burri and Fontana occupy an eccentric and metaphorical position in the eyes of the Italian generation of the sixties; Burri for revealing the hidden potentials of matter and Fontana for transcending the physical space of reality. They embody a pictorial experience, echoes of resemblance and other universes strongly linked to an important and noble past; a past that American art does not possess and does not control. Futurism's abolishment of a canonical understanding of space and time is channelled into Fontana, by way of Boccioni's simultaneous representation of the multiplicity of dimensions and forces. These elements of impetus and participation, emotional and structural depth are then conveyed to the younger generations. The past is understood as a formal and stylistic entity, especially within the complex intellectual dimension of all it has expressed, transformed and revitalized. The past, whose value is restored in the words of Jannis Kounellis:

6. Pino Pascali, "Pino Pascali e Carla Lonzi. Discorsi", *Marcatré*, no 30-33 (1967), interview by Carla Lonzi, republished in Vittorio Rubiu, Pascali, introduction by Cesare Brandi, (De Luca Editore: Rome, 1976), 156-160.

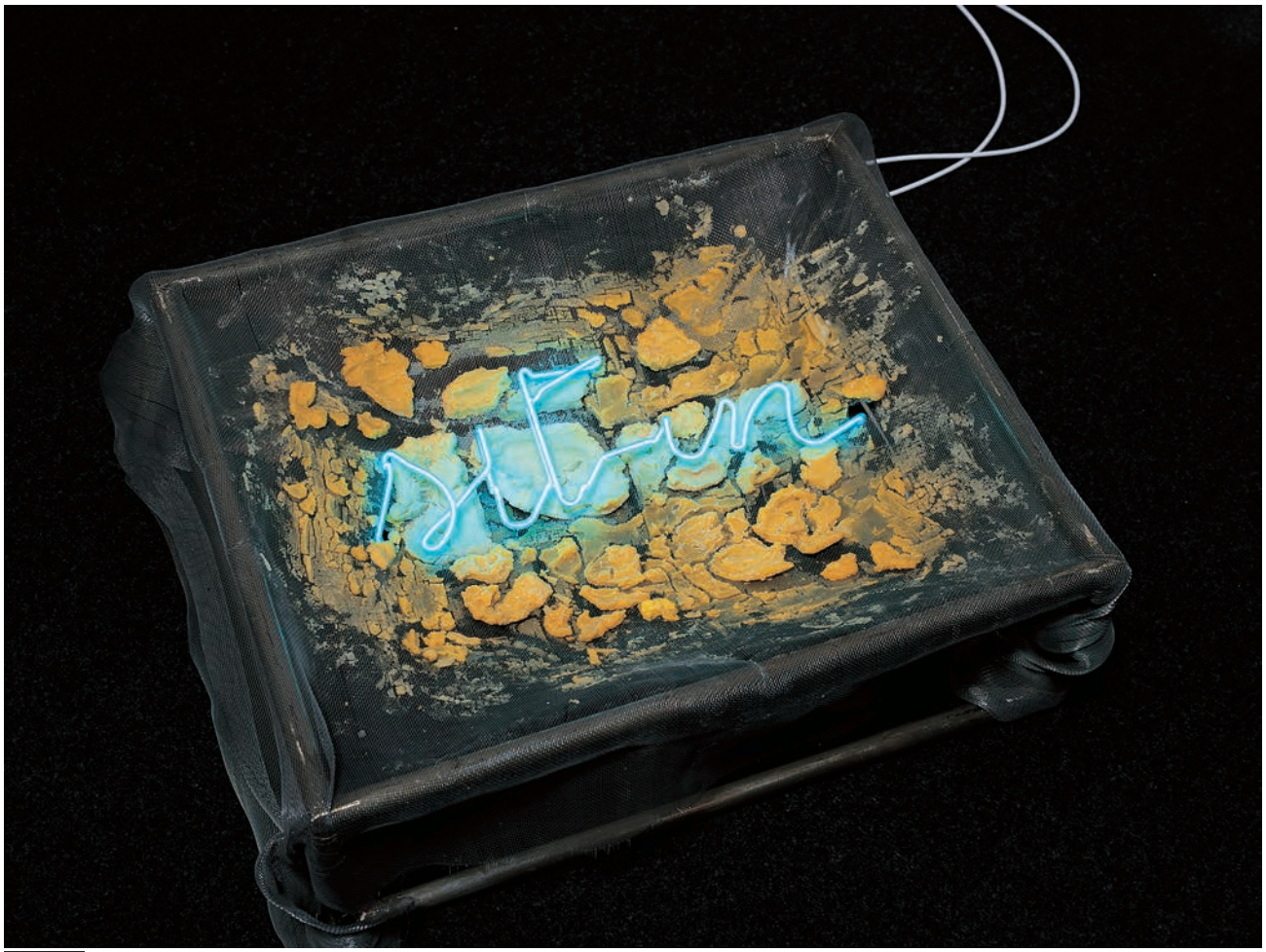

FIG. 9 Mario Merz - Sit-in, 1968

"The works of Burri and Fontana had a fundamental role in my education, like the work of many other artists of that same generation who discovered in matter a field of research.
Subsequent political events inspired a reading of history that undoubtedly influenced our sensitivity and way of evaluating space, allowing for the codification of a language that, naturally, takes into account the historical and cultural problems of this country, but that had, since the beginning, interlocutors in both Europe and America."[7]

Emphasizing the deep cultural separation:

"I am against the world of A. Warhol and of the epigoni of today. I want to restore the climate experienced by the Cubists.

I am against the condition of paralysis to which the post-war period has reduced us: by contrast, I search among fragments (emotional and formal) for the scatterings of history.

I search dramatically for unity, although it is unattainable, although it is utopian, although it is impossible and, for all these reasons, dramatic.

I am against the aesthetics of catastrophe;

7. Jannis Kounellis, *Odyssée lagunaire: écrits et entretiens 1966-1989* (Paris: D. Lelong, 1990), 133, republished in Jannis Kounellis, *Odissea lagunare* (Sellerio: Palermo, 1993), 98.

FIG. 10 Mario Schifano - Festa cinese, 1968

> I am in favour of happiness; I search for the world of which our vigorous and noble 19th-century forebears left us examples of revolutionary form and content.
>
> I am an admirer of Pollock, for his dramatic and impassionate search for identity.
>
> I am an expert traveller, I know all the tortuous routes of my land of Europe, the mountain paths and the big cities, with their passionate stories and sagas.
>
> I like the pyramids of Egypt, I like Caravaggio, I like Van Gogh, I like the Parthenon, I like Rembrandt, I like Kandinsky, I like Klimt, I like Goya, I like the impetus of the Winged Victory of Samothrace, I like medieval churches, I like the character of Ophelia as Shakespeare describes her and I honour the dead, thinking of myself that I am a modern artist."[8]

8. Jannis Kounellis, "Un uomo antico, un artista moderno", *Vardar*, no 2 (February 1982), republished in Kounellis, ibid, 92.

Here we perceive the restlessness of an enquiry far from that of overseas: semantic experimentation is combined with that vital sensitivity unveiled by the Cubists and explored by the Italian avant-gardes in Futurism. Kounellis, as well as other artists of his generation, finds in Futurism, Boccioni, and Malevič's suprematism the sense of a primary, dynamic impulse. He pursues this enthusiastic fervour, the vital impulse of the Futurist inquiry, within a mythography whose sources recall the authority of ancient models. It is an impulse contrary to the disconcerting emptiness of de Chirico's visions – desertified, crystallized, emptied of humanity, although consonant to Kounellis for the similarities in origin and lexicon. Both these models, the dynamic and the immutable, emerge from archetypal memory. They reveal fragments of classical elements, memories and simple echoes, discernible in the works of Pino Pascali, and in many others by Giulio Paolini, Luciano Fabro, Mario Schifano, Gilberto Zorio, Alighiero Boetti, Mario Ceroli, to name but a few.

These fragments do not only reveal a sensibility for lost classicism and the history of artistic practice, a sensibility different from that of the protagonists of American pop art in the use of materials, intention, form and gestures. A fragment of reality is for Europe a metaphysical vision of the real, a metonymic part of a more complex whole, while for the Americans it is a simulated reality, a hyperbolic reflection of consumer society. The same society that concurrently produces aesthetic detachment in the adoption of rigid symbols derived from elementary structures that impose themselves in architecture and bend nature to their will. Nonetheless America is omnipresent, as an ideal reference and at the same time a subject of political criticism for young Italians, as for Franco Angeli and his painted icons which simultaneously allude to the greatness of capitalism and the noble strength of the Roman Empire.

FIG. 11 Marisa Merz - Living Sculpture, 1966

Starting in the late fifties, Rome is for the Americans an attractive harbour, drawn by the popular and dynamic environment, the thriving film industry and the mundane atmosphere; welcomed by Toti Scialoja and Gabriella Drudi, who act as a bridge between the two continents following their 1956 trip to the United States.[9] Rome as a place of culture and extraordinary natural and historical beauty, but also popular spontaneity and candour; it beckons from an unfamiliar world still so firmly rooted in original authenticity. Rome that now relives the splendour of its past through the new film industry. Two artistic centres in Italy at the time, Rome and Turin, hedonistic and experimental the one, productive and industrial the other, are on the same wavelength in suggesting an elsewhere, a sense of space imagined with materials no longer belonging to art. Alterity is sought after and strongly desired, as once more Kounellis underlines, offering an enlightening confrontation between two American artists, between who chose to relate to the old world and who instead depicts the symbols and myths of the new: "[...] the difference between Cy Twombly's painting and that of Lichtenstein: that of Cy lasts, because there is training to his gestures, in Cy there is something intimate, extremely intimate, while [Lichtenstein] has a much more external quality which leads him to that experience also in a critical sense […]."[10] Twombly, still sensitive to the echoes of the past, traces epic narratives translating them in a modern vocabulary, while Lichtenstein's images reiterate idioms derived from comic strips. Even when the lexicons seem to stem from the same source or from codes of common origin, it is the imaginary dimension of being, that perception of a vital flow, which marks the separation between the two continents, making a distinction

9. "Two months in New York. Met and frequented all the most thriving painters of the new school in New York. Friendship with De Kooning, Rothko, Guston, Motherwell and Marca Relli. Visit to the studios of Kline, Reinardt (sic), Vicente ... Befriended Jeanne Raynal, studied the paintings of Gorky in his collection, visited Pollock's home in the East Hamptons, the places of his life and death…", Toti Scialoja, "Un quadro è una cosa", *L'esperienza moderna*, (1956) accessed June 25, 2018, http://www.trax.it/toti_scialoja.htm

10. From Jannis Kounellis, *Un villaggio pieno di rose*, interview by Carla Lonzi, from the catalogue of the exhibition *Kounellis*, La Tartaruga Gallery, Rome 1966, republished in Kounellis, ibid, 24.

between two planes of existence.

The fuse lit in 1968 shines for a brief season and as it burns risks exhausting its very own premises, as will inevitably transpire, markedly in politics. Nothing will be the same again, despite the attempts of restoration. This breath of fresh air will remain a conquest in every field; the combination of techniques and languages will produce new experiments, in cinema, theatre, visual arts and literature.

Yet yesterday's world – the one of bourgeoisie – is near, even more than China is. Forfeited illusions generate monsters, the impossibility of obtaining the impossible produces violent drifts in a "generation" that preaches love instead of war.

The moment of confluence between students, blue-collar workers, artists, intellectuals, philosophers, poets, filmmakers and playwrights is magical. It seems that the miracle of a "world saved by kids" is about to come true, and the diversions provided on the one hand by armed struggle and on the other by ashrams do not predominate. The hopeful stance of utopia prevails over that of monotonous bourgeois banality and unsettling dystopia. A new intellectual lingua franca[11] originates from the debates between Marxism, historicism and idealism; a language sensitive to phenomenology and existentialism, both identified as a basis for a new perception of experience understood in its pre-categorical form. In close proximity with "a philosophy of the organic process, founded on the inalienable reality of time and the interdependence of events,"[12] a stimulus for new confrontations with reality.

From Europe to America stylistic similitudes and analogies of varied origins cast the same message of subversion and vitality, definitely severing the boundary between object and concept. The idea of what is contemporary is crystallized through an encroachment on the space-time continuum: actuality and creation are now part of the same life experience particularly due to the dissolution of the normative model, the elimination of opposites, and the refusal of any artifice. New terrains are explored in the search for an original dimension, where ideas and terminology derived from anthropology, semantics, esotericism, and other worlds previously not associated by overarching aesthetic models, coexist and coalesce. An explosive charge of immeasurable dimensions that will sow the seeds for renewed utopias and propagate with extraordinary force in the coming and current generations.

11. Suffice to mention here only a few of the fundamental texts published at the time and very rapidly distributed in Italy, due to their translation being almost concurrent to their release in original language: Michel Foucault, *Les Mots et les Choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque des sciences humaines edition, 1966) [*Le parole e le cose: un'archeologia delle scienze umane*, translated by Emilio Panaitescu (Milan: BUR, 2006), 14 (I ed., Milan: Rizzoli, 1967)]. *L'Archéologie du savoir*, will be published in 1969 in the same French collection [*L'archeologia del sapere*], translated by Giovanni Bogliolo (Milan: Rizzoli, 1971). In 1966 there will be very interesting developments in the human sciences: Jacques Lacan's two volume book, *Écrits* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966); the Italian translation of Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques, t. I: Le Cru et le suit* (Paris: Plon 1964) [*Mitologica I. Il crudo e il cotto*, translated by Andrea Bonomi (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1966)] the second volume of *Mythologiques, Du miel aux cendres*, will be published in French for Plon editions in 1967; Gérard Genette, the first tome of *Figures* (1966-1972) (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, Tel Quel edition, 1966) [*Figure: retorica e strutturalismo*, (Turin: Einaudi, 1969)]; Algirdas Julien Greimas, *Sémantique structurale: recherche et méthode* (Paris: Larousse, 1966) [*La semantica strutturale: ricerca di metodo*, translated by Italo Sordi, Rizzoli (Milan, 1968)]; Roland Barthes, *Critique et Vérité* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966 [*Critica e verità*, translated by Clara Lusignoli and Andrea Bonomi (Turin: Einaudi 1969)] and the Italian translation of *Éléments de sémiologie* (Paris: Denoël/Gonthier, 1965) [*Elementi di semiologia*, translated by Andrea Bonomi (Turin: Einaudi, 1966)]. Umberto Eco had already published the first version of *Opera aperta: Forma e indeterminazione nelle poetiche contemporanee* (Milan: Bompiani, 1962), an extremely important text for the poetics of the neo-avant-garde. He published in 1966 *Le poetiche di Joyce: dalla "Summa" al "Finnegans Wake"* (Milan: Bompiani, 1966) (edition then modified based on the second part of *Opera Aperta*, 1962) and *La struttura assente: introduzione alla ricerca semiologica* (Milan: Bompiani, 1968) and *La definizione dell'arte* (Milan: U. Mursia, 1967) witnesses the publication of *La fine dell'avanguardia (Appunti per una frase di Goldmann, per due versi di un testo di avanguardia, e per una intervista di Barthes)* by Pier Paolo Pasolini, *"Nuovi Argomenti"*, new series, no 3-4 subsequently also in Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Empirismo eretico* (Milan: Garzanti, 2000).

12. In Enzo Paci, *Dall'esistenzialismo al relazioniamo* (Messina-Firenze: G. DAnna, 1957), 15; cited in Guido Davide Neri, "Paci e Merleau-Ponty. Una testimonianza e qualche riflessione", *Chiasmi International*, no 2 (2000).

"Architettura e/o Rivoluzione" up at the Castle. A Self-Convened Conference in Turin (April, 25-27, 1969)

Elena Dellapiana
elena.dellapiana@polito.it
Department of Architecture & Design, Polytechnic of Turin

Architect, PhD, she is Associate Professor of Architecture and Design History. She is a scholar of architecture, town and design history of the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries, and she has published several papers and books on Italian and international architects, on the transmission of architectural culture in art academies and applied arts museums, and on the discussion about historical sources and historicism. She collaborated to the books *Made in Italy. Rethinking a Century of Italian Design* edited by K. Fallan and G. Lees Maffey (Bloomsbury, 2013) and *Storia dell'architettura italiana: L'Ottocento* edited by A. Restucci (Milan: Electa, 2005) and she took part to several research groups. Among her recent publications are: *Il design della ceramica in Italia* (1850-2000) (Milan: Electa, 2010), Il design degli architetti italiani 1920-2000, with F. Bulegato (Milan: Electa, 2014), *Una storia dell'architettura contemporanea*, with G. Montanari, (Torino: Utet, 2015).

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to analyse an unrecognized episode that occurred in Turin at the height of the 1968 protests. The conference was organized at the Faculty of Architecture by the "Committee of assistants", with the support of colleagues and students from the humanities and science faculties, and it coincided with the 1969 celebrations in memory of the liberation of Italy from the Nazi-Fascists. Many important guests took part to this event: architects such as Archigram, Architecture Principe, Utopie, Yona Friedman, Archizoom, Paolo Soleri and Aldo Giurgola, and people involved in the debate such as Gianni Vattimo, Carlo Olmo, Gian Mario Bravo and Aimaro Isola. The three dense days were scrupulously documented in minutes published by the magazine *Marcatré*. **Apart from them, in this paper other sources have been investigated: unpublished documents, direct testimonies and echoes of the event published in national and international magazines of the time. As one of the few occasions to link categories such as Utopia and Revolution, the conference provides a glimpse of both the euphoric atmosphere and the uncertainty surrounding the social and political role of the architects and the design. In their speeches, the guests brought up themes such as the incipient ecological crisis, the criticism of the western capitalist city and the contamination with non-architectural disciplines. All the contradictions in the political confrontation and in the professional scene emerged from the ensuing debate, which included even harsh discussions about the use of ideologies and political assessments. All these items developed in the subsequent paths taken by the protagonists.**

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Utopia; Revolution; Architect's role; social struggle

FIG. 1 Turin Faculty occupation, 1963, from *Casabella* 287 (May 1964), p. 7

Introduction: communication and reception of a revolt

Marcatré, a magazine otherwise dedicated to experimental art and literature, opened to architecture too in its second number (1964) with the column Architettura supervised by Paolo Portoghesi and a paper written by Domenico Cecchini and Francesco Cellini[1] which told about the occupation of the Rome Architecture faculty quarters. Portoghesi, in turn, well introduced the general subject of the column: "As we think that architecture has to be criticism, acknowledgment, judgment rather than aesthetic, we enter into the subject by documenting facts that testify the will of struggle of the new generations to conquer for the architects a ruffling transformation of the structures that are ever more precise and responsible"[2]. Furthermore, the two authors of the paper focused immediately on the translation of this statement in the "real" life of Italian architecture: the squatting of the faculties of Architecture in Rome and Milan, referring to Engels' and Fourier's thought about the relationship between politics and technique in solving housing problems. While the 'official' architectural magazines (such as *Casabella* and *Domus*) seemed not so interested in political events, *Marcatrè* was really engaged as a "Notiziario di cultura contemporanea" (Contemporary culture bulletin) and showed from the early beginning a movementist attitude, even in its imagery. Its founder and director Eugenio Battisti, an Art History teacher at the University of Genova, titled indeed the first editorial "La tavolata e il fumoir"[3] (The Table and the Smoking room), to represent the informal atmosphere of the newsroom meetings.

On the contrary, *Domus*, directed by Gio Ponti , and *Casabella*, directed by Ernesto Nathan Rogers, were almost proof to the political debate, in particular during the first struggles at the Faculties of Architecture which began in Italy in 1963[4]. Only in 1964, an almost complete number of

1. *Marcatré, rivista di cultura contemporanea* (magazine of contemporary culture), was born in 1963, in relation with the poetic avant-gard group Gruppo 63; it was directed by Eugenio Battisti, and divided into sections entrusted to several young intellectuals: Sylvano Bussotti (music), Diego Carpitella (music and theatre), Gillo Dorfles (industrial design), Umberto Eco (literature and semiology) Roberto Leydi (ethnomusicology), Piero Gamacchio (late director), Vittorio Gelmetti (music), Vittorio Gregotti (architetture), Vito Pandolfi (theatre), Paolo Portoghesi (architecture) Edoardo Sanguineti (poetry). See Elisabetta Mondello, *Gli Anni delle riviste: le riviste letterarie dal 1945 agli anni Ottanta con un repertorio di 173 periodici*, (Lecce: Milella 1985), 136; Riccardo Zecchini, *Marcatrè Rivista di Cultura contemporanea* http://www.verbapicta.it/dati/riviste/macratre.-notiziario-di-cultura-contemporanea; Domenico Cecchini e Francesco Cellini, "Colpo di stato in Facoltà", Marcatré, II,2,1 (1964): 76-80.

2. Ivi: 76.

3. Eugenio Battisti, "La tavolata e il fumoir", *Marcatre*, 1 (November 1963): 10.

4. First squatting were in Venice (1958 and 1960) and Turin (1959) to protest against the introduction of some restrictive rules; Francisca Insulza, *Studenti, architetti, città: da facoltà d'élite a università di massa*, PHD Dissertation, "Storia e valorizzazione del Patrimonio Architettonico, Urbanistico e Ambientale", Politecnico di Torino 2009, sup. G. Montanari.

Casabella [Fig. 1] was dedicated to the debate on Architecture teaching, mixing students' or young assistants' reports on the local claims with expert professors' – such as Quaroni or Benevolo – considerations, with the aim of showing an overview of the existing architectural schools[5]. In this number there were several articles from the Faculty of Architecture in Turin: Piero Derossi, one of the young assistants, told about the general asset of the superior instruction, the responsibility of the institution and the architect's role in the changing society[6], underlining the necessity of a new ethic approach in designing cities and houses, with a stronger awareness of the non-neutrality of the technique and of the sectoriality of disciplines. Biagio Garzena, a professor in Venice but professionally active in Turin, wrote about the relationship between the teaching system and research activities[7] and a group of students signed an accurate report of the defects of the Turin school in relation with the academic organization, the teachers' quality and the economic and social characteristics of the city – a 'one company town' deeply related with the FIAT firm. They wrote about the cultural and economic depression and the consequent solutions imagined and debated during the conference *Facoltà di Architettura e territorio* (Faculty of Architecture and Territory) organized in 1962 by a committee of both professors and students[8]. The year before, Bruno Zevi, founder and director of the magazine *L'Architettura – Cronache e storia*, agreed with the students who squatted the Faculties in Milan and Turin, asking for their more substantial participation in schools cultural growth[9]. In 1964 *Marcatrè* stated again about the aftermath of occupation in the Faculty of Rome, reporting the professors' "obstructionism and verbosity" versus the students' claim for "commitment and responsibility" even in a "fascist" law system, the clash between the groups and the growth of a new political and cultural awareness[10]. It is evident how the magazine's editorial line pushed towards a political reading of the protests and a relationship between the architect's profession and the problem of the growth of capitalist cities. *Edilizia Moderna* dedicated a complete number to what happened during 1963 – yet published it in 1965[11] – dedicating some pages to the crisis of the teaching practice pointed out during the faculties occupations and collecting documents (from tabloids, minutes of assemblies and specialized magazines – among whom *Marcatré*) that reported the different statements about this item[12].

Later on, between 1967 and 1968, the topics most covered in the magazines were, on one hand, the student protests and more generally the wide spreading counterculture and, on the other hand, the architectural projects driven by experimental groups.

Marcatré, *Casabella*, *Domus*, *L'Architettura*, *Necropoli* and other magazines reported on the protests in Italian and international universities, on the contestations of exhibitions – Milan Triennale, Venice Biennale, Kassel Documenta or those organized by the American Museums – and on the projects by Archigram, Archizoom, U.F.O., Soleri, and by groups named

5. *Casabella*, 287 (May 1964).

6. Piero Derossi, "Responsabilità del sapere", Ivi: 12-13.

7. Biagio Garzena, "Questioni sulla ricerca nelle Facoltà", Ivi: 18-19.

8. Students group (Capellino, Coletti, De Giorgi, Magnaghi, Morbelli, Perona, Preto, Rosso, Sistri, Viale), "Torino. Monopolio e depressione culturale", ivi: 24-27.

9. Bruno Zevi, "La rivolta degli studenti architetti", *L'Architettura*, 92 (June 1963): 74-75.

10. Domenico Cecchini e Francesco Cellini, "Impegno e responsabilità", *Marcatrè*, 3 (February 1964): 79-83; they referred exactly to Bruno Zevi's speech and his ability to mediate between students who rejected dialogue and the arrogance of many professors.

11. *Edilizia Moderna*, nn. 82-83 (1965): The magazine, directed by Vittorio Gregotti was focused, in these years, on the industrialization of architecture and the overlapping of languages with a strong awareness of the growing of massmediatic society.

12. Red. "Facoltà in crisi", Ivi: 23-24.

under the category "Utopia". The November 1968 number of Domus, for instance, published the reproduction of the Milanogram, the installation presented by Archigram UK and US groups at the Triennale[13].

An anonymous group, self-named "00", based in Turin, published on *Marcatré* a declaration of dispute on the contest *Grand Prix International d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme* announced for the city of Cannes, together with the reproduction of the manifesto-call for the Memorial Day march in Berkley. Their aim was to call the entire society to participate to the debate on the growth of the city: "Choose a city (choose it yourself, all are fine), we convene everybody, discuss exploitations, transform the theatres and the churches in places for public discussion: put the power in brackets (if you can). The urban fetish may safely fall; no one will get hurt. Will we be able to dissolve the knots of repressions every time they are born? (the only role that the intellectual can play is that of the anti-policeman). If we cannot do this, it is perfectly useless for us to plan or judge or discuss. Can we do it? Every alternative is a lie"[14].

13. Red., "Il "Milanogram" alla Triennale", *Domus* 468 (November 1968): 40-43.

14. Gruppo 00, Torino, "Relazione di un gruppo di assistenti della Facoltà di Architettura e architetti di Torino (Gruppo 00) per il concorso di Cannes 1970 (Grand Prix International d'Urbanisme et d'Architecture)", *Marcatrè*, 46/49 (1968): 72-74.

Utopia and/or Revolution

The highly political "00" statement, together with the raising interest for the utopian projects[15], well explains the organization of the conference in Turin. At the beginning of 1969, the "Unione Culturale", a leftist association born in the aftermath of the Liberation on the initiative of leading intellectuals such as Pavese, Bobbio, Casorati, Mila and others, directed at that time by the theatre critic Edoardo Fadini, promoted the idea of an exhibition-conference focused on contemporary architecture and titled "Utopia and experimentalism" (as announced in international magazines such as Architectural Design)[16].

Initially the Turin's meeting seemed to faithfully reproduce the one held in Folkestone in 1966 promoted by the Archigram group together with the Metropole Art Centre and the British Architectural Students Association: the *International Dialogue of Experimental Architecture* [Fig. 2][17], which set up a playful debate against the "modern tradition", enhancing the new tendencies and with no connection with the past and even with the present[18]. The Turinese architect Pietro Derossi had taken part to it and he was probably one of the inspirers of the Italian program[19]. In fact, the very first proposal stated: "This initiative aims a critical analysis of the proposals appearing in the international limelight of experimental architecture intended either as a paroxysmal forcing of current technological and social trends or as an attempt to foreshadow a global alternative for the organization of inhabited spaces"[20].

The list of architects invited was very rich. From UK, the Archigram group, the elder Cedric Price and Arthur Quarmbly both interested in pre-fabrication and plastic materials; Theo Crosby, architect-artist and

15. On this item we must remember at least: Lewis Mumford, "Utopia, the City and the Machine", *Daedalus*, 94, 2, (Spring 1965), 271-292, which outlines the relationship between city, technology and utopia.

16. Red., "Conferences", *Architectural Design*, March 1969, 128; the reported title is *Utopia & experiment in the architecture of today*.

17. *International Exhibition of Experimental Architecture*: The New Metropole Arts Centre, Folkestone, 6-30 June 1966; Craig Buckleym, "International Dialogue of Experimental Architecture (IDEA)", Radical Pedagogies, E17, http://radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/e17-international-dialogue-experimental-architecture-idea/ dir. by B. Colomina.

18. Piero Derossi's memory of those days is in P. Derossi, *Per un'architettura narrativa. Architetture e progetti 1959-2000* (Milan: Skirà, 2000): 36-38.

19. On the teaching changes at the Politecnico di Torino, regarding specifically the design disciplines and the people involved in the conference, see Elena Dellapiana, "Da dove vengono i designer (se non si insegna il design)? Torino dagli anni Trenta ai Sessanta", *QuAD*, 1, 2017, forthcoming.

20. Unione Culturale Franco Antonicelli Archives, AS 282, *Mostra convegno "UTOPIA e/o rivoluzione. 25-27 aprile 1969, w.d.*

curator; the architectural critic Reiner Banham. From France, Yona Friedman; the groups Utopie and Architecture Principe; the Situationist artist Constant (Nieuwenhuys)[21]. From Japan, the Metabolist group and Kenzo Tange. From USSR, the NER group, previously invited by Giancarlo De Carlo at the 1968 Milan Triennale[22]. From USA, the 'Maestro' Buckminster Fuller, Michael Webb, one of the Archigram founders; David Greene.

FIG. 2 IDEA Folkestone registration form, 1966

The invitation of the Soviet and Japanese architects was subjected to the financial contribution of their respective national architects associations; so, in the final program their names disappeared together with the American ones, substituted by the Italian Paolo Soleri, active in USA but born and trained in Turin, and the Italian-American Romualdo Giurgola[23]. The list of the participants was not the only variation in the final program of the event: the exhibition-conference title changed in *Utopia e/o Rivoluzione* and the organizers were the Unione Culturale together with some assistants and students of the Faculty of Architecture of Turin. Derossi testifies that the contestation of the teaching system and the spurs for its greater involvement in society were originated by the assistants and that the students followed them later[24]: the youngest among the teaching class pushed explicitly towards a more political approach and so the word *Revolution* appeared in the title [Fig. 3]. The aim was to stimulate the architects belonging to the "utopian party", who believed in technological advancement as an advancement of the discipline itself, to reflect and discuss about the possibility of taking on a role in the social and economical changes and in the "soft" revolution derived from the larger sharing of the instruments of political interpretation[25]. The structure of the meeting was based on confrontation: the speeches by the invited architects illustrated their design approaches in relationship with the changing society; downstream of this, the participants had to discuss about the relation and the overlapping between the utopia and the possible revolutionary actions, exploring meanings and functions both of the architecture and urban planning and of the social challenges; finally, a third step aimed to clarify the intellectual's role in eliminating the gap between awareness and praxis through contacts and programs shared with the urban stakeholders. The organizing committee had launched a call to architects, students, intellectuals from all around the country to contribute to the debate with a written intervention. The opening speech

21. The "Internazionale Situazionista" had a base in Alba, Piedmont, where Constant lived for a short period in 1956; see Stefano Taccone (ed.), *Contro l'infelicità. L'Internazionale Situazionista e la sua attualità*, (Verona: Ombre Corte, 2014).

22. Masha Panteleyeva, "Alexei Gutnov, the NER Group ("New Element of Settlement") and Giancarlo De Carlo", *Radical Pedagogies*, http://radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/e06-moscow-institute-architecture-triennale-milano/, dir. by B. Colomina.

23. Unione Culturale Franco Antonicelli Archives, AS 282, *Mostra convegno "UTOPIA e/o rivoluzione. 25-27 aprile 1969, Typescript Program, March 1969.*

24. Interview in Emanuele Piccardo, *Dopo la rivoluzione. Azioni e protagonisti dell'architettura radicale 1963-1973,* (Busalla: Plug in, 2009), with DVD.

25. For example, the "150 hours" program: a training program thought as a solution against illiteracy of the working classes in the post-war period, now intended for an exchange between workers and students and concentrated on reading Marx and the theoreticians of the left-wing. See Francesco Lauria, *Le 150 ore per il diritto allo studio. Analisi, memoria, echi di una straordinaria esperienza sindacale*, (Roma: Edizioni Lavoro 2011).

FIG. 3 *Marcatrè* 52/55, 1969, w.p.

by the U e/o R (aka Utopia e/o Rivoluzione) was discussed by the first promoters (architects Giorgio Ceretti, Graziella and Pietro Derossi, Riccardo Rosso, Adriana Ferroni, Aimaro d'Isola and Elena Tamagno) with the professor of philosophy Gianni Vattimo, the historian Gian Mario Bravo, the historian of architecture Carlo Olmo and the physicist Arnaldo Ferroni. Furthermore, among the participants in the debate we find the Milanese Emilio Battisti and Giovanni di Maio, Jean-Pierre Buffi (who was working in Paris in Prouvé's atelier) and architect Vittorio Gregotti (from the editorial board of *Marcatré* and director of *Edilizia Moderna*). The "artistic" and performing part was represented by Egi Volterrani and by "Assemblea Teatro", a theatrical research group in which some architecture students took part, in connection with the "Unione Culturale" director, Emilio Fadini[26]. The overlapping of different approaches, maybe the most evident result of the Radical season, was explicitly declared in the introductory report, which underlined the "old" problem of the architect as a technician and an artist at the meantime. The same idea was represented in the manifesto [Fig. 4] of the conference designed by Derossi and Isola, a collage of sentences about utopia and revolution due to theorists from different times and places: the "fathers" of utopia Plato, Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella, Fourier, Etiénne Cabet, and then Marx, Engels, Proudhon, Robert Owen, Babeuf, Mao, Martin Buber, Karl Mannheim, Nicolas Schoffer, György Lukács, Adorno and Horkheimer, Nicola Abbagnano, Robert Merton, March Bloch, Ferruccio Rossi Landi, Henri Lefebvre – all Marxist thinkers, historians, sociologists and economists; and then the architects or critics Manfredo Tafuri,

26. Gabriella Pecetto Amodei, *L'Unione Culturale di Torino. Trent'anni di storia 1945/1975*, MD thesis, University of Turin, 1981, sup. Prof. Claudio Dellavalle, 217-219.

Giulio Carlo Argan, Le Corbusier, the Utopie group, Renato De Fusco, Alexei Gutnov, Louis Kahn, Yona Friedman, Paolo Soleri, Michel Ragon, Thomas A. Reiner, Ludovico Quaroni, Leonard Reissmann, Filiberto Menna. They all offered definitions of utopia and revolutionary ideas applied to the city development together with the slogans stated by the different student movements and parties, in a confused and cheerful mix used as a background for the title of the conference painted in large red letters[27]. Reading those quotations in any direction or order highlights the recurrence of words as technique, progress, future, but also joy, equality, pleasantness, well representing the different souls of the contestation typical of the Sixties[28].

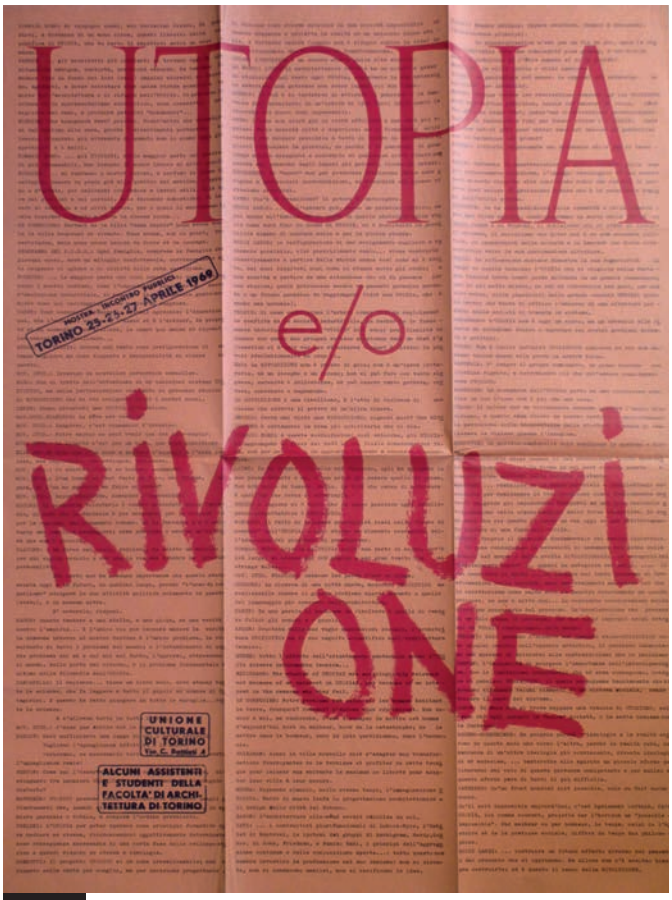

FIG. 4 Poster by Piero Derossi and Aimaro Isola, Unione Culturale Franco Antonicelli Archives, AS 282, *Mostra convegno "UTOPIA e/o rivoluzione. 25-27 aprile 1969, w.d.*

The same fluctuation permeated the three days of the conference, in which the interventions, all prepared and delivered in advance with a graphic documentation[29] were mixed to the protests at the limit of performing: one of them was held by a group of students with the Assemblea Teatro members, who laid down on the floor from the front of the building all the way to the entrance of the hall where the conference took place, forcing those who wanted to enter to walk on them; a more "revolutionary" one was driven by the Utopie group: as remembered by Herbert Tonka, one of the leading characters, they "wrapped a number of shitheads in toilet-paper. We held the whole conference hostage for several hours with a leftist group called the Vikings. The cops showed up with submachine guns, etc…"[30]. No other participant remembers that as such a dramatic fact: Andrea Branzi, from the Archizoom group, remembers the hostage keeping as made by some students in order to distribute propaganda leaflets[31], and Peter Cook, from the Archigram group, remembers with irritation the lock-in but not such an epic struggle[32]. Furthermore, the quoted Vikings were a group of soccer supporters of one of the local teams (the Torino) with deep political leftist sympathies, but not involved in the architecture debate. Anyway, this episode reflects both those years mood and the purpose of the organizers, which wanted to mix and contaminate a theoretic debate on the architect's role with the more actual every day people's problems – house, work, pollution, briefly all the issues of the class struggle – and make the university 'permeable' to people's daily life. Gesture and theory, utopia and revolution were the two sides between whom the debate unfolded reflecting the slogan "workers and students united in the struggle" facing Turin's social emergencies in the city and in its territory[33].

27. Unione Culturale Franco Antonicelli Archives, AS 282, *Mostra convegno "UTOPIA e/o rivoluzione. 25-27 aprile 1969*, Posters.

28. For a general outline see Guido Crainz, *Il paese mancato. Dal miracolo economico agli anni Ottanta*, (Roma: Donzelli 2005), 187-293; on the specific of Turin, see Bruno Bongiovanni, "Il Sessantotto studentesco e operaio", in Nicola Tranfaglia (ed.), *Storia di Torino. IX Gli anni della Repubblica*, (Torino: Einaudi, 1999): 779-814.

29. The Unione culturale Archive keeps the manuscripts of the U e/o R, Soleri, Utopie, and Architecture Principe reports.

30. Tonka interviewed in January 1997, quoted in Jean-Louis Violeau , *Utopie: in Act*, in Dessauce, Marc (ed.), *The Inflatable Moment: Pneumatics and Protest in '68*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999): 49.

31. Interview collected by Sara Abrate, September 2017.

32. Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, (London: MIT, 2005): 187.

33. Gian Vittorio Avondo, *Il '68 a Torino*, (Torino: Il Capricorno, 2017).

Day 1: build

The conference contributions opened with Romualdo Giurgola[34], an Italian architect born in 1920 and emigrated in USA in the post-war, active member of the editorial staff of *Interiors* magazine, dean of the Columbia University School of Architecture and Planning. His approach was by and large conciliatory: he distanced himself from radicalism and invoked a change of design scale - from the city to the region - in order to incorporate and dilute the project subject measured in large numbers[35] and to accompany – not impose – the transformations in place. His speech tried to demonstrate the architect's ability to control development processes through his involvement in decision-making since the inception. Quoting Friedman's work, he presented the idea of a 'participated design' based on the "advocacy planning" model, with an experiment made with his students at Columbia: the booklet *Use or Abuse. How to turn vacant storefronts, buildings and lots into community asset*, which had the aim to illustrate the program for an early urban regeneration **[Fig. 5]**.

FIG. 5 Aldo Giurgola, Page from *Use or Abuse. How to turn vacant storefronts, buildings and lots into community assets*, *Marcatrè* 52/55 (1969), w.p.

Another non-conflictive position was that of Paolo Soleri[36], an Italian architect, Giurgola's coetaneous, who trained at Wright's Taliesin school and established in Arizona at the end of the Fifties: he presented his *Archology* project – a *Weltanschauung*, indeed – published in a long article in *Domus* the following month[37]. In order to make theory practical, his aim was to look forward to the proto-historic roots of mankind, in an ethic more than political vision. His projects, urban clusters grafted in the desert (such as Soleri's atelier in Scottsdale), floating on the ocean or hidden in the natural landscape **[Fig. 6]**, were focused on energy self-sufficiency, DIY, almost without any relationship with ideological approaches, according to the *Whole Hearth catalogue* mood[38] mixed with the growing cybernetics in which, in Soleri's mind, technology was turning[39].

The following speakers belonged to the generation closer to the young protesters; they had been trained during the post-war years and were promoters of interdisciplinary, non-academic groups, in contrast with those of just a decade or so older.

Architecture Principe, consisting of Paul Virilio and Claude Parent[40], corrected the original meeting title in *Anomy and Revolution* and focused on sociological and political aspects, identifying the "class" of anomists (anomie = lawlessness, i.e. the outcasts, the foreign workers excluded even by the proletariat) as the unbalancing element of the future society

34. https://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/23058; Ehrman B. Mitchell, *Mitchell Giurgola architects*, (New York: Rizzoli International, 1983).

35. One further document signed by Giurgola and his colleagues Peter Blake (from Columbia University), David Crane (University of Pensylvania) and Donlyn Lyndon (MIT), and titled *The Large number. City and territory transformations*, was part of the Unione Culturale documentation for the preparation of the conference; now in Prof. Riccardo Bedrone's (one of the students involved in the organization) archive.

36. Antonietta Jolanda Lima, *Paolo Soleri: architettura come archeologia umana*, (Milano: Jaca Book, 2000); in Unione Culturale Archives, Torino, (AS 282) is kept a further, unpublished long document of 12 pages, telling a detailed program of the *Cosanti Foundation*, its previewed developments and expected results.

37. Red. "Quella che Soleri chiama Arcologia: Architettura + Ecologia", *Domus* 474 (May 1969): 54-65.

38. Andrew G. Kirk, *Green Counterculture. The Whole Hearth Catalog and American Environmentalism*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007).

39. Marcatré, 50/55 (1969): 52; Norbert Wiener's writings were in that years re-edited and revisited living a new season of critical success.

40. An overview on this French group activity is John Armitage, *Virilio for Architects*, (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge 2015).

and the revolutionary spring. The disequilibrium is also the characterizing element of the architectures they showed, not mentioned in the report, totally alien to functionalist logics and connoted exclusively by the oblique "direction"[41] [Fig. 7]. They explained their point of view as the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial system:

"What, through Communism, was yesterday still the will of appropriation of the production means, has been transformed into the will of appropriation of the social space, of the communication and information medias"[42].

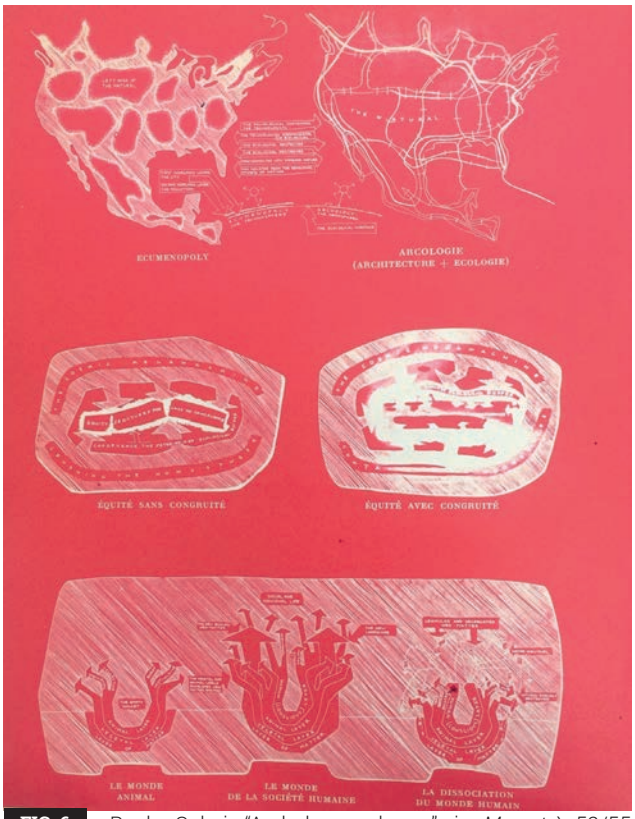

FIG. 6 Paolo Soleri, "Archology scheme", in *Marcatrè* 52/55 (1969), w.p.

Day 2: theorize and provoke

The English Archigram group's report started from the final statement of the opening speech about the class struggle. Their interpretation of class-system was far from the organizers' challenges and their aim to keep away from the radical politics of the new left was quite evident. Archigram's attitude, perceived as a lack of political involvement, "cool" and somehow liberalist, was centred on individual freedom and on the role that architects could play in promoting it[43]. The addressed topic was the relationship between the designed space, mainly urban, and individual freedoms. Their thesis was that space changes could influence social dynamics, using the technical improvements too. The field of action is the middle-calls *miliéu* and the chosen example a university project, already published on the January number of *Casabella*[44], focused on the initiatives for the changes to the academic structure, pyramidal at the time, that was to become more "liquid" and pervasive thanks to the new communication systems. *Control and Choice* [Fig. 8] partially published in *Casabella* and presented at the 1967 Paris Biennial, was illustrated through a sequence of pictures representing the networking idea of connected but independent people able to accept and elaborate -or refuse- the circulating information.

Yona Friedman's contribution was based on mobility too. An elder architect who had been involved in the legendary 10th CIAM congress (1956) where he had presented his *Mobile Architecture theory*[45], in Turin he took a further step forward: mobility is either physical, social and cultural. The possibilities of learning thanks to the information spreading allow both the quick replacement of dominant groups and the improvement of knowledge, making people more and more independent from specialists and professionals. In such a flux-society, architects, intended as traditional

41. The published projects are *La fonction oblique (1965-1967)* and *Les Inclisites* (1968), Both are in the FRAC Centre-val de Loire Archives (http://www.frac-centre.fr/collection-art-architecture/architecture-principe-58.html?authID=10).

42. *Marcatrè* 50/55 (1969): 59-60.

43. *Marcatrè* 50/55 (1969): 62-79; Simon Sadler, *Archigram. Architecture without Architecture*, (Cambridge-London: MIT Press, 2005): 177-187; the Archigram's archives are on line: http://archigram.westminster.ac.uk/.

44. Carlo Pelliccia, Pietro Sartogo, "Campus Design", *Casabella* 332 (January 1969), 12-16. The 2/3 (Control and Choice), 7 (Pod Living) and 9 (Ideas Circus) pictures are both in Archigram's presentation in Turin and in "Casabella" article.

45. Yona Friedman, *L'architecture mobile*, (Bruxelles: Centre d'Etudes Architecturales, 1967).

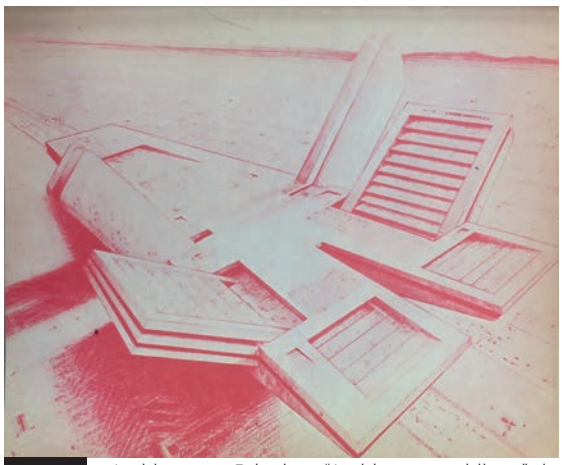

FIG. 7 Architecture Principe, "Architecture oblique", in *Marcatrè* 52/55 (1969), w.p.

design managers, were loosing their role and therefore they had to reform it to achieve the necessary connections with the new social asset. The proposed solution, *L'Architecture mobile, L'extension de Paris vers la hauteur* [Fig. 9] reflected the idea of an architect able to categorize all the possible industrialized elements replaceable and combinable with each other. Straddling self-construction and scientific dissemination, Friedman's suggestions showed in a more utopian way, with regard with dimensions and technological progress: the same approach had been discussed in the 1965 number of *Edilizia Moderna*[46], in which the possibility to cross and overlap architecture and design with the common denominator of industrialization, in order to obtain an architecture definitely thought and made by industrial designers[47] [Fig. 10], was illustrated by several Italian and international architects and designers. Furthermore, Friedman's political vision added to his own methodology a democratic value due to people's involvement in participating projects not as 'dilettanti' but as 'almost experts' who share information and knowledge.

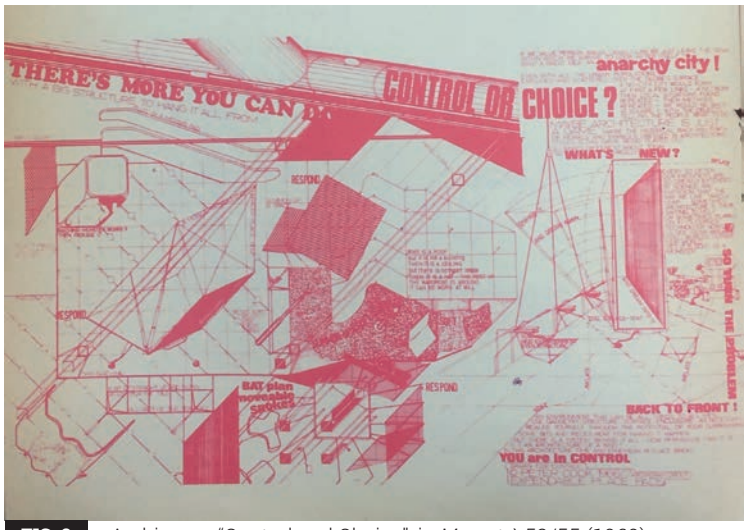

FIG. 8 Archigram, "Control and Choice", in *Marcatrè* 52/55 (1969), w.p.

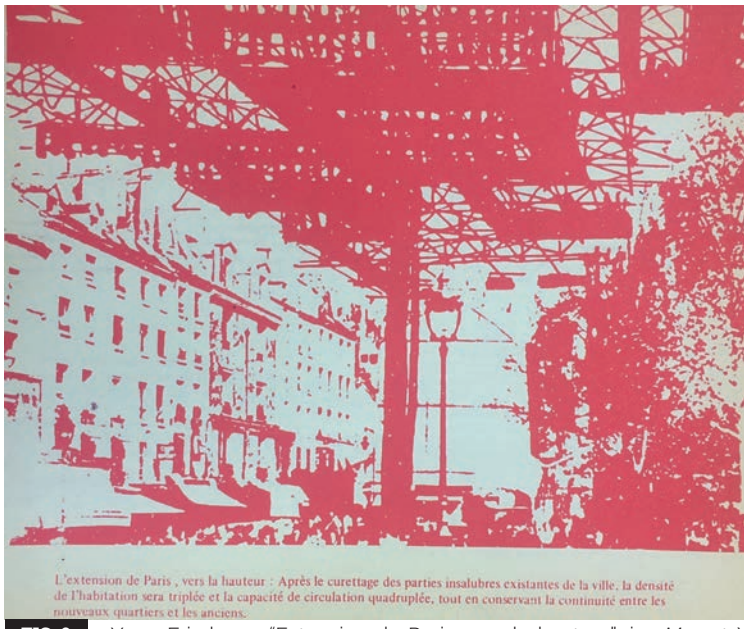

FIG. 9 Yona Friedman, "Extension de Paris vers la hauteur", in *Marcatrè* 52/55 (1969), w.p.

A similar superposition between architecture and design, buildings and items, project and social vision was the sub-track of the presentation of the French Utopie group, somehow twin and rival of his English counterpart *Archigram*[48]. Jean Auber and Huber Tonka, representing the two sides of the group (architects and sociologists), repeated the principles and the slogans launched in the magazine Utopie[49]. Titled *Utopia is not to be written in the future form*[50], their report stated from the very beginning that the dichotomy Utopia/Revolution was a petty bourgeois problem. In turn, collecting all the spurs from Lefebvre's "dialectical materialism", the French students' protests, the Fuller's scientific-technological thoughts and the Pop aesthetic, they tried to unmask the middle-class dream of progress and soft revolution as well as the "institutional" lies (referring to the Paris transformations promoted by De Gaulle). They accused those who had talked about Utopia to deliberately place the changes out of the sphere of the possible; then, they explored the sequence of "utopians" from the Classic to the Modern ages and summed up denying any possible change given by the

46. *Edilizia Moderna*, n. 85 (1965) was entirely dedicated to *Design* with articles and interview to the most authoritative protagonists of international discussion on industrial design. The director Vittorio Gregotti was in Turin and involved in the debate.

47. I.e. the article by Enzo Frateili, "Design e edilizia", *Edilizia Moderna*, 85 (1965): 74-81. Aldo Norsa, Raimonda Riccini (eds.), *Enzo Frateili, un protagonista della cultura del design e dell'architettura*, (Milan: Accademia University Press, 2017).

48. The most relevant legacy of Utopie group is the theoretical work by Jean Baudrillard, one of the founder members, whose *Le système des objets* was published in 1968 (Paris, Gallimard).

49. Craig Buckley and Jean-Louis Violeau (eds.), *Utopie. Texts and Projects, 1967-1978*, (Cambridge- London: MIT Press, 2007).

50. *Marcatré*, 50/55 (1969): 86; The same text, translated in French, is in the Unione Culturale Franco Antonicelli Archive, Torino - probably printed as a flyer to be distributed in the course of the squatting-performance.

utopian theories, except for the one preserving the status quo and corrupting the working class with unachievable dreams. The "Imagination", one of the main topics of the 1968 season of contestations, became an almost negative attitude – if considered as an escape from the real challenge: the realization of the philosophical Marxist utopia. The images illustrating this "struggle against all" represented the political attitude pillorying the Power (the market system, the new Les Halles district in Paris) and the technical achievements (satellites, computers, nuclear central, new airplanes such as the Concorde) without almost any relationship with architecture as a discipline. [Fig. 11]

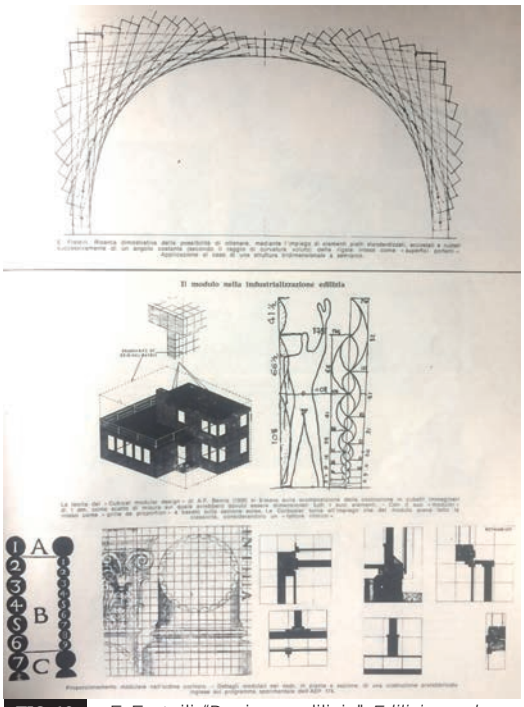

FIG. 10 E. Frateili, "Design e edilizia", *Edilizia moderna*, 85 (1965), 75.

The only Italian group, excepted the organizers, was the Archizoom, whose report was scheduled between the Friedman's and the Utopie's ones[51]. Their contribution to the congress topic was the less inclusive among all: they simply referred to their text – *Relazione politica* (Political Report) – refusing to read it: "I believe that after all that has been said yesterday and today, up to Friedman, it is useless to try to disassemble this conference ideologically or politically. Making a political speech at the moment is out of place, because this does not even seem to me a conference to make a political speech. The conference is already over for us"[52].

Derossi answered them rhetorically asking what was the meaning of "political" in Archizoom mind, and which was its relationship with architecture, considering the fact that "the group is known for a disciplinary work aimed at inventing objects a bit snobbish and mischievous; we would like to know how these design activities that constitute their real practice fit in with their political aspirations"; he also underlined the influence of Archizoom's work on the *No stop city* (1968) and on the quantitative idea of the space occupied and anthropized to be unstructured, unbalanced, kept homogeneous and, at most, modified through styling operations "placing on the roof palms or ostrich feathers". Nevertheless, the images chosen to publish their paper in *Marcatré* illustrated not the urban project but two among the *Theatres* published on *Pianeta Fresco* [Figs. 12-13], the self-printed, countercultural magazine created by Fernanda Pivano with Allen Ginsberg as deputy director (irresponsible director) and Ettore Sottsass jr. as art director (head of the gardens)[53].

The different reports were interspersed with the debate during the first two days (April 25th and 26th), while the third one was entirely devoted to the discussion and the

51. *Marcatrè*, 50/55 (1969): 96-100.

52. Ivi: 117; Roberto Gargiani, *Archizoom Associati 1966-1974. Dall'onda Pop alla superficie neutra*, (Milan: Electa, 2007): 132-133.

53. Archizoom, "Il teatro impossibile", *Pianeta Fresco 2-3* (Winter 1968): 99-103; about the magazine *Pianeta fresco*, see Mario Maffi, *La cultura Underground*, (Bologna: Odoya, 2009); Martina Spalla, *Le Origini della sostenibilità ambientale nel progetto italiano. Dibattiti ed esiti tra il dopoguerra e la crisi energetica*, DM thesis, Politecnico di Torino, sup. Elena Dellapiana, a.a. 2016-17.

FIG. 11 Utopie group, Page of the fanzine, *Marcatrè* 52/55 (1969), w.p.

attempt to define some shared conclusions.

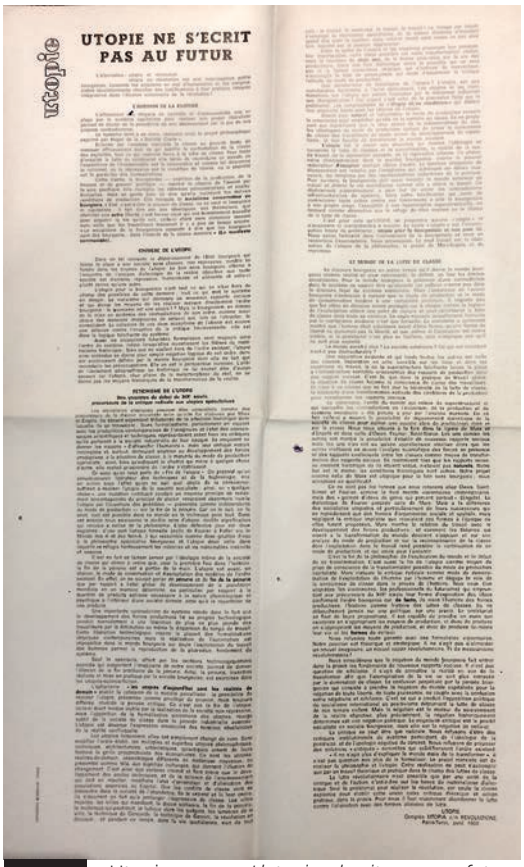

FIG. 12 Utopie group, *L'utopie s'ecrit pas au future*, Unione Culturale Franco Antonicelli Archives, AS 282, *Mostra convegno "UTOPIA e/o rivoluzione*. 25-27 aprile 1969, w.d.

Day 3: why Utopia? (To say nothing of Revolution)

Some "party official" directions (i.e. the request to set up a committee of censorship or use bodyguards to protect the speakers) were refused by the organizers, who supported the assembly procedure despite the risk of disputes and interruptions – as it happened to Friedman, booed by students.

The debate discussed the typical topics of those years: the necessity to stay on a theoretical level in order to avoid falling into individualisms; the interpretation of pivotal words such as "Revolution"; the role played by the reference thinkers – i.e. Marx and Engels; more general categories such as "spirituality", "technique" and "change". On the other hand, especially the group of Derossi among the others, repeatedly tried to focus the debate on architecture. No discussion followed the Architecture Principe's report, substituted by the projection of the documentary *May June 1968* by the young film-maker Jean Pierre Prévost, trained at the Nanterre school together with Baudrillard[54].

The debate, although often elliptical and unclear, highlighted an interesting outlook on the future developments and consequences of the contestation season.

The controversy about the Archigram statements, which seemed to renounce to control the information flow, together with the discussion about the role of architects and universities, offered glimpses of innovation, summing up, the possibilities coming from the contamination between architecture and other disciplines. Swinging between reality and theoretical speculation (referring to Marxism), dialectic and historical materialism (Utopie), the contradictions of the contemporary middle class and the revolutionary perspectives of the proletariat (Buffi, Dimaio), the Day 3 showed two opposite approaches: the attempt at change within architecture and its demystification. The gap between revolutionary and/or utopian positions and the "real" world – intended as building, city planning, goods production and market, all linked to the capitalistic system – was another subject of the debate, focusing on the actions to be taken to heal contradictions. The Utopie group's rejection of the traditional profession and their creation of items intended for the market (such as the pneu objects, showed at the 1968 exhibition *Structure Gonfable* in Museé d'Art Moderne of Paris)[55] suggested to Giorgio Deferrari new questions on this topic, which had already been developed the year before during the 14th Milano Triennale dedicated to the *Exhibition of the Great Number*. At the Triennale, the Blow armchair by De Pas, D'Urbino

54. Prévost was the author of the first documentary in 1966 (15 minn. b&w), on the Sainte-Bernadette-du-Banlay church, by Architecture Principe group (Cité de l'Architecture Archives, Paris).

55. The exhibition is quoted by Pierre Restany as an example of ART exhibition to explain the new artistic trends, talking about Utopie group as "sociologists of urban space; Pierre Restany, "M. Le livre blanc de l'art total", in *Domus* 469 (December 1969): 41-50.

and Lomazzi with Carla Scolari, produced by Zanotta and later becomed the most sold ever inflatable chair, had represented somehow a paradox: a very popular object and at the same time a symbol of the cultural and political change in act. The point of contact between theory and practice were the technological advancement and its formal change following another paradox: the involvement of the producer company in the industrial experimentation[56]. In the Turin event, these items started a dispute about the technology applicability: Archigram was accused to make people dream an impossible and elitist future; Utopie claimed, in turn, its use of futuristic technologies as a tool to make people free in a Marxian logic, passing through, and beyond, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The conference thus ended without bringing a shared vision: the organizing group proposed a motion, voted by a large majority, to continue the debate in the future.

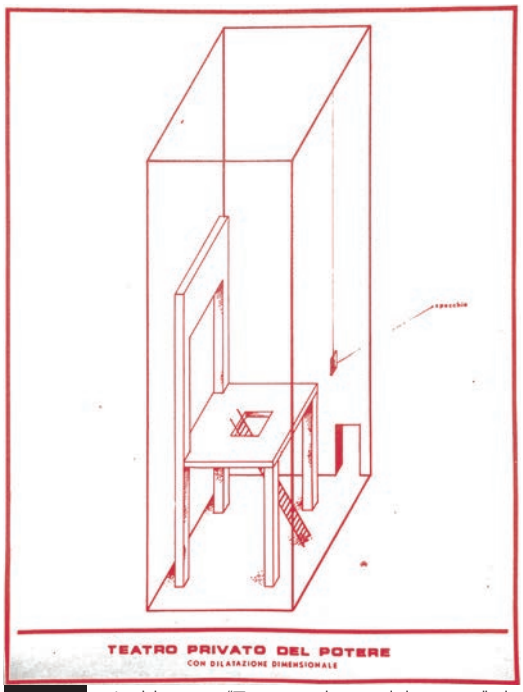

FIG. 13 Archizoom, "Teatro privato del potere", in *Marcatrè* 52/55 (1969), w.p.

Echoes, debates and legacies

The Turin conference was maybe the last occasion to put together Utopia and Revolution in the 1960s architecture. "Utopia" remained as a critical category drawing a red line from Classic utopians such as Fourier or Owen to Archigram, Metabolists or Buckminster Fuller; "Revolution", following Emil Kauffmann ideas, became a meta-category including Boulleé, Ledoux and even Le Corbusier[57] or any architect who had promoted significant changes in the interpretation of architecture.

The legacy of Turin conference is anyway at least double: even if it didn't have a large success, its results were echoed in many reviews and remarks. *L'Unità*, the official newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, published an article on the possible role of the architects as guides to change and serve the society and the revolutionary pressures[58]. The same newspaper dedicated to the conference two reviews, both signed by the art historian Paolo Fossati[59]. In the same pages reporting the struggles of the Politecnico's students together with the FIAT workers, the beginning of the "Prague winter", the De Gaulle's resignation after the French constitutional referendum, the anti-fascist demonstrations of 25 April and the preparation of those of the first of May, Fossati tried to frame the conference program after the first day in a more general Zeitgeist. He underlined the risk that the architect's role could slide from technical into intellectual and feared the difficulty for the architects in becoming "System watchdog", who had to transform the utopian and revolutionary concepts in operating solutions. Fossati's final assessment observed that the gap between the exposure of approaches, projects and case studies and their placement in a framework of political urgency was perhaps too abrupt as these were often interrupted by ideological or simply trivial

56. Santino Limonta, (ed.), *De Pas D'Urbino Lomazzi*, (Milano: RDE Ricerche Design Editrice, 2012); Marc Dessauce (ed.), *The Inflatable Moment: Pneumatics and Protest in '68*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999); Sean Topham, *Blowup: Inflatable Art, Architecture and Design*, (Monaco: Prestel, 2002).

57. Kauffmann published *Three Revolutionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu* in 1952 (translated in Italian in 1976), pointing out the double role they have played: disrupt the old architectural order and build a new one. His works on the *Enlightenment* architecture had large critical fortune during the decade; in turn Aldo Rossi published his *Introduzione a Boullée* in 1967 as a foreword of his translation: *Etienne-Louis Boullée, Architettura, saggio sull'arte*, (Padova: Marsilio, 1967); Anthony Vidler, "Neoclassical Modernism: Emil Kaufmann", in *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008).

58. Franco Berlanda, "Mostra-dibattito sull'architettura", in *L'Unità*, April 25th 1969: 7.

59. Paolo Fossati, "L'architetto cerca il suo ruolo", in *L'Unità*, April 26th 1969, 9; Id., "Diagnosi per l'architettura", in *L'Unità*, April 30th 1969: 9.

stances. Furthermore, the interpretations of the two jambs of the debate (Utopia and Revolution) were too distant one from the other, while a shared meaning was needed for the debate to go on. Fossati feared the idea of a sort of "super-language", (intellectual, sociological and technical) able to "transform the architectural speech in a political or even revolutionary fact" and he stigmatized the excess of schematization occurred in the Turin conference.

The review of the conference published on *Casabella*[60] was written by Paolo Nepoti, at that time one of the Nizzoli's firm collaborators. He keenly synthetized how to put together architecture, urban planning, utopia and revolution could be nothing else but to set up a surprise, something unforeseeable. He focused on the different approaches and outlined the different guiding roles: one more political referred to the organizing group's document, and one more theoretical, linked to the Utopie group based on Lefebre's theories. Between them he heard a "background noise" concerning very different items: the cancellation of the architect's role, the trap of the utopian dream without any means to become reality, the contradictions within the bourgeoisie.

FIG. 14 Archizoom, "Teatro impossibile", in *Pianeta fresco*, 2-3 (1968), w.p.

Also *Controspazio* reviewed the conference with the contribution of Emilio Battisti, one of the participants in the debate, colleague and friend of the organizing group, junior assistant professor at the Polytechnic of Milan[61]. Following Engels's statements, he first defined a clear relationship between Utopia and Revolution, connecting them by their roots in the historical moments and with the intellectuals' ability to interpret the needs of any social oppressed class. The fruitful century-long dialogue between Utopia and Architecture, made the latter somehow independent and separated from the real social necessities, independently explored by sociologists such as Mumford, Riesman or Mannheim. On the contrary, the meeting of these two research fields could put back in contact Architecture and Utopia – but the problems of the revolution still were to be clarified. Battisti underlined the discussion on the architect's role, which during the conference founded new meanings and possible results: the conclusion was that if the role of the architect in the field of utopias could be discussed, then this professionals were

60. Paolo Nepoti, "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione", in *Casabella* 337 (June 1969), w.p.

61. Emilio Battisti, "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione. Note sulla mostra-incontro tenutosi a Torino nei giorni 25-26-27 Aprile 1969", in *Controspazio*, 2-3 (July-August 1969): 45-47.

FIG. 15 Strum Group, *Utopie photo story*, in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), *Italy the new domestic Landscape. Achievement and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York: The Museum of Modern Art – Florence: Centro DI, 1972)

not completely subjected to neo-capitalism and therefore they could be the bearers of anticipatory visions, but – he concluded – "Revolution is something else!".

The Archizoom's reports at the Turin conference was published on a number of *L'architecture d'Aujourd'hui* entirely devoted to innovations – such as communication, robotics, landscape, politics and more generally design-thinking approaches[62]. Many among the participants kept in touch and begun mutual visitings, as happened to Piero Derossi, later invited in London by Peter Cook[63].

Despite the rich publishing activities (*Architecture Principe*, *Utopie*, *Archigram* and several self-produced magazines)[64] and the growing notoriety worldwide, the topics addressed in Turin seemed not to have almost any effect – probably because of the thinning of the political engagement due to the tightening struggle which became violent and turned in terrorism during the following decade[65].

Furthermore, while some elder protagonists – such as Soleri or Friedman [66]- continued and developed their original proposals, and the "middle generation" – the British and French groups – stopped their activities for different reasons around the end of the decade, the younger ones – the students and some of the young professionals – developed the spurs from the debate in different ways and began to play a role in the so-named "Radical design season"[67]. The Italian groups[68], who were all born few years before the conference, had been working on both utopian and revolutionary – intended as contrary to the bourgeois ways of life – projects.

Several of their works, already published on *Domus*, *Marcatré*, *Casabella* and other magazines, were included in the exhibition *Italy the new domestic Landscape. Achievement and Problems of Italian Design* curated by Emilio Ambasz at New York MoMA in 1972[69]. This – the largest and richest exhibition ever held up by the MoMA to that moment – proposed a section of invited authors, the *Environments*, with a sub-section devoted to the *Counterdesign as Postulation* which included Ugo La Pietra, Archizoom, Superstudio, Gruppo Strum[70]. Theirs all were not-architectural projects: La Pietra's one was related with the possibilities offered by the new media and a futurist networked city; Archizoom's proposed a "poetic-reaction" neutral space; Superstudio proposed an environment without objects recalling the American *Whole Earth Catalogue* spurs; the Strum group's project was the only one focused on political topics. The free distribution of *Fotoromanzi* (photo-stories) to the visitors aimed at sensitizing the public to the social problems, pointing three topics: *The struggle for Housing*, referring to the relationship between the proletariat houses and factory work; Utopia, summing up the position held in Turin completed with "data and documents"; *The mediatory City*, concerning the possible actions to be taken to solve the problems of the capitalist city. The word

62. Andrea Branzi, Gilberto Corretti, Paolo Deganello, Massimo Morozzi, "Archizoom", in *L'architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 145 (September 1969): LXV- LXVIII.

63. He continued, from a theoretical point of view, his reasoning on the political implication of architecture; Evelina Calvi, Piero Derossi, Carlo Giammarco, Aimaro Isola, *La città nella giostra del Capitale*, (Torino: Bookstore 1979).

64. These and other magazines are taken stok in Beatriz Colomina, Craig Bukley (eds.), *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines 196X to 197X*, (New York: Actar, 2011).

65. Even some of the participant in the Turin conference were arrested as member of armed groups; Elena Dellapiana, Annalisa B. Pesando, "In front of and behind the Mirror. Women in Italian Radical Design", in *Women Designers, Architects and Civil Engineers between 1969-1989*, MoMoWo 3rd International Conference-Workshop, ed. by Ana Fernandez, forthcoming.

66. Both developed and disseminated their original statements, Soleri the *Archology* in a sustainable meaning as showed, for example in the participation by Sven Bjork, *L' arcologia di Paolo Soleri: Citta a immagine dell'uomo, un'alternativa al collasso urbano / relazione di Sven Bjork alla Conferenza di Stoccolma sull'ambiente urbano (giugno 1972)* (Roma: USIS, 1973) and Friedman the utopian approach, once again reaffirmed in the interview given to Sara Abrate (September 2017) about the Turin conference. Yona Friedman, *Tetti* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017).

67. The word "radical" which recurs often in the conference speeches and in the debate as a normal adjective, became "officially" the definition of an heterogeneous group, from 1971 thanks to Celant, following whom, magazines, exhibition, manifestoes began to use the word as a noun; Germano Celant, "Senza titolo", in *IN. Argomenti e Immagini di design*, 2-3, (March-June 1971): 76-81; some examples are the very famous 372 number of *Casabella* (December 1972), directed by Alessandro Mendini, the Paola Navone, Bruno Orlandoni, *Architettura "radicale"*, (Milan: Documenti di Casabella, 1974) once again requested by Mendini.

68. Pino Brugellis, Gianni Pettena, Alberto Salvadori, *Utopie Radicali*, (Macerata: Quodlibet 2017).

69. Elena Dellapiana, "Dalla "Casa all'Italiana" all'*Italian Style* - La costruzione del *Made in Italy*", in Giovanni Erbacci, Lorenzo Fiorucci, Giorgio Levi Antonella Rossi Colavini, Vincenzo Sogaro (eds.), *Ceramica e arti decorative del Novecento*, II, (Verona: Zerotre, 2017), 59-87; Dario Scodeller, "Exhibition, anti-exhibition: su alcuni questioni espositive del Pop e del Radical design italiano 1966-1981", AIS/Design, #3 (2013).

70. Emilio Ambasz (ed.), *Italy the new domestic Landscape. Achievement and Problems of Italian Design,* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art – Florence: Centro DI, 1972): 224-267.

"Radical" didn't appear in any of the exhibition categories, except for the Celant's essay in the catalogue titled *Radical Architecture*[71]. On the other hand, the "utopian" topic was explored in the essay by Manfredo Tafuri, whose *Progetto e utopia* was going to be published a year later[72]: he pointed out the relationship between the interwar and the post-war Italian design, both soaked with contamination with visual art[73].

The legacy of the Turin conference within built architecture in Italy followed different directions. The first, after the criticism and the re-interpretation of megastructural buildings evoked by Friedman, Soleri and others, addressed to the social housing districts built in the 1970s such as the *Corviale* in Rome, the *Zen* in Palermo or the *Vele* in Scampia-Naples[74]. A second direction, strongly influenced by US ecological and environmental sensitivity, was the *Global Tools* experience of 1973, whom Archizoom and most of the other protagonists of the Radical design participated in: they focused the improvement of individual abilities, mainly in DIY[75].

The last direction focused on objects and domestic spaces, and aimed at changing the middle class way of life. The house interiors were intended both as a whole and as a sum of items – later to become icons – equally revolutionary and produced and distributed in large numbers, such as the famous *Sacco* and *Blow* chairs. Their designers wanted to change from the inside the "System" against which the "young architects" had been using the technical and commercial tools of the modern world, blurring the borders between the professionals – architects, designers, urban planners: this is, maybe, the only real influencing legacy of that short but "heroic" season.

71. Ivi, 380-387.

72. Manfredo Tafuri, "Design and technological utopia", Ivi: 388-404; Id., *Progetto e Utopia: architettura e sviluppo capitalistico* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1973).

73. Alberto Bassi, "A new outlook: radical design from Milan to Turin", *Time & Place: Milano-Torino 1958-1968*, exhibition catalogue Moderna Museet, Stockolm 2008 (Gottingen: Steidl Verlag, 2008), 36-45.

74. Alfonso Acocella, *Complessi residenziali nell'Italia degli anni Settanta. Dibattito e tendenze progettuali*, (Firenze: Alinea, 1981).

75. «Archizoom Associates, Remo Buti, Casabella, Riccardo Dalisi, Ugo La Pietra, 9999, Gaetano Pesce, Gianni Pettena, Review, Ettore Sottsass Jr., Superstudio, Ufo and Zziggurat, met on January 12th, 1973 at the editorial office of *Casabella*, and founded the "Global Tools", a system of laboratories based in Florence for the propagation of the use of natural materials and techniques and related behaviors. The Global Tools aims at stimulating the free development of individual creativity» (Document n.1, *The Constitution, from the Bulletin Global Tools* n.1).

Between Urban Renewal and *Nuova Dimensione*: The 68 Effects *vis-à-vis* the Real

Marianna Charitonidou
PhD Candidate University of Paris Nanterre and National Technical University of Athens
Visiting Scholar École française de Rome and Columbia University in New York
charitonidou@aaschool.ac.uk

Marianna Charitonidou is an architect and a historian and theorist of architecture. Her PhD dissertation 'The Relationship between Interpretation and Elaboration of Architectural Form: Investigating the Mutations of Architecture's Scope' (advisors: George Parmenidis (NTUA), Jean-Louis Cohen (NYU) and Panayotis Tournikiotis (NTUA), June 2018) is on the mutations of the modes of representation in contemporary architecture, focusing on the work of Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, the Team 10, Peter Eisenman, John Hejduk, Aldo Rossi, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Bernard Tschumi and Rem Koolhaas. She was a visiting scholar at Columbia University's and the École française de Rome and resident at the Canadian Centre for Architecture. She holds an MSc degree in Sustainable Environmental Design from the Architectural Association, a post-Master's degree in History and Theory of Architecture from the National Technical University of Athens and Master's degrees from the School of Architecture of Aristotle University and École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris. She has presented her research at many international conferences and has published several articles.

ABSTRACT

This article examines the effects of 1968 student protests on architectural education and epistemology within the European and American contexts. Juxtaposing the transformations within the north-American and Italian contexts, it shows how the concepts of urban renewal, in the U.S., and 'nuova dimensione', in Italy, were progressively abandoned. It presents the mutations of the architects' role and the curriculum of the schools of architecture, taking into consideration significant episodes as the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and the Vietnam War protests. The six weeks student protests at Columbia University were related to the intention to respond to the fulfilment of needs related to the welfare of the society as a whole and the responsibility to provide equal housing opportunities and equal access to public amenities regardless of race, religion, or national origin. The strategies elaborated to criticize urban renewal in the U.S. often pushed architectural discourse away from the real, either neutralizing the real or reducing the real city to its image. In Italy, a network of events around 1968, extending from the fight between the police and the students outside the School of Architecture at Valle Giulia in Rome to the students' occupation of the 15th Triennale di Milano in 1968 and "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" at the Politecnico di Torino in 1969, triggered the rejection of the 'nuova dimensione', the rediscovery of reality's immediacy and of the civic dimension of architects' task. The 1968 effects on architectural education and epistemology in Europe, and especially in Italy, were linked to the reinforcement of the relation of architecture to the real, in contrast with the North-American context, where they stimulated the invention of design strategies related to the so-called "autonomy" of architecture and the primacy of the observer of architectural drawings over the inhabitants of real spaces.

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KEYWORDS
1968 events, nuova dimensione, urban renewal, real, Italy, United Sates

Instead of referring to the events of 68 as moments, we should refer to them as trajectories. More intriguing and correct is to reveal the processes of transformation that the student protests triggered all around the world and the contradictions and ambiguities of the demands behind the events, than interpreting them as the result of a homogenized retrospective vision. My objective here is to scrutinize the mutations of pedagogical strategies and epistemological tools of architecture that were shaped because of the reformations of 1968 on an international scale. Despite the fact that the student protests in Paris and the reformations of French pedagogy are more highlighted than those elsewhere, it is a fact that student protests elsewhere, as in Italy and the United States, were also important factors for the reinvention of pedagogy and epistemology of architecture internationally. There were also protests elsewhere apart from France, the United States and Italy, as in Portugal, in Germany, in Mexico, but here, I focus mainly on the American and Italian context and their interferences and contradictions. My purpose it to reveal the differences and affinities between the ways pedagogical transformations appropriated the ideologies expressed through the student protests within these different national and institutional contexts.

The main hypothesis that is examined here is that the effects of 1968 on architectural pedagogy and epistemology in Europe, and especially in Italy, are inextricably linked to the demand to reinvent and reinforce the relation of architecture to the real, while, in the United States, the effects of 1968 on architectural pedagogy and epistemology are associated with the invention of strategies that reinforced the liberation of architecture from the real. In the American context, many activists were very much concerned with the "real", but in a different "real" than what the Italians were considering. My intention is to shed light on the differences of the way the "real" was treated in the American and the Italian context, on the one hand, and on the impact that the student protests in both context had on the models of urban evolution and the discourse regarding the "nuova dimensione", in Italy, and the urban renewal, in the U.S., on the other hand. I examine the role the protests of 1968 played for the reorientations concerning the above-mentioned questions. My purpose it to demonstrate the complexity of the transformations that were taking place around 1968 in both contexts and to take into consideration, apart from the student protests, other episodes as The Civil Rights Act of 1968, which is a landmark part of legislation in the United States that provided for equal housing opportunities regardless of race, religion, or national origin, played an important role for the subsequent transformations not only of the architects' task but also for the curriculum of the schools of architecture.

Another significant event for the profession was the keynote of Whitney M. Young Jr., National Urban League executive director and black activist, at the convention of the American Institute of Architects in 1968, criticizing

architects for not failing to support civil rights. According to Joseph A. Fry "the Vietnam War had provoked the most massive protests in American History".[1] In order to grasp the amplitude of Vietnam War protests, one can recall "the 5000,000-person demonstration in mid-November"[2] and the fact that, in April 1969, "253 student body presidents and student newspaper editors sent a "Declaration of Conscience" to President Nixon". [3]

In order to examine this contrast of the impact that had the 1968 events on the Italian and the American architectural academic milieus, I will analyze how the understanding of two protagonist concepts in these two contexts, that is to say in Italy and the United States, at the time was reshaped because of the infusion of architectural discourse with the social demands, put forward because of the 1968 student protests. These two concepts are: the concept of the "nuova dimensione" for Italy and the concept of the "urban renewal" for the United States. My aim is also to show how the critique of the concepts of the "urban renewal", in the United States, and the "nuova dimensione", in Italy, is related to the mutation of the epistemological status of architecture and, especially, to the transformations of architectural pedagogy in order to respond to the demand for incorporation of social concerns. These metamorphoses of the epistemology of architecture concern, to a large extent, the strategies of analyzing the city and its relation to architecture.

Even if Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*[4], which criticized sharply urban renewal, and Peter Blake's *God's Own Junkyard*[5], which associated post-war suburbanization to the uglification of American landscape and the decline of the sense of place, had been published in 1961 and 1964 respectively, the mid-sixties architectural discourse and practice in the United States was still dominated by the concept of urban renewal, despite the critiques that were being progressively intensified. An event reflecting that the interest in urban renewal was still dominant within the north-American context was the exhibition "The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal"[6], held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York from January 24 through March 13, 1967 **[Fig. 1]**. The title that Ada Louise Huxtable had chosen for her article in *New York Times* regarding this exhibition – "Planning the New City: Modern Museum Exhibits Projects That Link Esthetics and Sociology"[7] – made visible that within the American context the opinion that urban renewal was able to bridge the gap between aesthetic and social concerns was still powerful.

In order to grasp the presence of the concept of urban renewal, we should think of its immense scale and of its nature as act of federal funding to cities to cover the cost of acquiring areas of cities perceived to be "slums".

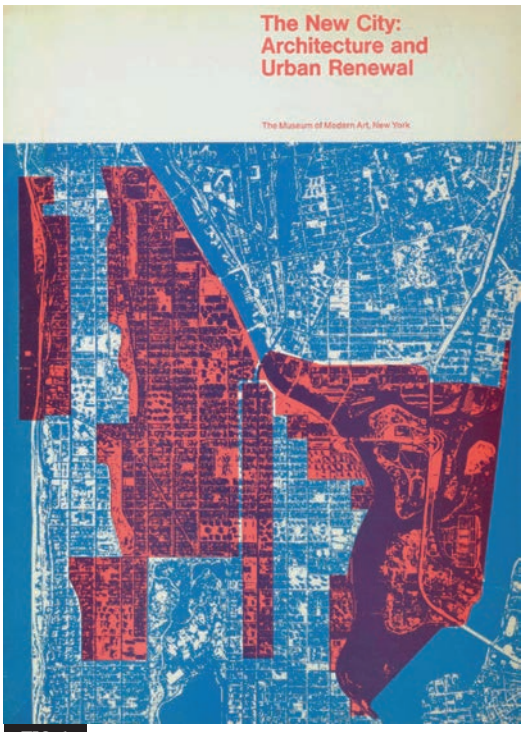


FIG. 1 Cover of the exhibition catalogue of "The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal, held at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, January 23-March 13, 1967

1. Joseph A. Fry, "Unpopular Messengers: Student Opposition to the Vietnam War," in *The War That Never Ends: New Perspectives on the Vietnam War*, ed. David L. Anderson and John Ernst (Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 2007), 240.
2. Ibid., 235.
3. Ibid., 233.
4. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).
5. Peter Blake, *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964).
6. Museum of Modern Art, *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal. An exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, January 23-March 13, 1967* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1967); Suzanne Frank, "Harlem and the 1967 'New City' Exhibition," *Journal of Planning History* 11, no. 3 (2012): 210-25.
7. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Planning the New City: Modern Museum Exhibits Projects That Link Esthetics and Sociology," *New York Times*, January 24, 1967, 39, 45.

The passing of Fair Housing Act, which banned racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, coincides chronologically with Martin Luther King's assassination in 1968 challenged the discriminatory nature of urban renewal programs and put into question its criteria [Fig. 2]. In late July or early August 1968, just after the foundation of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), Peter Eisenman conceived and noted down, as Lucia Allais reminds us, "Harlem plan"[8] [Fig. 3], which was based on a tabula rasa logic of urban design.[9] The main idea behind this plan was, to borrow Eisenman's own words, that "Black America is in essence urban America".[10] It is important to note that, at the time, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), which would become in the seventies a significant condensator of the transatlantic cultural relations concerning architectural discourse, consisted only of Peter Eisenman, Colin Rowe and Alexander Caragonne. Alvin Boyarsky, after having taught at the Architectural Association in London between 1962 and 1965, returned to the United States and was appointed professor and associate dean at the College of Art and Architecture at the University of Illinois in Chicago. As Irene Sunwoo reminds us, "during a trip to Europe in late 1968 Boyarsky became acutely aware that the crisis in architectural education was international in scope". [11] After his relocation at Chicago, Boyarsky Working reoriented his education strategies and converted Chicago's housing crisis and local communities' issues into main aspects of his approach. Boyarsky's postcard collection, which was published in his seminal article entitled "Chicago à la Carte", published in Architectural Design in 1970, aimed to grasp "the highly desired apparatus representing the tangible miracles of contemporary life"[12] and to convey a different look at the city [Fig. 4]. The interrelations between politics, economy and architecture become extremely present in his postcard collection. Boyarsky's International Institute of Design (IID), founded by Boyarsky in 1970, was, as Peter Eisenman's Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, instrumental for "shaping institutional identities and goals".[13]

FIG. 2 Mourners during the funeral procession for Martin Luther King Jr. (Source: Walter Oleksy / Alamy Stock Photo)

Another significant episode within the American Context, to which I shouldn't omit to refer are the six weeks student protests at Columbia University. In April 1968, hundreds of Columbia University students,

8. Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Archives, Fonds Peter Eisenman - IAUS, Folder B2-2.

9. Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," *Perspecta* 41 (2010): 28.

10. Peter Eisenman, draft proposal for a "Block study of prototypical future Harlem", Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Archives, Fonds Peter Eisenman - IAUS, Folder B2-2; Peter Eisenman quoted in Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," ibid.

11. Irene Sunwoo, "Pedagogy's Progress: Alvin Boyarsky's International Institute of Design," *Grey Room* 34 (2009): 34.

12. Alvin Boyarsky, "Chicago à la Carte: The City as Energy System," in *The Idea of the City*, ed. Robin Middleton. London: Architectural Association, 1996, 11.

13. Beatriz Colomina, Craig Buckley and Urtzi Grau, eds. *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines*, 196X to 197X (Barcelona: ACTAR Publishers, 2010), 13.

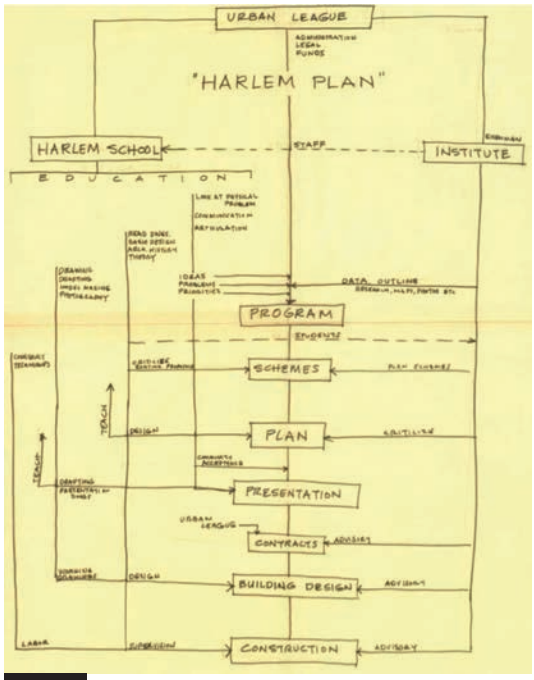


FIG. 3 Peter Eisenman, Harlem Plan, 1968 (Source: Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Archives, Fonds Peter Eisenman - IAUS, Folder B2-2)York, January 23-March 13, 1967

allied to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)[14] and Students' Afro-American Society (SAS), [15] reacted against what they regarded as their university's racist and militaristic policies by barricading themselves inside five buildings on campus [Fig. 6]. As Mabel O. Wilson notes, in *When Ivory Towers Were Black*, "Columbia's rebellious antiwar students were especially irked by the university's participation in a secretive think tank known as the Institute of Defense Analysis (IDA)".[16] The student protesters blamed Columbia University for indirectly involving students and researchers in the war, without telling them the whole story. They accused their University to have "compromised academic freedom by involving academicians in secret scientific projects"[17] [Fig. 6]. On March 26, 1968, "150 students participated in raucous demonstration in Low Memorial demanding Columbia's withdrawal from the IDA".[18]

On Sunday afternoon, April 28, nearly 1,000 faculty, Majority Coalition pickets, and students on both sides of the sit-in surrounded the President's office in Low Library. As we can read in the spring issue of 1968 of *Columbia College Today*, "Avery, the home of the Graduate School of Architecture, was the first building that the police had to enter from the front, the first part of the bust that was visible to many of the 1,500 spectators on campus"[19] [Fig. 7]. Useful for understanding the interaction between the various crisis that are related to the 1968 students' protests at Columbia University is the Cox Commission, which was organized at the request of the Executive Committee of the Faculty[20] [Fig. 8].

Robert Stern, in an unpublished interview given in the framework of Columbia University Architecture Centennial Project on June 15, 1981, said: "Let's face it, architecture schools tend to have middle-class and upper-middle-class types. The school went out of its way to recruit minority students. I think that it's fair to say that the recruitment process was rather zealous and sometimes suggested to minority students that architecture was a way to implement social change, in a way that architecture is not a way to implement social change."[21] In the same

14. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was founded in 1690 and constituted the most active and visible "New Left" group. By the end of the 1960s it claimed a membership of only 100.000.

15. The Student Afro-American Society (SAS) was a black militant protest group that took part in the occupation of Hamilton Hall during the 1968 protests. See also Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009. Bradley notes, in ibid., 113: "By the time of the Columbia 1969 protest, black studies was becoming an issue at other Ivy League colleges and universities as well. Observing the example that students set at Yale University in 1968 by forcing their school to create a black studies department, in 1969 black protesters at both Harvard and Cornell fought for black-centered programs. Under the leadership of Afro (a group similar to SAS), student demonstrators at Harvard called for a black studies program that would allow the students to participate in faculty hiring and tenure practices. At Cornell University, a black student group known as the Afro-American Society militantly protested for a black studies program."

16. Mabel O. Wilson, *When Ivory Towers Were Black: A Story about Race in America's Cities and Universities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 58.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 63.

19. George Keller, "Six weeks that Shook Morningside," *Columbia College Today* 15, no. 3 (1968): 66.

20. Organized at the request of the Executive Committee of the Faculty, the Cox Commission was given the mandate to establish a chronology of events leading up to and including the Columbia crisis, and to inquire into the underlying causes of those events. The Commission held twenty-one days of hearings during May 1968, heard testimony from seventy-nine witnesses, and compiled 3,790 pages of transcript. The report, published in a paperback edition on September 26, 1968, stressed the lack of effective channels of communication between administration, faculty, and students, and endorsed implicitly the Executive Committee's idea for a representative University Senate. The commission's membership included: Archibald Cox, chairman, Professor of Law, Harvard University; Anthony Amsterdam, Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Dana Farnsworth, Director of University Health Service, Harvard University; Honorable Simon Rifkind, former Judge, Southern District Court; and Hylan Lewis, Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College.

21. Transcript of the interview that Robert Stern gave to Richard Oliver in the framework of Columbia University Architecture Centennial Project on June 15, 1981, Department of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Series V: Interviews, Columbia University. Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation: Centennial (1881-1991) Archive, 1954-1982, (bulk 1980-1981).

interview, Stern commented on the impact of the approach of Team 10 on the curriculum of the late-sixties at Columbia University, claiming that "it was a rigorous, doctrinaire, team-tenish, pseudo-Corbusier or Corbusiesque thing, and didn't seem to have a certain didactic clarity and intensity".[22]

In order to understand the debates that characterized the period around 1968 in the United States, it is important to take into consideration the questions raised by advocacy planning, community design, counterculture, self-build and the pedagogical reform. An episode that shows how the critique of urban renewal was linked to the student protests at Columbia University is that of the plan to build a gymnasium in Morningside Park (fig. 9). The tension between Columbia University's control of the surrounding community and the activists' reached its peak, some weeks after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., because of the intention of the university to build a gymnasium in Morningside Park. The fact that this gymnasium would be mainly for student athletes, despite its location on public land posed several problems. The fact that four-fifths of the gym would be open to Columbia students alone in addition to the university's ownership of a big part of the surrounding neighborhood was considered as offensive. The willingness of Robert Moses and New York City Department of Parks and Recreation to lease public land to Columbia for a gym, that is to say to support the realization of a private facility on public land provoked various reactions[23] [Fig. 10]. The debates that took place because of this tension reflect the conflicts concerning the relationship between liberalism and the postwar American college campus.[24]

Marta Gutman and Richard Plunz, in "Anatomy of Insurrection", in their effort to unravel the reasons behind the strike at the Columbia School of Architecture in 1968, refer to the contradictions to which the students intended to respond: the tension "between responsibility to fulfill needs related to the welfare of the society as a whole and survival within the constraints of the American economic system".[25] Gutman and Plunz

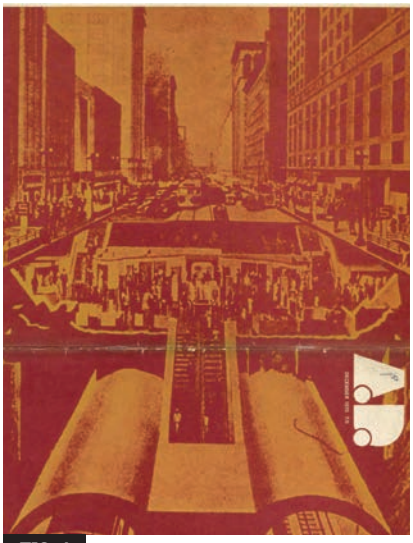


FIG. 4 Alvin Boyarsky, "Chicago à la Carte." *Architectural Design* 40 (1970): 595-622.

22. Ibid.

23. William Richards, *Revolt and Reform in Architecture's Academy: Urban Renewal, Race, and the Rise of Design in the Public Interest*. New York and London: Routledge, 2017, 50.

24. Michael H. Carriere, "Between Being and Becoming: On Architecture, Student Protest, and the Aesthetics of Liberalism in Postwar America" (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010)

25. Marta Gutman and Richard Plunz, "Anatony of Insurrection," in *The Making of an Architect.,1881-1981: Columbia University in the City of New York*, ed. Richard Oliver (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), 183.

FIG. 5 Activist groups were initially united in occupying Hamilton Hall and other university buildings. (Bettmann Archive via Getty Images)

FIG. 6 Activist Mark Rudd, president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), addresses students at Columbia University in 1968. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

suggest that "[f]or a school of architecture in New York City, the issue of defining social purpose is probably more immediate than for schools located in more idyllic settings".[26]

The protests at Columbia University, which are just one parameter of the general shifts in the political plane, changed the network of interests behind the "Harlem plan". Therefore, this project was abandoned, and the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) continued its trajectory, shaping step by step its stance. A well-known reference of Peter Eisenman during the first decade of the activities of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) is Noam Chmosky's model of language as it was presented in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax first published in 1965*.[27] Despite this borrowing of Noam Chomsky's tripartite theory, which develops around semantic, syntactic and pragmatic, the approach that Eisenman tried to develop in "Notes on Conceptual architecture"[28] wasn't structuralist, but formalist. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that he removed the axis of pragmatics and added the bipolar relationship between conceptual and perceptual **[Fig. 11]**. Little by little, Eisenman was taking more distance from the real, using the label of "theory". Here, it is important to note that 1968, according to many scholars, such as Lucia Allais, correspond to the moment that "theory" acquires a significant institutional status in the American academic and cultural context.[29]

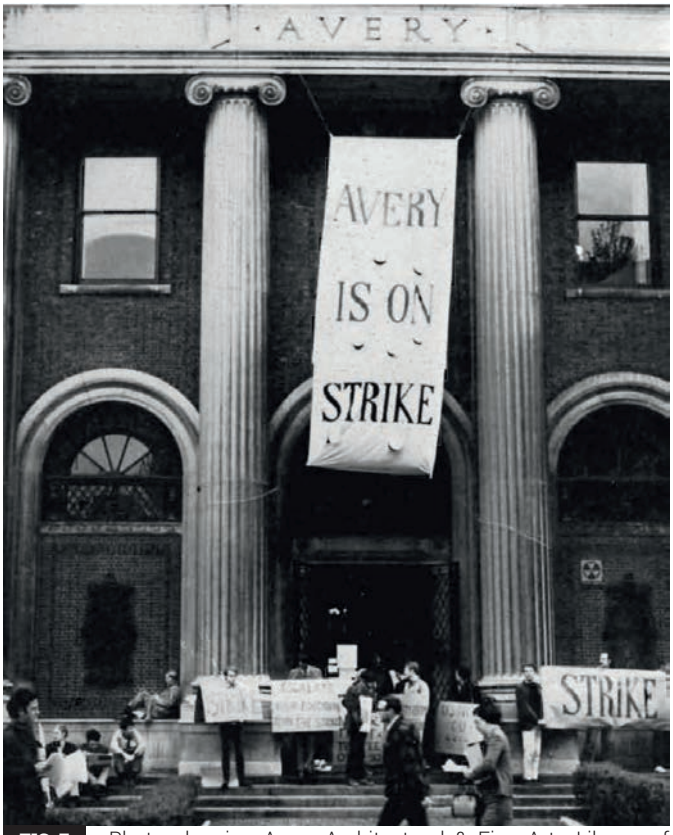


FIG. 7 Photo showing Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library of Columbia University on strike (Source: George Keller, "Six weeks that Shook Morningside," *Columbia College Today* 15, no. 3 (1968): 66)

Such a hypothesis of Eisenman's distancing from the real is further reinforced by the talk he gave some years later, in 1971, in the framework of the conference "Architecture Education USA: A Conference to Explore Current Alternatives", held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in November 12-13, 1971. In this address, which was entitled "The Education of Reality", Eisenman sustained that "the value of reality" needed to be "neutralized".[30] The title of his talk cannot but bring in mind Aldo Rossi's "Un'educazione realista".[31] Despite the phenomenal affinities of these texts, especially of their titles, the agendas behind them are very different. What I argue in this article is that this slippage between Eisenman's and Rossi's attitude towards reality is part of a broader distinction between the form that took that effects of 1968 in the American architectural academy and in the Italian one. In other words, what I claim is that the effects of 1968 on architectural pedagogy and epistemology in Europe, and especially in Italy, are related to the desire to reshape one's aesthetic criteria in a way that interferes with the meaning architects give to reality. On the contrary, the effects of 1968

26. Ibid.

27. Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1965)

28. Peter Eisenman. "Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." *Design Quarterly*, no. 78-79 (1970): 1-5; Peter Eisenman. "Appunti sull'architettura concettuale/ Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." *Casabella*, no. 359-360 (1971): 35.

29. Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," *Perspecta* 41 (2010): 27-41 instead of Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," ibid.

30. Peter Eisenman, "The Education of Reality", *Architecture Education USA: Issues, Ideas and People; A Conference to Explore Current Alternatives*, transcript of talk, Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Archives, Fonds Peter Eisenman, DR2001:0039.

31. Aldo Rossi's manuscript of his text entitled "Un educazione realista," Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA, Aldo Rossi papers, Series II. Drafts and writings, 1943-1999, Box 2a, Folder 3 ; Aldo Rossi, «Une éducation réaliste,» *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 190 (1977): 39.

on architectural pedagogy and epistemology in the United States were encapsulated in a conceptualization and an abstracting of architecture, which proceeded through detachment from reality. After 1968 upheavals, in Italy, reality was elevated to a device of reflection, while, in the United States, architecture curricula were dominated by the invention of abstract compositional devices, detached from any reflection on the real.

A common characteristic of the attitudes of Rossi and Eisenman is their rejection of functionalism, but the means that each architect chose to overcome functionalism differs in terms of stance vis-à-vis reality. More precisely, what I argue here is that the path of Rossi to avoid functionalism is the understanding of the real, while the means of Eisenman to reject functionalism is to ignore the real. The specificity of by argument consists of my intention to interpret this opposition of how the above architects unfolded their critique of functionalism as a differentiation of the 1968 effects in the Italian and the American context. On the Italian side, the effects of 1968 were embodied to the elaboration of approaches of engagement with reality, while, on the American side, the effects of 1968 were concretized through the elaboration of approaches of detachment from reality.

A symptom of this non-involvement of the reality within the American context is the way Manfredo Tafuri's was instrumentalized in the United States, which is characterized by a misreading of the political implication of his approach. In parallel to this progressive detachment of compositional process from reality, which is present in Eisenman's and John Hejduk's internalized design processes, one can observe that the discourse around utopia was developed. I could refer to the intensification of the interest in books such as Manfredo Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Dolores Hayden's *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism. 1790-1975*, which were advertised in the issue of September 1979 of *Skyline*, a newspaper published by the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS)[32] [Fig. 12]. This tendency to fetishize the European written works on utopia, such as Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, without grasping the social and political implication of their arguments is very typical of the American attitude towards architectural theory during the seventies.

At the same time, in Europe, the trend in the protagonist architectural academic circles was to demystify every transcendent meaning of the concept of utopia and to invent tactics based on the

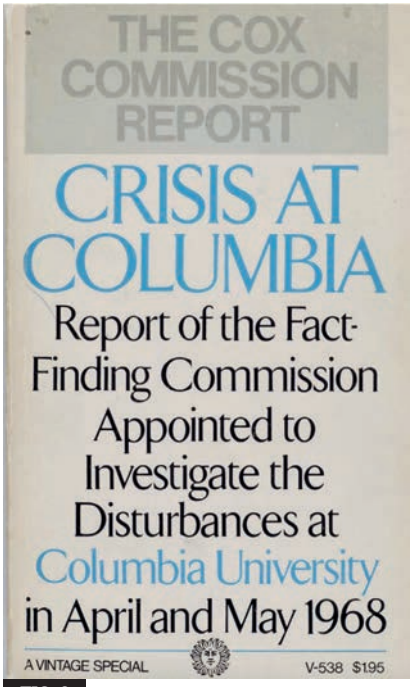


FIG. 8 *The Cox Commission Report: Crisis at Columbia. Report of the Fact-Finding Commission Appointed to Investigate the Disturbances at Columbia in April and May 1968* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1968) (Source: "Cox Commission Report," *Columbia University Libraries Online Exhibitions*, accessed June 8, 2018, https://exhibitions.library.columbia.edu/exhibits/show/1968/item/5565.)

32. *Skyline* 2, no. 4 (1979): 15.

FIG. 9 Columbia Daily Spectator, Volume CXIV, Number 10, 7 October 1969 Issue

micropolitics of reality and on historic materialism. For instance, Bernard Huet, in contrast with was happening in the United States in the post-1968 era, associated the reform of 1968 concerning education of architecture in France with "the end of the utopias and the death of the avant-garde".[33] My aim here is to make visible that this non-realization of what we could call death of the notion of "utopia" and "myth" in the United States kept architecture isolated in relation to the real. This can be confirmed by the fact that we can observe a parallel proliferation of events, which revolved around the notion of utopia, and of compositional strategies detached from real parameters. The discourse and compositional mechanisms of Eisenman and Hejduk for example for the shake of process and of visual tricks chose to leave behind any interest for starting design thinking reading real parameters, in the sense that Rossi tried to do.

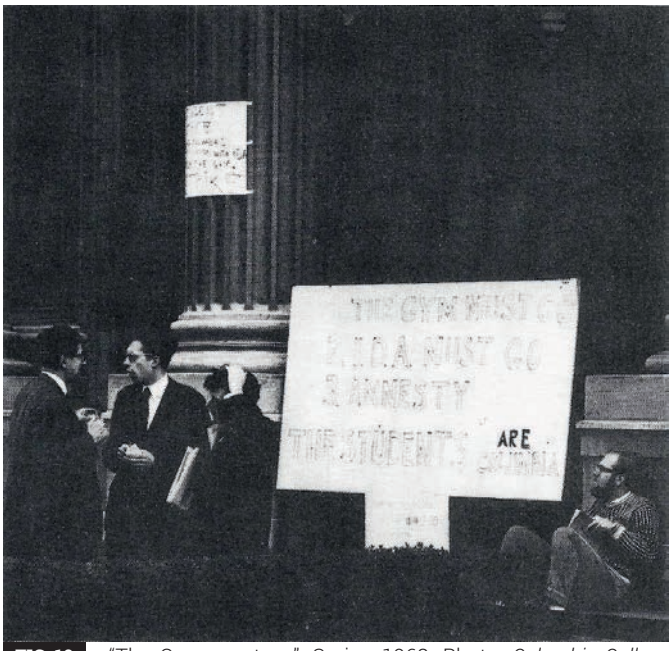


FIG. 10 "The Gym must go", Spring 1968. Photo: *Columbia College Today*. Source: Richard Oliver, ed. *The Making of an Architect.,1881-1981: Columbia University in the City of New York.* New York Rizzoli, 1981, 197.

Aldo Rossi, *Architecture of the City*, originally published in 1966, referred to a "critique of naïve functionalism" and maintained that "any explanation of urban artifacts in terms of function must be rejected". He also sustained that when one reduces architecture to a way to respond to the question "for what purpose?", they develop an approach that does not manage to incorporate "an analysis of what is real".[34] It becomes, thus, evident, that in Rossi's eyes the critique of functionalism is as a way to enlarge architecture in such a way that would permit to take as a starting point of the design process the close understanding of reality.

33. Bernard Huet, "L'insegnamento dell'architettura in Francia: 1968-1978 da una riforma all'altra/ The Teaching of Architecture in France: 1968-1978: From One Reform to The Next," *Lotus International*, no. 21 (1978): 38.

34. Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachussetts: The MIT Press, 1982), 46. Original edition: *L'architettura della città* (Padova: Marsilio, 1966).

The effects of 1968 on both contexts – the Italian and the American – are related to the emergence of the demand to find strategies to respond the conflict between architectural formalism and social concern. Even if Venturi's and Eisenman's stances are very different and despite the conflicts that characterized the climate of this period, such as the famous conflict between the Greys and the Whites, in their majority, the strategies elaborate by the architects in the American context staid attached to the visual communication of the image produced by architecture. This image took forms as the "pop agony" of Venturi and Scott Brown, to borrow their own expression, or of fetishizing of the process and its visualization thought the establishment of design strategies that ensured "a controlled and one way decodification of [...] signs",[35] as in the case of Peter Eisenman.

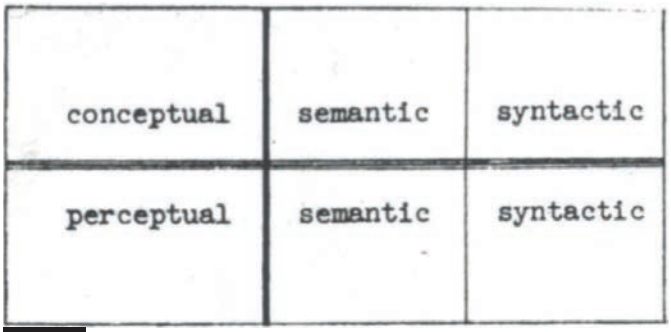


FIG. 11 Diagram of Peter Eisenman after his adaptation of the linguistic model of Chomsky in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, published in "Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition" (Source: Peter Eisenman, "Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." *Design Quarterly*, no. 78-79 (1970): 1-5; Peter Eisenman. "Appunti sull'Architettura concettuale/ Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." *Casabella*, no. 359-360 (1971): 35)

35. Manfredo Tafuri, "Peter Eisenman: The Meditations of Icarus," in *House X*, ed. Peter Eisenman (New York: Rizzoli, 1983): 167.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in Italy, the journal *Zodiac*, in 1967, promoted the debate around urban renewal in the north-American cities, publishing articles as Richard Hatch's "Urban Renewal in Harlem".[36] In the same issue of *Zodiac*, Giorgio Gaetani aimed to analyze the relationship between planning and design in the United States,[37] while Vincent Scully, who was much more skeptical regarding the positive effects of urban renewal and had criticized it, in various instances, expressed his fears regarding its outcomes.[38] Zodiac was published by Edizioni di Comunità, that is to say by a publishing house owned and directed by Adriano Olivetti, thing that explains the positive attitude towards the American context and its promotion. Three years earlier than the publication of the above issue of Zodiac on the United States, in 1964, the Italian journal *Casabella Continuità*, directed at the time by Ernesto N. Rogers, devoted an issue to the United States, in which American urban renewal programs were presented and analyzed[39] **[Fig. 13]**. The issue of *Casabella Continuità*, which was dedicated to the United States, is the one that opens with the editorial of Ernesto N. Rogers entitled "Discontinuità o continuità?".

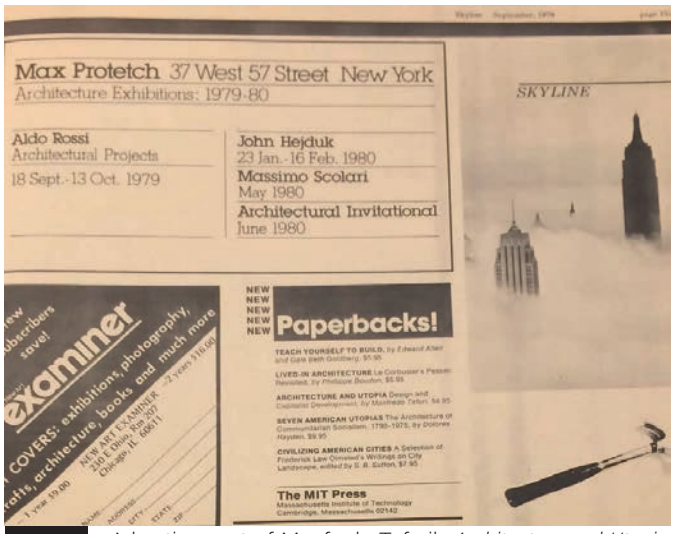


FIG. 12 Advertisement of Manfredo Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Dolores Hayden's *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism. 1790-1975* in *Skyline* (Source: *Skyline* 2, no. 4 (1979): 15)

FIG. 13 Cover of *Casabella Continuità*, no. 294-295 (1964).

The same period, Fondazione Adriano Olivetti had their own Centri Studi, sponsoring and organizing platforms of experimental research focusing on new models of expansion of the city, such as the corso sperimentale di preparazione urbanistica. The *corso sperimentale di preparazione urbanistica* of 1963 **[Fig. 14]**, which was supporting the idea of the "nuova dimensione", was held in Arezzo and brought together as tutors Ludovico Quaroni, Giancarlo de Carlo and Manfredo Tafuri. It had as "theme […] the updating of the discipline in the face of the changes that had occurred within Italian cities and their surrounding territory under the pressure of the economic boom of the 1950s and early 1960s and the accompanying of the poor south to the industrialized north".[40]

An important instance for understanding how the suburbanization of the post-war Italian cities was conceptualized is the meeting of the Istituto Nazionale Urbanistica of 1959, during which the debate unfolded around the notion of the "nuova dimensione" with main participants Giancarlo de Carlo and Ludovico Quaroni. The emerging and intensified interest in the concept of the "nuova dimensione" was linked to the awareness that the urban system was at a state of permanent transition. The problem of the new dimension was also addressed at a conference entitled "The New Dimension of the City", organized by Giancarlo de Carlo in the framework of the Istituto Lombardo per gli Studi Economici e Sociali (ILSES) in the town of Stresa on Lago Maggiore in January 1962[41].

36. Richard Hatch, "Urban Renewal in Harlem," *Zodiac*, no. 17 (1967): 196-98.
37. Giorgio Gaetani, "Notes on the Relationship between Planning and Design in America," ibid.: 249-55.
38. Vincent Scully, "The Threat and the Promise of Urban Redevelopment in New Haven," ibid.: 171-75.
39. *Casabella Continuità*, no. 294-295 (1964).
40. Pier Vittorio Aureli, "Aldo Rossi's begrip locus als een politieke categorie van de stad/ Rossi's concept of the locus as a political category of the city," *OverHolland* 8 (2009): 59.
41. Giancarlo de Carlo *et al.*, *La nuova dimensione della città. La città-regione.* Milan (ILSES) 1962, 185-189.

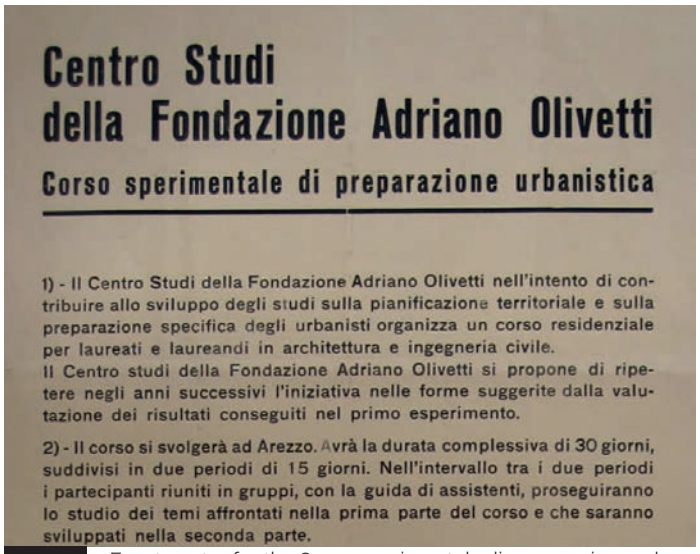


FIG. 14 Event poster for the Corso sperimentale di preparazione urbanistica, organized by the Fondazione Adriano Olivetti, 1963.

FIG. 15 Giorgio Piccinato, Vieri Quilici, Manfredo Tafuri, "La città territorio: verso una nuova dimensione," *Casabella Continuità*, no. 270 (1962): 16.

At the framework of the *corso sperimentale di preparazione urbanistica* of 1963 in Arezzo, Aldo Rossi was assistant to Ludovico Quaroni. As it becomes apparent from how the debates evolved during the Arezzo seminar, Rossi was sceptical vis-à-vis the concept of "la città-territorio", which was promoted by Manfredo Tafuri, Giorgio Piccinato and Vieri Quilici – all members of the AUA (Architetti Urbanisti Associati), which dissolved a year later, in 1964 – in "La città-territorio verso una nuova dimensione"[42] [Fig. 15]. Rossi's urban theory was focused on the concept of the locus instead of that of the "nuova dimensione". In contrast with Rossi, Quaroni and De Carlo, along with Tafuri, were positive towards the notion of "la città-territorio". One of the reasons for which Rossi refused to endorse the idea of "la città-territorio" was his conviction that the latter disregarded the importance of the individuality of the urban artifact.

Another expression of the dominance of urban renewal discourse within the north-American context at the time was the New Jersey Corridor Project, designed by Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves, in 1965. The fact that Eisenman and Graves had contacted Le Corbusier, as can be seen in Le Corbusier's correspondence, conserved in the Le Corbusier Foundation in Paris[43] [Fig. 16], in order to have a feedback from him regarding this rather exaggerated project, reveals that they were confident about its real dimension and did not design this project as an ironic comment as did the Italian radical group Superstudio, when they designed their Continuous Monument series (1969). The project of Eisenman and Graves did not have any critical dimension, thing that can be confirmed by the fact that it was published in the mainstream American magazine *Life*[44] [Fig. 17] and not in any kind of experimental countercultural journal, in contrast with the publication of Superstudio's projects, which were characterized by the power of their critique and irony.

42. Giorgio Piccinato, Vieri Quilici, Manfredo Tafuri, «La città territorio: verso una nuova dimensione,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 270 (1962): 16–25.

43. Michael Graves, letter to Le Corbusier, June 8, 1965, Fondation Le Corbusier T1-7-401.

44. *Life* magazine, 24 December 1965; One can read in headline of the issue of 24 December 1965 of Life magazine: "Self-sufficient structures carry a metropolis across New Jersey." Life magazine devoted a two-page spread to Eisenman's and Graves's New Jersey Corridor Project, which is a linear city linking New York City to New Jersey, consisting of radically elongated buildings stretching for 20 miles, with industry located in the right-hand strip and homes, shops, and schools in the left-hand strip.

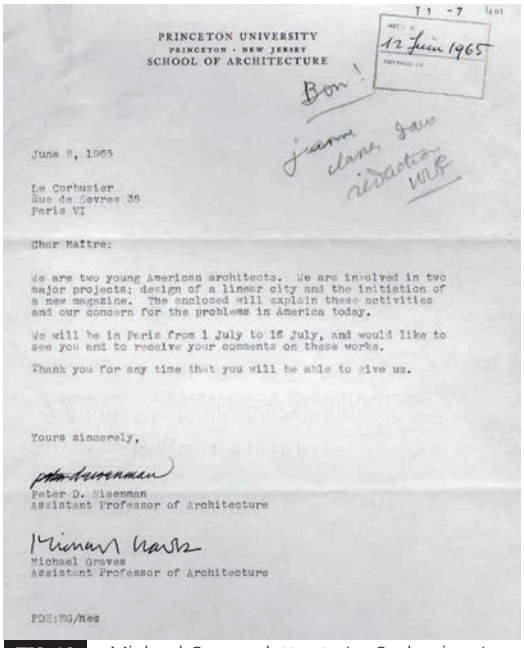


FIG. 16 Michael Graves, letter to Le Corbusier, June 8, 1965, Fondation Le Corbusier T1-7-401, Paris.

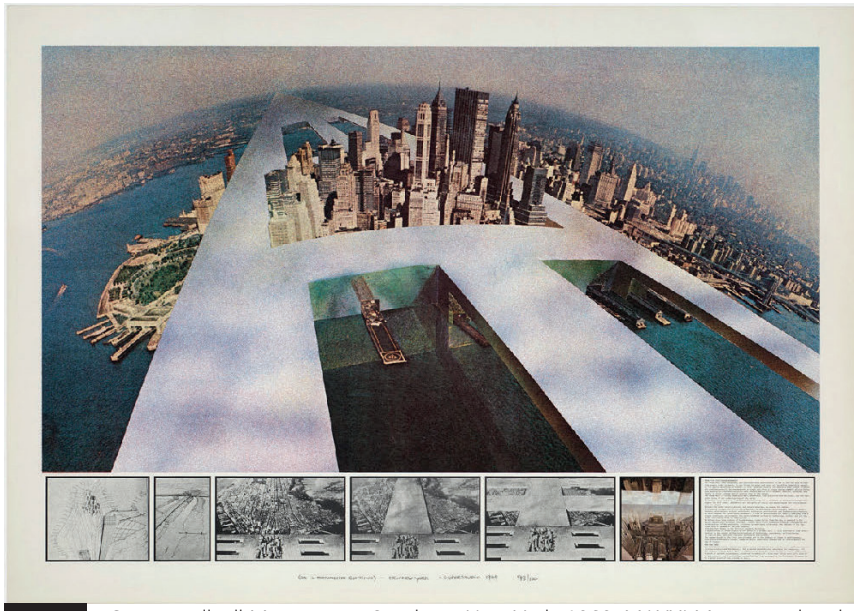


FIG. 18 Superstudio, il Monumento Continuo, New York, 1969. MAXXI Museo nazionale delle arti del XXI secolo, Roma. Collezioni MAXXI Architettura. © Fondo Superstudio.

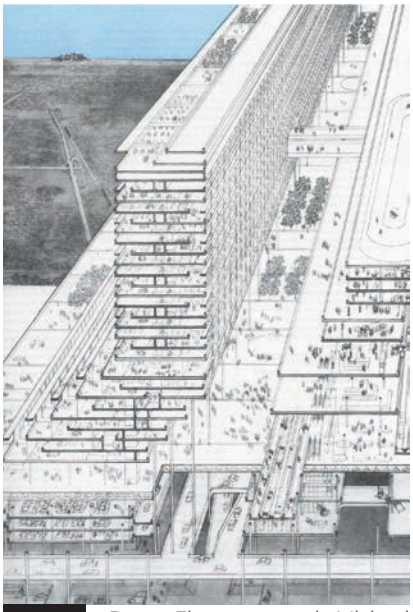


FIG. 17 Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves, New Jersey Corridor project, 1965, *Life Magazine*, 24 December 1965

This contradiction between New Jersey Corridor Project and Continuous Monument [Fig. 18] series depicts quite effectively the slippage between the climate in the north-American context and that in the Italian one.

Even if urban renewal discourse was still presiding in the United States, a group of students coming from the Department of City Planning of Yale University's School of Art and Architecture, reacted against the extensive redevelopment of New Haven in the 1950s and 1960s, marshalling a critique of their university's role in this top-down reconstruction. This response of Yale students could be understood as a rejection of the dominance of the notion of "urban renewal", which had a protagonist role within the north-American context of the mid- and late-sixties. The climate at the time was characterized by a division into two groups: one consisted by architects and theoreticians that searched for new ways of conceiving and applying urban renewal, on the one hand, and one consisted by a group who rejected the very basis of urban renewal. This second group thought urban renewal was incompatible with any kind of socially effective architecture and urban design approach. Within such an ambiguous context, where the problem of urban conditions was protagonist, in 1968, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown started teaching at Yale School of Art and Architecture a seminar titled "Learning from Las Vegas" [Fig. 19]. This seminar was the sperm of what, four years later, would become their seminal book *Learning from Las Vegas*,[45] which they co-authored with Steven Izenour. In November of the same year that the seminar "Learning from Las Vegas" started being taught by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown at Yale School of Art and Architecture a seminar titled, within the same context, a group of students founded a countercultural broadsheet titled *Novum Organum*. Its first issue was opening with the headline "Education for Alienation"[46] [Fig. 20].

45. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972).

46. "Education for Alienation," *Novum Organum* 1 (1968): np. The editors were Bob Coombs, Mark Ellis, Manfred Ibel, Herb Short, and Stuart Wrede.

The impact of Italian post-war architectural approaches on Venturi's point of view should be taken into account in our effort to explain the differences between the effects of 1968 on the Italian and the American context. Venturi had spent as visiting scholar two years – in 1955 and 1956 – in the Academy of Rome. During his stays in Italy he developed a friendship with Ernesto N. Rogers and, as Matino Stierli notes, was confronted with the question building in historically sensitive urban areas, which was a major issue in the post-war Italian architectural scene.[47] Venturi, during his stays in Rome, also attended lectures at the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (INU), including a presentation by Ludovico Quaroni. Denise Scott Brown was among the students that had followed the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) International Summer School, held at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura (IUAV) in 1956, where Ludovico Quaroni gave keynote lecture entitled "The architect and town planning". Therefore, both Venturi and Scott Brown were familiarized with the Italian approaches to city and the Italian discourse that seeks to incorporate the idea that architects are responsible for society. Following Stierli, we could claim that Venturi and Scott Brown distanced themselves from the vision of avant-garde architects, who had designated themselves the role of "the demiurge who is committed not to urban reality but rather to a yet-to-be-realized social and architectural utopia". Stierli also claims that Venturi and Scott Brown "brought the discourse on the city back to the reality of the here and now."[48]

Just a year after the student protests at Columbia University, another episode of student protests took place within the context of the Ivy league North-American Universities, this time at Ithaca at Cornell University, where a 36-hour student takeover of Willard Straight Hall began on April 18, 1969 [Fig. 21]. At the time, Oswald Mathias Ungers was the newly appointed chairman of the Department of Architecture at Cornell University. Ungers had moved to the United States, after having organized an international seminar titled "Architekturtheorie", held at Technischen Universität (TU) Berlin from 11 to 15 December 1967, which had ended with the demonstration by students of a banner writing "All houses are beautiful — stop constructing!".[49] Kenneth Frampton and Colin Rowe were among the speakers at "Architekturtheorie" symposium. As Kenneth Frampton and Alessandra Latour note, in 1980, in Lotus International, Ungers "[c] oming to Ithaca, New York, from West Berlin, [...] was particularly sensitive to the political climate of the late sixties which by that time had involved the rising of the New Left from Rudi Dutschke in Berlin t the students' revolt in Paris". The same authors underscore that Ungers challenged "the apolitical but liberal consensus that had been the consequence of Rowe's pragmatic/humanism".[50] An event that reflects the climate in Berlin, just before his departure in the United States is the Diagnosis on Building in West Berlin Exhibition (Diagnose zum Bauen in West-Berlin Ausstellung) [Fig. 22], which was counter-event organized in 1968 by young lecturers,

FIG. 19 "The Grand Proletarian Culture Locomotive": poster of invitation at the final presentation to Learning from Las Vegas Research Studio, taught by Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi. The final presentation was held on 10 January 1969 (Source: Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Steven Izenour, Learning from Las Vegas (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972))

FIG. 19 "Education for Alienation," *Novum Organum* 1 (1968): np. The editors were Bob Coombs, Mark Ellis, Manfred Ibel, Herb Short, and Stuart Wrede.

47. Martino Stierli. "In the Academy's Garden: Robert Venturi, the Grand Tour and the Revision of Modern Architecture." *AA Files* 56 (2007): 42-63.
48. Martino Stierli, "The City as Image," in *Las Vegas in the Rearview Mirror: The City in Theory, Photography, and Film.* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013), 318.
49. Tahl Kaminer, *The Efficacy of Architecture: Political Contestation and Agency* (London; New York: Routledge 2016), 4.
50. Kenneth Frampton, Alessandra Latour, "Notte sull'insegnamento dell'architettura in America: Dalla fine del diciannovesimo secolo agli anni '70/ Notes on American Architectural Education: From the End of the Nineteenth Century until the 1970s," *Lotus International* 27, no. 2 (1980): 29.

students, and architects in Berlin in order to criticize urban renewal practices in Berlin at the time.

FIG. 21 The Pulitzer Prize-winning photo of Cornell students emerging from Willard Straight Hall after the takeover (Source: https://assembly.cornell.edu/tools-tabs-resources/history-shared-governance/takeover-willard-straight-hall-1969)

This tension between the politically engaged approach of Ungers and the apolitical one of Rowe is symptomatic of an ambiguous and diffuse atmosphere, torn between the imperative to infuse architecture with social preoccupations and the nostalgic adhesion to a kind of understanding of the city which aspires to systematize how the expansion of the city should be read and directed. The above schism was very present at the climate, presiding the Department of Architecture of Cornell University when "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization"[51] was organized by Klaus Herdeg, in 1970 [Fig. 23]. The fact that Colin Rowe's talk at this symposium was entitled "Utopia or Collage City" and Robert Boguslaw's "The New Utopias: Models and Implementation" shows that the debate around utopia within the north-American context was inextricably linked to the reinvention of provincial cities' models. The main aspiration of the symposium was to associate utopia to the transformation of what city means for architecture, but without really trying to reflect on how social concerns could be incorporated in architectural and urban thought. Despite the symposium's general indifference for the social imperative of architecture and urban design, as it is confirmed by the unpublished correspondences, Ungers insisted on inviting European figures such as Jaap Bakema and Hans Hollein, who's stance was characterized by a conception of architecture as intrinsically linked to social processes.

51. "The Provincial City," *The Cornell Daily Sun*, Friday, May 8, 1970: 5.

FIG. 22 Poster of the Diagnosis exhibition (Diagnose zum Bauen in West-Berlin Ausstellung) at the Institute of Architecture in Berlin, 1968 (Source: http://radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/e25-%E2%80%A8institute-architecture-urban-regional-planning-berlin-institute-of-technology/)

Hollein was involved in the XIV Triennale di Milano of 1968, as curator of the Austrian pavilion. He was invited along with Arata Isozaki, Alison and Peter Smithson, Shadrach Woods, Aldo van Eyck, Archigram, Archizoom and Gyorgy Kepes by Giancarlo de Carlo, who curated this Triennale. A crucial episode concerning the demand to incorporate social concerns in epistemology of architecture is the occupation by students of architecture of this Triennale di Milano of May 1968, which postponed its opening[52] [Figs. 24-25]. A month earlier, in "Everything is Architecture" ("Alles ist Architektur") [Fig. 26], which constitutes one of the most significant manifests of architecture in post-war era, published in *Bau*, Hollein was declaring: "There is a change as to the importance of "meaning" and "effect". Architecture affects. The way I take possession of an object, how I use it, becomes important."[53] In 1966, he had invited Theodor Adorno to

52. See also Paola Nicolin, "Beyond the Failure: Notes on the XIVth Triennale," *Log* 13/14 (2008): 87-100.

53. Hans Hollein, "Alles ist Architektur," *Bau: Schrift fur Architektur und Stadtebau* no. 1-2 (1968): 1; Hollein quoted *Occupying space: Sammlung Generali Foundation Collection,* edited by Sabine Breitwieser (Vienna; Cologne: Generall Foundation; Walther König, 2003), 256.

contribute to an architectural symposium in Vienna, as Liane Lefaivre reminds us.[54]

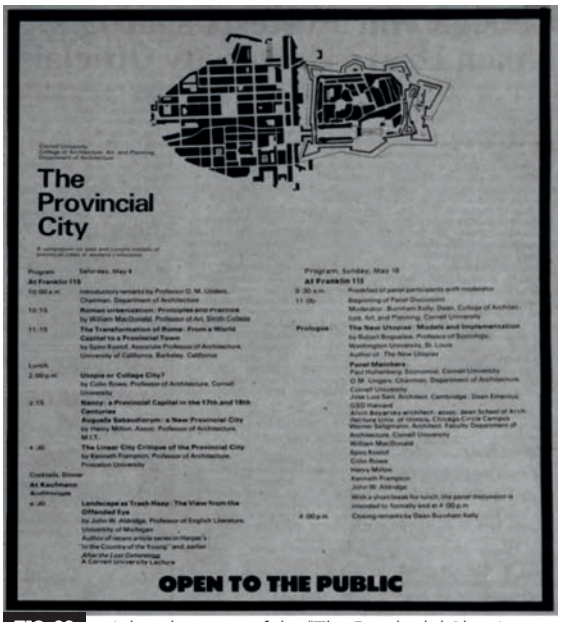


FIG. 23 Advertisement of the "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization" in *The Cornell Daily Sun,* Friday, May 8, 1970: 5.

The contributors to the "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization" were William MacDonald, Spiro Kostof, Kenneth Frampton, Robert Boguslaw, Colin Rowe and Henry Millon. Among the people who were invited but refused to contribute to this event were Jaap Bakema, Shadrach Woods, Giancarlo de Carlo, Hans Hollein, James Stirling, Vincent Scully. There was, thus, a clear preference for Team 10 vision, since three of its members – Jaap Bakema, Shadrach Woods, Giancarlo de Carlo – were enthusiastically invited to contribute. However, the attitude of Team 10 was quite skeptical vis-à-vis the questions of this symposium, as it becomes evident from the response of Shadrach Woods: "Now that I have seen the outline [...] I don't feel that I could make any really useful contribution to such discussion as the topics may give rise to; it is well outside my field of interests".[55] The topic of the symposium was described as a discussion on the "architectural manifestation and implications of the provincial city in the United States".[56] A clarification regarding its focus, sent to the invited speakers, was the following: "The topic 'provincial cities' is usually discussed in terms of city planning topics such as regional development or transportation; and we hope to keep that type of discussion to a minimum. We would rather hope to discuss it in terms of its architectural and cultural background in order to obtain a greater understanding of the milieu in which we work".[57]

Oswald Mathias Ungers, who was Chairman of the Department of Architecture at Cornell University at the time, appointed in 1968, addressed a letter to Bakema inviting him to participate to the panel discussion of this symposium.[58] The papers presented in the framework of this symposium, were: William MacDonald's "Roman Urbanization: Principles and Practice", Spiro Kostof's "The Transformation of Rome: From a World Capital to a Provincial Town", Colin Rowe's "Utopia or Collage City", Kenneth Frampton's "The Linear City Critique of the Provincial City", Robert Boguslaw's "The New Utopias: Models and Implementation" and Henry Millon's "Nancy: A Provincial Capital in the 17th and 18th centuries. Augusta Sabaudiorium: A New Provincial City". The panel discussion that followed the above presentations apart from the speakers brought together Paul Hohenberg, Oswald Mathias Ungers, José Luis Sert, Alvin Boyarsky and Joh W. Aldridge. Sert was more related to the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) than to Team 10. He belonged to the older generation of the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) and, in 1959, had initiated the first professional degree program in urban design at Harvard University's Harvard Graduate School of Design, where he was dean until 1969, just a year before the organization of the above

54. See Liane Lefaivre, "Everything is Architecture: Multiple Hans Hollein and the Art of Crossing Over," *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 18 (2003): 1.

55. Shadrach Woods, letter to Leon Satkowski, March 11, 1970, Department of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Klaus Herdeg papers, Box 1: Folder 19, Series I: Faculty Papers, Cornell University, Symposium correspondences, 1970.

56. Leon Satkowski, letter to Vincent Scully, December 19, 1969, ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Oswald Mathias Ungers, letter to Jaap Bakema, January 9, 1970, ibid.

symposium at Cornell University. Sert when he accepted the invitation to participate to the panel discussion he had the impression that Jaap Bakema and Shadrach Woods, both member of the Team 10, would participate. Klaus Herged in his invitation letter informed him that Jaap Bakema and Shadrach Woods were among the contributors.[59] Frampton mentioned in his talk:

> I have a feeling that behind this topic which no doubt sits differently for an architectural historian than it does for an architect, there lie the expression of a conscious wish to return to a more manageable and humane urban dimension. A nostalgia for that ancient period so expertly drawn for us earlier by William MacDonald and Spiro Kostof, and previously rather succinctly characterized by Joseph in his essay "The Idea of a Town" as that time when the universe could be reduced to a diagram.[60]

FIG. 24 Entrance to the Triennale di Milano during the occupation in May 1968 © Veselina Dzhingarova

FIG. 25 Giancarlo de Carlo debates with Gianemilio Simonetti as protesting students take over the Milan Triennale in May 1968. Photograph by Cesare Colombo. Courtesy La Triennale di Milano

Frampton, in the above excerpt of his address, refers to Joseph Rykwert's book entitled *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*.[61] He assimilated the way Joseph Rykwert understood the urban form and condition, in the above book, to the approach of William MacDonald and Spiro Kostof towards the city. Frampton also sustained that the situation in the United States was characterized by "an economy which is patently antipathetic to […] independent entities, both formally and economically"[62] and criticized the tendency to establish manageable and controllable modes of understanding urban conditions. He interpreted Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown's, and Tom Wolfe's analysis of the strip city of Las Vegas as an act of affirmation vis-à-vis the appropriation of the dimension of production and consumption in how urban dimension is understood. In other words, he claimed that Venturi, Scott Brown and Wolfe invite us to accept that "we now live locked in a cycle of production and consumption were the ultimate fate of the city is to consume, perhaps both itself, its people and its environment".[63]

A year after this talk, Frampton, in "America 1960-1970. Notes on Urban Images and Theory", published in 1971 in *Casabella*, referred again to Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Tom Wolfe, as he had done a year

59. Klaus Herdeg, letter to José Luis Sert, December 13, 1969, Department of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Klaus Herdeg papers, Box 1: Folder 19, Series I: Faculty Papers, Cornell University, Symposium correspondences, 1970.

60. Kenneth Frampton, manuscript of the address at "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization", Department of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Klaus Herdeg papers, Box 1: Folder 18, Series I: Faculty Papers.

61. Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Netherlands: Hilversum, 1960).

62. Kenneth Frampton, manuscript of the address at "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization", ibid.

63. Ibid.

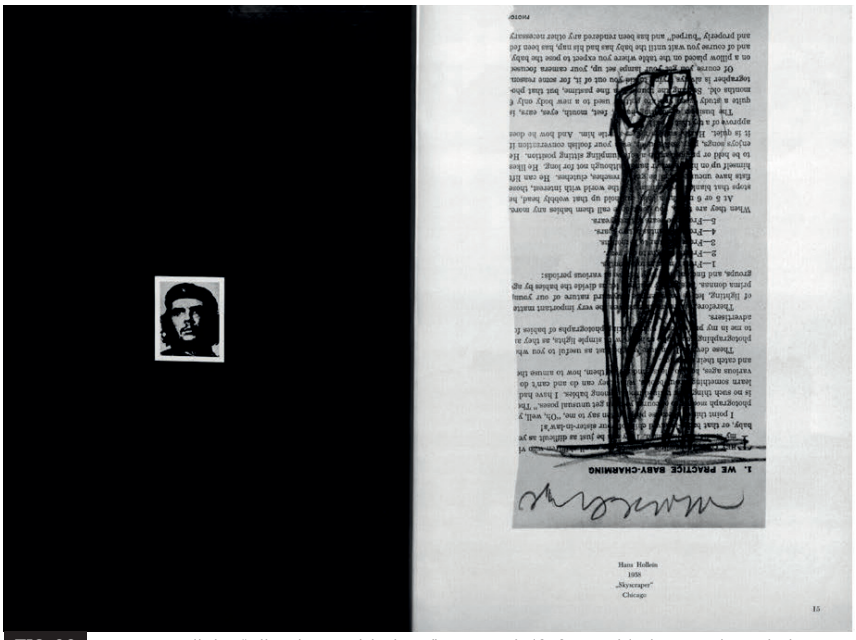


FIG. 26 Hans Hollein, "Alles ist Architektur," *Bau: Schrift fur Architektur und Stadtebau* no. 1-2 (1968): 14, 15.

earlier in his address at the above symposium held at Cornell University. Frampton wrote there: "This essentially picturesque prospect of Las Vegas relates however elliptically to the English "townscape" position, first initiated in "The Architectural Review in the late 40's as an integral part of that post-war Anglo-Saxon concern to "humanize" the modern movement. This "humanization" was a popular success and by the mid-50's Townscape had been academicized into a Sittesque "method" of urban design, that was commonly accepted and practiced in the States. Townscape was introduced into "respectable" American planning circles via the development of an MIT methodology that was first publicly presented in 1960, in Kevin Lynch's "The Image of the City"".[64]

64. Kenneth Frampton, "America 1960-1970. Appunti su alcune immagini e teorie della città/ America 1960-1970. Notes on Urban Images and Theory," *Casabella*, no. 359-360 (1971): 25.

In the same issue of *Casabella*, Denise Scott Brown, in her article titled "Reply to Frampton", underscored that "Frampton misses the agony in […] [their] acceptance of pop" and "seems to suggest that Kevin Lynch allowed urban renewal to happen". Her disagreement with Frampton lied mainly in their criteria for judging what is "socially relevant or socially irresponsible in architecture", while their point of convergence lied on their critical stance vis-à-vis urban renewal architecture. She argued that "analysis of physical properties [should not be equated] with lack of social concern". She differentiated herself from urban renewal principles, underlying that "in urban renewal, […] architects well-trained in the art of coordinating have not

FIG. 27 Fausto Giaccone, Fight between police and students outside the School of Architecture at Valle Giulia. Rome, 1 March 1968. From '68. Un anno di confine (Milano, 2008) LF.31.b.4963


Il Messaggero di Roma

A ROMA FRA ELEMENTI ESTREMISTI DI DESTRA E DI SINISTRA

Sanguinosi scontri all'Università

FIG. 28 "Sanguinosi scontri all'Universitá," in *Il Messaggero*, 7 March 1968: 1-8.


Le immagini della drammatica giornata

Il Messaggero di Roma

UNA DRAMMATICA GIORNATA ALLA FACOLTÀ DI ARCHITETTURA

Sanguinosi scontri a Roma fra gli universitari e la polizia

GLI PROPONE ALLA CAMERA UNO STRALCIO DELLA RIFORMA UNIVERSITARIA

Tavianì: difesa della legalità

Approvato l'aumento delle pensioni

Condannati i giornalisti dell'Espresso

FIG. 29 "Sanguinosi scontri a Roma frag li universitari e la polizia", *Il Messaggero*, 2 March 1968

[…] included important social concerns in their coordinations".[65]

Scott Brown also claimed that, even if Frampton was not aware of it, they – she and Robert Venturi – had "been involved both theoretically and practically with the relation between architectural formalism and social concern".[66] A very interesting remark of Scott Brown regarding Frampton's point of view is that he seemed to be "caught between two social critiques of America a European and an American".[67] She, thus, distinguished two social critiques of America. As Scott Brown highlighted, the conflict between architectural formalism and social concern was at the center of North-American debates at the time. This split was reflected in the dilemmas of the pedagogy, which were unfolded in the framework of two conferences that are defining for understanding the transformations of the pedagogy of Architecture within the north-American context, held both at the Museum of Modern Art in New York: "Architectural Education USA: Issues, Ideas, and People" in 1971, and "Institutions for a Post-Technological Society: The Universitas Project" in 1972. Among the contributors to the first were Peter Eisenman, Robert Gutman, Herbert J. Gans, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Denise Scott Brown, Colin Rowe, Jonathan Barnett, Kenneth Frampton, Stanford Anderson and Anthony Vidler, while among the speakers at the second were Henri Lefebvre, Jean Baudrillard and Michel Foucault.

Urban strategy and urban analysis were at the center of French discourse at the time, extending far beyond the frontiers of architecture and urban design disciplines. Within the French context, Henri Lefebvre and Roland Barthes tried to propose new ways of reading the city. Henri Lefebvre noted regarding the relation of urban strategies to utopia, in "From Urban Science to Urban Strategy": "The science of the city and of the urban phenomenon cannot reply without taking the risk of consenting to constraints from elsewhere: from ideology and power. It constitutes itself slowly, through hypotheses and experiments as much as concepts and theories. It cannot do without imagination, which is to say utopia".[68] In 1972, the theories that Lefebvre developed in his seminal book *Le droit*

65. Denise Scott Brown, "Risposta per Frampton/ Reply to Frampton," *Casabella*, no. 359-360 (1971): 41.

66. Ibid., 43.

67. Ibid., 44.

68. Henri Lefebvre, "From Ubran Science to Urban Strategy," in *Utopie: Texts and Projects*, 1967-1978, ed. Craig Buckley, Jean-Louis Violeau (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2011), 206.

à la ville,[69] originally published in Paris in 1968, at the very moment of the student protests and the workers strikes, were introduced this very moment in London architectural scene, through the review written by Bernard Tschumi in *Architectural Design*.[70]

Roland Barthes, in "Semiology and Urbanism" ("Sémiologie et Urbanisme"), published in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* a year earlier, in 1971, referred to the concept of urban semiology. He claimed that the practice of urban semiology is associated with semiology, geography, history, urbanism, architecture and psychoanalysis. Barthes, in this text, examined to what extent an urban semiology is possible and tried to understand under what conditions such a kind of semiology could exist. He underscored that "the human space […] has always been signifying". A thought-provoking remark of Barthes, in the above text, is his observation that "Lynch' conception of the city is more gestaltist than structural".[71]

FIG. 30 Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Vi odio cari studenti," in *L'Espresso*, 16 June 1968.

71. Roland Barthes, "Sémiologie et Urbanisme," *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, no. 153 (1971): 11-13; "Semiology and Urbanism," in *Architecture Culture*, 1943-1968, ed. Joan Ockman (New York: Columbia Books of Architecture, 1993), 412-18. The text comes from a conference that Roland Barthes gave on 16 May 1967, organised by the Institut Français, the Institute of History of Architecture of the University of Naples and *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*.

The same year, the seminar "La città-territorio" was held at the same university. Manfredo Tafuri, who participated at the above student revolts, at the time was attracted by the concept of the "nuova dimensione", which was dominant in the debates on architecture and urban planning in Italy. His approval of the notion of "nuova dimensione" was evident in the article entitled "La città territorio: verso una nuova dimensione", which he co-authored with Giorgio Piccinato and Vieri Quilici in 1962 for *Casabella Continuità*.[72] In 1964, Tafuri had changed his mind regarding the importance of the concept of "nuova dimensione". This becomes evident from what he argued in "Razionalismo critico e nuovo utopismo", published also in Casabella Continuità that year. There, he expressed his fears regarding the dangers of the hypothetical "nuova dimensione" of intervention, which, according to him, was risking of "passing into the catalog of slogans without operational consistency".[73] In the same article, Tafuri underlined the intensification of methodological and syntactic renewal in the international architectural scene.

72. Giorgio Piccinato, Vieri Quilici, Manfredo Tafuri, «La città territorio: verso una nuova dimensione,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 270 (1962): 16–25.

73. Manfredo Tafuri, «Razionalismo critico e nuovo utopismo,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 293 (1964): 20.

74. Andrew Leach. "Choosing History: Tafuri, Criticality and the Limits of Architecture." *The Journal of Architecture* 10, no. 3 (2005): 235-44.

Tafuri's "La città territorio: Verso una nuova dimensione" was written before the occupation the forty-three day occupation of the Valle Giulia Facoltà di architettura during 1963,[74] while his text entitled "Razionalismo critico e nuovo utopismo" was written after its occupation. This should be more than a coincidence. Tafuri's reorientation should also be interpreted in conjunction, on the one

FIG. 31 Author unknown, Sesto San Giovanni, Milan, 1968 (Source: http://www.darsmagazine.it/racconto-privato-intimoracconto-sociale-comune/#.Wy4ZbiOB3V)

hand, with the dissolution of the Architetti Urbanisti Associati (AUA), who's members were Giorgio Piccinato and Vieri Quilici apart from Tafuri, and, on the other hand, in relation to his conviction that no architectural intervention can contribute to the change of capitalist ideology, if it's produced within the capitalist system. Ernesto N. Rogers, the director of *Casabella Continuità* at the time, in his editorial of the following issue, entitled "Discontinuità o continuità?", declares that the vision of the journal was still characterized by the belief "in the usefulness of an ideal battle in the field of architecture, in its profound human, political, social content, in an anti-fascist, democratic, progressive sense."[75] Carlo Aymonino, in "Facoltà di Tendenza", published in *Casabella* in 1964, referred to the transformations that should take place within the discipline of architecture in order to be able to resolve concrete problems of an immediate nature. Aymonino, in this article, underscored the necessity to develop "new types of theoretical problems" based on "Marxist aesthetic critique"[76]. He maintained that Marxist theory could help reinvent the discipline of architecture, taking into consideration its vivacity and exactness.

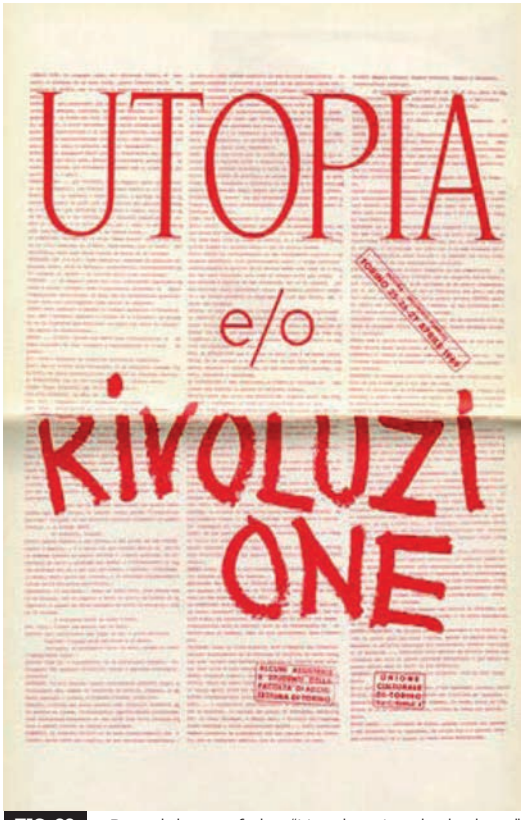


FIG. 32 Broadsheet of the "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" meeting in Casabella 337 (June 1969).

Given that hundreds of students and policemen were injured, the so-called "Battle of the Valle Giulia"[77] **[Fig. 27]** is considered as a moment in which violence marked the Italian students' movement **[Figs. 28-29]**. Pier Paolo Pasolini's poem "The PCI to the Young!" (The Italian Communist Party to the young!) which is also known by the title "Vi odio cari studenti" ("I hate you dear students")[78], **[Fig. 30]**, contributed to the consideration of the above clash between the students and the police as a moment par excellence within the debates over the *Sessantotto*.[79] As Sam Rohdie notes, "Pasolini's poem took the position that the events at the Valle Giulia were not a class conflict, but a civil disturbance within the confines of the class in power and"[80] **[Fig. 31]**. As Gianni Statera mentions, "[f]rom December 1967 to June 1968, practically every university was disrupted by repeated occupations".[81] The difference of the student demonstration held Valle Giulia from all the other student protests that "succeeded one another in many Italian cities at that time" lies in "the bitterness of the clash the excessively violent reaction of the police".[82]

Milan's newspaper *Corriere della Sera* and Turin's newspaper La Stampa covered the student movement protests. Within the Italian context, a significant instance is the "battle of the Valle Giulia" on March 1, 1968. The clashes between police and student protesters trying to occupy the faculty of Architecture at Valle Giulia that took place in a park outside the University of Rome's Faculty of Architecture are paradigmatic for understanding the intensity of the conflicts in the Italian context. Stuart Hilwig compares the "Battle of the Valle Giulia" in Rome with the Grant Park demonstrations in Chicago and the Parisian students' protests.[83]

75. Ernesto N. Rogers, «Discontinuità o continuità?,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 294-295 (1964) : 1.

76. Carlo Aymonino, «Facoltà di Tendenza,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 287 (1964): 11.

77. The "Battle of Valle Giulia" ("battaglia di Valle Giulia") is the conventional name for a clash between Italian militants (left-wing as well as right-wing) and the Italian police in Valle Giulia, Rome, on 1 March 1968. It is still frequently remembered as one of the first violent clashes in Italy's student unrest during the protests of 1968 or "Sessantotto"

78. The newspaper *L'Espresso* printed the poem with this alternate title: Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Vi odio cari studenti," in *L'Espresso*, 16 June 1968.

79. Simona Bondavalli, *Fictions of Youth: Pier Paolo Pasolini, Adolescence, Fascisms* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 150.

80. Sam Rohdie, *The Passion of Pier Paolo Pasolini* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 195.

81. Gianni Statera, *Death of a utopia: the development and decline of student movements in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 106.

82. Ibid., 107.

83. Stuart Hilwig, "Constructing a Media Image of the *Sessantotto*. The Framing of the Italian Protest Movement in 1968" in *Media and Revolt: Strategies and Performances from the 1960s* to the Present, ed. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Erling Sivertsen, Rolf Werenskjold (New Work and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014), 112.

Hilwig claims that the "Battle of the Valle Giulia" "proved to have an effect similar to have an effect similar to the student-police battles of the Chicago Democratic Convention riots of 1968".[84] In order to grasp the magnitude of the "Battle of the Valle Giulia", we can call to mind, on the one hand that "[t]he popular presses' coverage […] turned the event into a national spectacle"[85] and, on the other hand, that "for the first time students fought back a police charge".[86]

Another significant instance for unfolding the transformations of the role of the architect and the pedagogical models are the exhibit and public meeting "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" [Fig. 32], held in Turin in 1969 as an initiative independent from any university, which echoes the climate of political turmoil, questioning the role of education in relation to utopia within urban planning and architecture. "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" was an exhibition and public meeting organized by student and assistant professors from the Faculty of Architecture of Politecnico di Torino in April 26 and 27 in 1969. The main question treated in this event was the "reconsideration of the legacy of utopia in the late 1960s, in reaction to the increasing commoditization of culture at the level of housing, city, and territory. It raised several theoretical questions: If there is to be a utopia, what utopia? If revolution, where and when? What is the role of the proletarian or intellectual in this discussion?".[87] Among the invited participants were Italian emigrants Romaldo Giurgola and Paolo Soleri, who were residents of the United States since the 1950s. Other contributors to the event were Dennis Crompton and Peter Cook from the British group Archigram from Great Britain, Hans Hollein from Austria, Hubert Tonka from the *Utopie* Group from France, Paul Virilio and Claude Parent from the group *Architecture Principe*, Yona Friedman, Archizoom from Italy and the Torino-based radical groups Grupp Strum and Anonima. The last three groups were the sole representatives of Italian practices, who contributed to "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione".[88]

Paolo Soleri, in the address he gave at "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione", claimed that "[t]he city constitutes something more substantial than the accumulation of the activities and its individual citizens". He argued for neither "Utopia and/or revolution, but evolutionary radicalism", insisting that "[t]he urban system is not only an instrument for the service of the individual".[89] Archizoom, in "Relazione del gruppo Archizoom", published in the issue of the journal Marcatré, which was dedicated to "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione", sustained that the philosophy of conceiving building typologies in accordance with the existing economic conditions needed "to be blown to pieces".[90]

Insightful regarding the shifts of educational models in Europe and the United States, after 1968, are the issues 21 (1978) and 27 (1980) of *Lotus International*, presenting the pedagogical models in both contexts. Pierluigi Nicolin, in his editorial to the 21 issue of *Lotus International*,

84. Hilwig, Italy and 1968: *Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 24.

85. Ibid.

86. Donatella della Porta, "Protest, Protesters, and Protest Policing: Public Discourses in Italy and Germany from the 1960s to the 1980s," in *How Social Movements Matter*, ed. Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 71.

87. Beatriz Colomina, Craig Buckley and Urtzi Grau, eds. C*lip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines*, 196X to 197X (Barcelona: ACTAR Publishers, 2010), 114.

88. Mary Louise Lobsinger, "Domestic Environments: Italian Neo-Avant-Garde Design and the Politics of Post-Materialism," in *Atomic Dwelling: Anxiety, Domesticity, and Postwar Architecture*, ed. Robin Schuldenfrei (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 199.

89. Paolo Soleri, Jules Noel Wright "Utopia e o Revoluzione: Utopia and/or Revolution," *Perspecta* 13/14 (1971): 281.

90. Archizoom, "Relazione del gruppo Archizoom," *Marcatré*, no. 50-55, numero monografico dedicato al convegno Utopia e/o rivoluzione (1969): 100.

entitled "Architecture in the University: Europe", published in 1978, referred to a phenomenon "resumption of architectural design work within the university, coming after the triumphant years of sociology, design methods, urban planning reform, the mathematicization of architecture and do-it-yourself (in other words, the movement away from a specific interest within the architectural discipline), does not by any means represent 'a return', but is being carried out in absolutely".[91] According to him, the teaching strategies in the European Schools of Architecture in 1978, were characterized by the intent to reinforce the "relation within reality", to take distance "from capitalist industry" and to refuse "to accept the capitalist city".[92] He also noted that the main characteristic of the shift of pedagogy in the Schools of Architecture within the European context since 1968 is the dissolution of "the myths of creativity and the technology of the creativity […] along with the very "design methods" of which it was to be the Gestaltic complement".[93] In his eyes, the mutations of pedagogy after 1968 concerned the research for "a more direct knowledge of the "real city" and its contradictions of the class struggle and its connections with urban transformations".[94]

91. Pierluigi Nicolin, "L'architettura nell'università: Europa/ Architecture in the University: Europe," *Lotus International*, no. 21 (1978): 3.

92. Ibid.

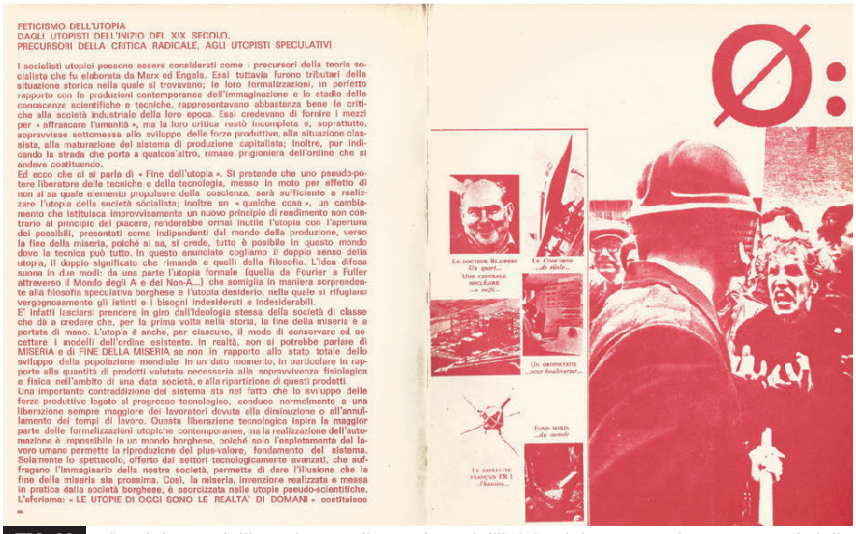
93. Ibid., 5.

94. Ibid.

Bernard Huet, in "The Teaching of Architecture in France: 1968-1978: From One Reform to The Next", scrutinized the question of massification of architectural pedagogy, underscoring that "the reform of 1968, which called itself "democratic" […] without realizing it and motivated by the best political intentions, brought in a new teaching of an elitist kind".[95] "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization" and "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" constitute expressions of the disjunctive synthesis between utopia and revolution. To return to the argument raised at the beginning of the article, the 1968 student protests in Europe, and especially in Italy, provoked a shift on architectural pedagogy and epistemology, which was characterized by the elaboration of strategies towards the city that had as starting point the conviction that a close understanding of reality would help architecture not to lose its locus.

95. Bernard Huet, "L'insegnamento dell'architettura in Francia: 1968-1978 da una riforma all'altra/ The Teaching of Architecture in France: 1968-1978: From One Reform to The Next," *Lotus International*, no. 21: 37. As Huet reminds us, professors and students had started fighting for the reform of 1968 since 1966.

This act of embracing reality was accompanied by the rejection of utopias and the ideology of the avant-garde. The avant-garde ideology was based on the certainty that architects and artists are capable of directing social and architectural utopia. In contrast with such a grand narrative, the network of the events around/in 1968, infused architectural epistemology in Europe with the awareness of the fragmentary character of socially inspired projects. The return to reality was presented to European architects as the antidote against the dogmas not only of functionalism, but also of utopian projects. For this reason, irony was very present in the dominant architectural discourse in Europe. For instance, one of the articles published in the issue of *Marcatré* dedicated to the event "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" was entitled "Fetishism of the utopia. From the Utopists of the early 19th century, precursors of radical critique, to speculative


FETICISMO DELL'UTOPIA
DAGLI UTOPISTI DELL'INIZIO DEL XIX SECOLO,
PRECURSORI DELLA CRITICA RADICALE, AGLI UTOPISTI SPECULATIVI

I socialisti utopici possono essere considerati come i precursori della teoria socialista che fu elaborata da Marx ed Engels. Essi tuttavia furono tributari della situazione storica nella quale si trovavano; le loro formalizzazioni, in perfetto rapporto con le produzioni contemporanee dell'immaginazione e lo stadio delle conoscenze scientifiche e tecniche, rappresentavano abbastanza bene le critiche alla società industriale della loro epoca. Essi credevano di fornire i mezzi per « affrancare l'umanità », ma la loro critica restò incompleta e, soprattutto, sopravvisse sottomessa allo sviluppo delle forze produttive, alla situazione classista, alla naturalizzazione del sistema di produzione capitalista; inoltre, pur indicando la strada che porta a qualcos'altro, rimase prigioniera dell'ordine che si andava costituendo.
Ed ecco che ci si parla di « Fine dell'utopia ». Si pretende che uno pseudo-potere liberatore delle tecniche e della tecnologia, messo in moto per effetto di non si sa quale elemento propulsore della coscienza, sarà sufficiente a realizzare l'utopia della società socialista; inoltre un « qualche cosa », un cambiamento che istituisca improvvisamente un nuovo principio di readimento non contrario al principio del piacere, renderebbe ormai inutile l'utopia con l'apertura dei possibili, presentati come indipendenti dal mondo della produzione, verso la fine della miseria, poiché si sa, si crede, tutto è possibile in questo mondo dove la tecnica può tutto. In questo enunciato cogliamo il doppio senso della utopia, il doppio significato che rimanda a quelli della filosofia. L'idea diffusa suona in due modi: da una parte l'utopia formale (quella de Fourier a Fuller attraverso il Mondo degli A e dei Non-A...) che somiglia in maniera sorprendente alla filosofia speculativa borghese e l'utopia desiderio, nella quale si rifugiano vergognosamente gli istinti e i bisogni indesiderati e indesiderabili.
E' infatti lasciarsi prendere in giro dall'ideologia stessa della società di classe che dà a credere che, per la prima volta nella storia, la fine della miseria è a portata di mano. L'utopia è anche, per ciascuno, il modo di conservare ed accettare i modelli dell'ordine esistente. In realtà, non si potrebbe parlare di MISERIA e di FINE DELLA MISERIA se non in rapporto allo stato totale dello sviluppo della popolazione mondiale in un dato momento, in particolare in rapporto alla quantità di prodotti valutata necessaria alla sopravvivenza fisiologica e fisica nell'ambito di una data società, e alla ripartizione di questi prodotti.
Una importante contraddizione del sistema sta nel fatto che lo sviluppo delle forze produttive legato al progresso tecnologico, conduce normalmente a una liberazione sempre maggiore dei lavoratori dovuta alla diminuzione o all'annullamento dei tempi di lavoro. Questa liberazione tecnologica ispira la maggior parte delle formalizzazioni utopiche contemporanee, ma la realizzazione dell'automazione è impossibile in un mondo borghese, poiché solo l'sfruttamento del lavoro umano permette la riproduzione del plus-valore, fondamento del sistema. Solamente lo spettacolo, offerto dai settori tecnologicamente avanzati, che suffragano l'immaginario della nostra società, permette di dare l'illusione che la fine della miseria sia prossima. Così, la miseria, invenzione realizzata e messa in pratica dalla società borghese, è sacralizzata nelle utopie pseudo-scientifiche. L'aforisma: « LE UTOPIE DI OGGI SONO LE REALTA' DI DOMANI » costituisce

FIG. 33 "Feticismo dell'utopia. Dagli Utopiste dell'inizio del XIX secolo, precursori della critica radicale, agli utopisti speculative," *Marcatré*, no. 50-55, monographic issue on "Utopia e/o rivoluzione" (July 1969)

utopians" ("Feticismo dell'utopia. Dagli Utopiste dell'inizio del XIX secolo, precursori della critica radicale, agli utopisti speculative")[96] **[Fig. 33]**. This title reflects this perspective, which I tried to explain above, regarding the non-efficiency in terms of social mutations of utopian projects.

"Utopia e/o Rivoluzione", as a non-institutionalized event, expressed the wish for a non-capitalist logic of education, while "The Provincial City" did not take any distance from the norms of understanding architectural pedagogy. In this sense, the former is representative of the desire to democratize architecture, while the latter echoes the elitist tendency of education, emphasized by Huet. For Huet, "[a]ll the progressive lines of thought which preceded and followed 1968, in spite of their differences, agree at least on one point: the end of the utopias and the death of the avant-garde".[97] It becomes, thus, evident, that for him revolution and, especially, change, in architectural pedagogy cannot be possible without taking distance from myths of utopia. In other words, he believed that the revolutionizing of pedagogy and the attachment to utopia were incompatible. In the question that "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione?", posed in Turin in 1969, Huet would answer "rivoluzione". This stance of Huet, which is representative of the presiding posture at the time in Europe, seems to be in contrast with the dominant discourse during the same period in the milieus of North-American architectural pedagogy. Manfredo Tafuri, who had lectured at Princeton in 1974, wrote to Joan Ockman more than ten years later referring to his disenchantment caused by his reading of *Architecture Criticism Ideology*[98]: "'revolution' is not among my thoughts. Etymologically, revolution (revolution) signifies 'return,' and is related to the perfection of the origin [...] revolutions - have always been extraneous to my point of view".[99] Therefore, Tafuri to the question "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione?" would have answered: neither utopia nor revolution, since he believed that his thought and practice as historian was incompatible with the illusions that accompany the notions of both utopia and revolution. He believed,

96. "Feticismo dell'utopia. Dagli Utopiste dell'inizio del XIX secolo, precursori della critica radicale, agli utopisti speculative," *Marcatré*, no. 50-55, numero monografico dedicato al convegno Utopia e/o rivoluzione (1969).

97. Bernard Huet, "L'insegnamento dell'architettura in Francia: 1968-1978 da una riforma all'altra/ The Teaching of Architecture in France: 1968-1978: From One Reform to The Next," *Lotus International*, no. 21: 38.

98. Joan Ockman, ed. *Architecture, criticism, ideology*. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1985.

99. Manfredo Tafuri quoted by Joan Ockman in "Venezia e New York/Venice and New York." *Casabella*, no. 59 (1995): 67.

instead, "in an activity that constantly modifies the given coordinates".[100]

100. Ibid.

A prompt that Tafuri addressed to Ockman, in the same letter, could recapitulate well the contradiction I tried to present, in this article, between the effects of 1968 in architectural pedagogy and epistemology in Europe and those in the United States: "If American culture wants to understand me, why not make an effort to abandon facile typologies (Marxism, negative thought, etc.)?" If we accept the above opinion of Tafuri regarding the fondness for labeling and systematizing in the American discourse, we could argue that such rather reductive American attitude of abstracting concepts did not permit the events of 1968 to rearticulate the forces related to architecture's social reality. According to Tafuri, such disentangled interpretation of concepts coming from Europe when introduced in the United States was related to Americans' tendency to abstract them from the historical context in which they emerged. He said characteristically regarding this issue: "Another thing that strikes me is that those who write about me in the U.S.A never put things into their historical context: 1973 is not 1980, is not 1985…".[101]

101. Ibid.

In the post-1968 era, a large part of the protagonists of architectural pedagogy in the United States privileged the notion of process in terms of form-making, instead of putting forward the processes of quotidian transformations that inevitably characterize the inhabitation of spaces, on the one hand, and life in the cities, on the other hand. They, thus, left behind concerns regarding how real architecture and real cities are inhabited and experienced. We could claim that the post-1968 situation regarding the design and educational strategies in America was characterized by the ignorance of the living subject for the sake form-making processes. This state of affairs in the American post-1968 architectural pedagogy privileged the interpreter of architectural drawings instead of the inhabitant of architectural spaces. This claim is valuable for Peter Eisenman and John Hejduk. In the case of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, the experience of the inhabitant is reduced to its communicative aspect. In other words, there was no distinction between the activity of seeing images and the activity of navigating in the city. The image of the city was more important to them than the real life of the city. In the case of Eisenman and Hejduk, we have paper-architecture, while in the case of Venturi and Scott Brown we are confronted with a reduction of the encounter with the real city to an act of reading signs of the city, the city's image. To conclude, I would argue that a rather significant difference between the American and the Italian post-1968 attitudes concerns the extent to which architects feel responsible for the evolution of society in general. In the United States, despite they insisted on using terms such as "utopia" and "myth" and on introducing European critical works vis-à-vis utopia, such as this of Tafuri, the architects liberated themselves from their responsibility as actors in society's transformation.

We can, thus, observe two post-1968 American tendencies: one enclosed in the invention of formal intellectual games, which reduced architecture to its drawing, recapitulated by Eisenman and Hejduk, and one celebrating the non-control of the growth of the city by the architects and urban designers and the dependence of its evolution by parameters that do not belong to the discipline of architecture and urban design, such as this of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown. This rather schematic presentation of the different directions that took architectural pedagogy and epistemology in the European and American contexts, even if it risks being interpreted as a generalization, shows that, despite the dissemination of similar demands through the student protests of 1968 in both sides of the Atlantic the transformations that these protests activated were of rather different nature. Their divergences should be comprehended as result of coordination and complex interactions of forces that surpass architecture and have to do with the dissimilarities of European and American societies. Despite the intensification of the cross-fertilization between European and American architectural discourse, and especially between Italian and American architectural discourse, during the post-1968 era, the same concepts were interpreted and instrumentalized differently because of these dissimilarities of societies that surpass architecture as discipline.

In both contexts – the Italian and the American – the effects of 1968 provoked a distancing from the concept of the "nuova dimensione", in the case of Italy, and the concept of urban renewal, in the case of the United States. In Italy, the antidote against the risks of the "nuova dimensione" was the rediscovery of the immediacy of reality, the locus and the civic dimension of the role of the architect. On the contrary, in the United States, the strategies against the unpredictability of the urban renewal could be recapitulated in three main directions. The first direction consisted in the interiorization of architectural design through its reduction to the representation of the design procedure and to the establishment of controlled and one-way decodifications of signs. This tendency, which included Peter Eisenman and John Hejduk's compositional methods, was based on the assumption that the addressee of architecture is the reader and interpreter of architectural drawings. It becomes evident that, in this case, architects' civic responsibility is minimized and the transmission of the message is mono-directional, that is to say from the architect to the reader of the drawings. The enactment of civic responsibility and the co-creation of the artefactual value by the addressee of architectural message is not included in the intentions of the architect. The second direction consisted in the reduction of architectural and urban artifacts in their images and included Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown's stance. According to this approach, the architect and the addressee become both receivers of the all-expanding message of the city and celebrate their non-control on its expansion. In this case, as in the

previous, neither the fertilization of civic responsibility nor the sense of participation of the interpreter of architecture signs in the formation of architecture and urban fabric's artefactual value are not part of architects' vision. The third direction consisted in the conservation of the belief in the invention of new utopias, through the incorporation of strategies coming from previous historical contexts and without understanding that the city as artefact of the post-1968 economic and social rearrangements could not be treated adopting models that are not connected to architecture and city's real attributes.

In Europe, during the same period, the demand for intensification of architects' civic responsibility was very dominant. Architects were motivated by an intense concern with the extension of their responsibilities towards society. Their conviction that the locus of the city should be the starting point of any design procedure, as in the case of Aldo Rossi or Léon Krier, and the awareness that the way architecture affects its users should be the main concern, as in the case of Hans Hollein, who shed light on the transformation of architecture's effects on individuals, are more central than any of the directions that I described above referring to the American context.

These divergences between Europe and America regarding the transformations of architectural epistemology after 1968 show that the trajectories of architectural discourse and pedagogy after 1968 should not be treated in a homogenized way. Instead of referring to the events of 68 as moments, we should refer to them as trajectories. If we accept Reinhart Koselleck's assumption that "[h]istorical time […] is bound up with social and political actions",[102] we should try to grasp in their concreteness and their historical specificity the transformations that followed the 1968 student protests in different geographic and institutional contexts, such as the Italian and the North-American. In order to do so, we should seek to untie the social and political actions in a way that takes into consideration the specific characteristics of each context. Such an approach implies that we should not keep our analysis tightened exclusively with the sphere of architecture. Instead, we should unravel the encounters between the different spheres – economic, cultural, social, political, etc. – and understand the effects of their interaction on architectural discourse. This is valuable for any historical study, but it is even more indispensable for understanding the effects of 1968 student protests on the epistemology of architecture in different geographic contexts, since this is a very complex topic, but timely to comprehend.

102. Reinhart Koselleck. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time.* Translated by Keith Tribe. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, 2. Original edition: Reinhart Koselleck. *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt/ Main: Suhrkamp, 1979).

The Collective and Aldo Rossi's *L'architettura della città*

Andjelka Badnjar Gojnić
PhD candidate RWTH Aachen
andjelka.badnjar@rwth-aachen.de

Andjelka Badnjar Gojnić is a PhD candidate at RWTH Aachen University in the field of Architectural Theory. She graduated from the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Belgrade. Afterwards, she taught as an Assistant at The Faculty of Architecture of the University of Montenegro. She gained a postgraduate degree at The Barcelona Institute of Architecture, Spain. She has worked as an architect for several international practices and on independent projects, some of which were awarded first prizes at international competitions (transformation of the Yugoslav factory OBOD into the University of the Arts in Montenegro, Urban reconstruction of The Sugar Factory and Hippodrome in Belgrade).

ABSTRACT

This text proposes a close reading of the concept of the Collective in *L'architettura della città, (The Architecture of the City)***. Contrary to the development of ethnological discourse, Aldo Rossi stands as one of the protagonists of the antique notion of the object, arguably a position driven by his communist convictions. In an attempt to research the ways in which architecture serves as being able to mirror the Collective in Rossi's case, the paper begins by examining the role of Manfredo Tafuri in the architectural debate of 1960s.**

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Tafuri: The Intellectual in Mediating the Collective through Autobiography and Anxiety

According to Manfredo Tafuri, the handling of artifacts was the main preoccupation of Torre Velasca, which was symptomatic of the Milanese climate in the late 1950s. Ernesto Nathan Rogers makes an explicit allegory of architecture and the archaeological field: it is only manipulation as an act of appropriation through physical intervention that makes the field historical.[1] Architecture, the field in question, consists of many legacies combined in a project reaching contamination. However, it was this impurity that made the "game of recognition possible". Tainted by ancient artifacts, architecture recognized the legitimacy of its own tradition.[2] In referring to the Museo del Castello as well as to the Torre Velasca, Tafuri speaks about artifacts manifesting an anxiety as a mode of communication regarding the relationship between private and collective memory. "The problem was how to make the private memory of the intellectual speak – a memory considered, as if by consensus, the keeper and executor of all obligations to the collective memory."[3] Standing as a *homage* to Milan, the building was commenting lyrically on a disappearing urban corpus with the expectation that catharsis would emerge from the intentions hidden in the recesses of this single object. By "teaching people how to see", the tower stirred public consciousness to take part in a collective *epoché*, to reconsider the new in the light of *temps perdu* of pre-World War II. It is in the sense of its implied meaning presented through the analogy of the narrator that the Torre Velasca, according to Tafuri, became the symbol of Italian architecture in the 1950s.

"In the great museum that is the historical city, it seems fitting to find a house that gives signs consolation for their alienation, that protects them from the future and reassures them of the validity of their moral stands."[4]

Rogers, in his talk at the CIAM 1959 meeting in Otterlo, described the tower as a result of a technique and of a set of pragmatic decisions. The architect presented the work by stressing pure facts and providing short conclusions such as: "It is important to speak technically, because technique requires precise decisions,"[5] "steel in Italy would be too expensive so concrete is used", "the windows are of standard production", "the panels between columns are prefabricated elements", "the construction is a very simple one", "it would be impossible to know who the occupants will be", "two main colours were used" – a brick one from the Middle Ages and the colour of stone from the neo-classical period, yet neither of these were chosen due to sentimental reasons, but as "a technical approach to the vision".[6] And further, "We put the apartments above the offices so that might have better access to the sky, the cleaner air and in particular the splendid view."[7] Yet, the view is not toward any of the traditional modernist symbols such as greenery, traffic or exposure to the airplanes passing over the heads of The Children's Home in Amsterdam.[8] Instead it is a view

1. Manfredo Tafuri, *Storia dell'architettura italiana 1944-85* (Torino: Einaudi, 1986), trans. *History of Italian Architecture, 1944-1985* (Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989), 51.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 52.

4. Ibid., 53.

5. Oscar Newman, *CIAM '59 in Otterlo* (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag Stuttgart, 1961), 92.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Children's Home Amsterdam presented by Aldo van Eyck, see Newman, *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*.

toward the fabric of the historical city. The view perceived from the interior constitutes the sum of the human artifact in the same way as the view toward the tower intensifies the recognizable image of a familiar object. Additionally, the corners of the tower are chamfered with the windows placed in, thus dissolving the cubical volume of the building into a mere plane picture. In the tower, almost seen as a two-dimensional image of a city, the structural components of modern architecture actually serve to intensify the type components of classicism. For this reason, Rogers identifies Mies as the only modern architect from whom one could learn: as the language of Mies implies gentrification in the constitution of an object in a tradition of commonly recognizable codes serving as the background to the human. "He is the only architect modern in the sense that Palladio was in his time", for whom "the idea of plans and schemes was the idea of giving a model."[9]

Trying to address his critique of the Torre Velasca with a bit more sympathy than Peter Smithson, Bakema pointed out that seen from "a certain distance there is something in the building's silhouette which suggest that it could have been there for fifty years."[10]

For Tafuri, within this framework of the language of critical interpretation works such as those of Ignazio Gardella, BPR and Giancarlo De Carlo become comprehensible. Describing the atmosphere of Italian architecture in the fifties as Lukácsian, Tafuri points to the lost totality, the split between the self and the world, inside and outside and even soul and action. Nostalgia for totality and the effort to at least artistically represent what had been lost remained a legacy for the architecture of the 1960s. The effort to describe the situation by means of fragmentation lead toward the allusive forms created by BPR, Ridolfi and the young Milanese designers . Moreover, without such premises we cannot understand the formation of Guido Canella, Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola, Aldo Rossi and Vittorio Gregotti."[11]

In setting modernism as a mirror of the critical interpretation of the narrator, dialectic projects such as De Carlo's on participation in planning and Rossi's on *fatto urbano* and collective memory[12] can serve as markers in the attempt of an intellectual to speak with regard to the Collective. In this sense, though distant in their outcome, both were influenced by Roger's 1950s handling of artifacts as the architectural representative of the cultural climate in Italy. In turning the mythology of participation into an instrument of experimentation, De Carlo "sought to redefine the relationship between intellectuals and production and acted upon a single sector of a single case". Tafuri points to Matteotti's *village* where *procedure* as it related to the theme of the management of production uncovered *process* as the fundamental aspect of the relationship between the intellectual and the Collective. On the other hand, it is collective memory instead of process that is the basic characteristic of the same relationship

9. Ibid., 96.

10. Ibid., 97.

11. Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985*, 56.

12. Rossi references to Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950).

in the circle around Aldo Rossi.[13]

> "Photographs of cities during war, sections of apartments, broken toys…I am thinking of a unity, or a system, made solely of reassembled fragments. Perhaps only a great popular movement can give us the sense of an overall design; today we are forced to stop ourselves at certain things…I believe that there can be no true compensation and that maybe the only thing possible is the addition that is somewhere between logic and biography."[14]

Well rooted in the tradition of critical interpretation and the awareness of the lost totality, perhaps Rossi is the one who eventually summed up the long echo of intellectual regret toward the loss of the object known from the Greek *polis*. Thus, in *The Architecture of the City*, he refers to Marx's interpretation of Greek culture as "the normal childhood of humanity". "There are ill-bread children and precocious children", to which many ancient people belong. Yet the Greeks were normal children due to their lack of walls and exclusively sovereign institutions such as temples, their mythological relationship with nature and the development of social institutions. Still, all this was possible due to naiveté rooted in their immature social conditions and Athens remains the embodiment of what can never recur again.[15] However, though the childhood is lost we have returned to it all over again. Even if *homo faber* was eventually defeated[16] and the meaning of poetical dwelling remained impossible[17] the city is still "a gigantic manmade object, a work of engineering and architecture, large and complex and growing over time" and "a definitive fact in the life of the collective."[18] From where does Rossi drive the loyalty for an object that is still capable of mediating the Collective? As can be sensed in the quote, there are two things left: biography and logic, throughout the following text driven toward the twin concepts of necessity and choice.

The Collective and Necessity: Constructing Land and House

The Collective is one of the most frequently used words in *The Architecture of the City*. Yet is it the Collective of an accumulated aggregate of different parts (collecter) or the earlier version of the adjective describing people acting together (*collectus*)?[19] Or is it the communist interpretation – serving as one of the sources of Rossi's formation[20] – where the Collective adopts an additional ideological meaning that is highly correlated with the functioning of states and issues of property.[21] Lastly, the just vanishing neorealism in Italy has its own legacy of collectivism: the collectivization of the architectural and spatial experience through the identification with a community.[22] As depicted in Tafuri's "Architettura e Realismo" (1985), architects together with promoters in cinema and literature acted as

pedagogues in an attempt to create a sense of community by using

13. Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985*, 121.

14. Mary Louise Lobsinger, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Autobiography and Repetition in the Work of Aldo Rossi," *Grey Room*, no. 8 (2002): 39-61, quote from Aldo Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography* (Cambridge Massachusetts and London England: The MIT Press, 1981), 8.

15. Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della città* (Padova: Marsilio Editori, 1966), trans *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge Massachusetts, and London England: The MIT Press, 1982), 134, 137.

16. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

17. For an overview on the notion of the inhabitability of modernity see Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity. A Critique* (Cambridge Massachusetts London England: MIT Press, 1999).

18. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 29, 21.

19. collecter - to gather taxes or other money, see Raymond Williams, *Keywords. A vocabulary of culture and society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

20. Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The Difficult Whole," *Log* no. 9, (Winter/Spring 2007): 39-61.

21. *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*. "Socialist collective." Macmillan Publishers, 1979. Here the Collective has two functions—carrying out the immediate task for which it was created within society and the second a socio-educational function in ensuring that the interests of society and of the individual are merged through the development of the various abilities of the individual.

22. Manfredo Tafuri, "Architettura e Realismo," in *L'avventura delle idee nell'architettura: 1750- 1980*, ed. Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (Milano: Electa, 1985), 121-45.

motives through which inhabitants could "recognize" themselves.[23]

As argued in *The Architecture of the City*, the contrast between the individual and the Collective is a fundamental element of the construction of a city. Construction is addressed as the most comprehensive way of analyzing the city as it represents the most definitive fact in the life of the Collective. [24] "The heath, the woods, the cultivated fields, the uncultivated zones, are related in inseparable whole, the memory on which man carries with him" becoming at the same time the natural and artificial homeland of man. Starting from Levi Strauss's popular balance between the natural and the artificial within the city[25], Rossi ultimately leads the natural toward the life force of man: his biological labor in constructing his house [26] It is in this same sense of invested labor that there is no distinction between the city and the country as "all inhabited places are the work of man". Only the wilderness is opposed to the land as the rest is a product of the labor of our hands. "Yes, a people must build its fields, just as it must build its cities", is where Rossi recalls Carlo Cattaneo speaking of a city as a material physical thing.[27] In referring to his article "Agricoltura e morale"[28], Rossi points to his selection of the word agriculture (*Ackerbau*), implying construction before cultivation with the word being synonymous for both the art of building and art of cultivating. Cattaneo traces its root back to the German tribes witnessing Roman construction of bridges, streets, walls and the shores of the Rhine and Mosel into vineyards until finally deciding to embrace all those works with one name. Pointing to toponyms and linguistics as the true indicator of the Collective, Rossi keeps seeing in channels, dikes, bridges, fields and the foundations of the city, the managerial act of constructing investing within this collective biological force.

Arguing that the land serves as a fundamental criterion of the necessity of constructing the city, Rossi takes inspiration from Halbwachs' argument on the detachment of expropriations from their actual cause of origin.[29] Be they accidental in the case of fire, normal in the case of obsolescence or artificial as is the case of the mechanism of land speculation, it actually does not make a difference. Independently of this, Halbwachs analyses the statistical information in a scientific fashion, taking only the final consequence into account: "tearing down or building up, pure and simple."[30] Thus, "it is not so much the precise way that a general condition arises which is significant; a condition arises out of necessity, and the meaning of the condition does not change because it arises in one particular form, place and moment as opposed to another."[31] Yet, independently of the particularity of the case, the total action can originate "whenever a consciousness of a collective need takes shape and becomes clear."[32] Thus, the Paris of today appears as a composite photograph of "various plans of different parties, personalities and governments that are superimposed, synthesized and forgotten."[33] The city is constructed above all through a "complexly structured system of

23. For the legacy of neorealism in Italy see Luka Skansi, "Manfredo Tafuri and the Critique of Realism,"*Serbian Architectural Journal* no. 6 (2014): 182–195; Manfredo Tafuri, "Architettura e Realismo," in *L'avventura delle idee nell'architettura: 1750-1980*, ed. Magnago Lampugnani Vittorio, 121-45; Bruno Reichlin, "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture," Grey Room, no. 6 (2002): 110-133; Maristella Casciato, "Neorealism in Italian Architecture," in *Anxious Modernisms. Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Rejean Legault (Cambridge Massachusetts and Montreal: The MIT Press and CCA, 2002), 25-53; Pep Avilès, "Autarky and Material Contingencies in Italian Architectural Debate (1936-1954)," *Footprint* no 4 (spring 2009): 21-34.

24. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 21.

25. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structural* (Paris: Plon, 1958).

26. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 27.

27. Ibid., 181.

28. Carlo Cattaneo, *Scritti economici*, 3 vols., ed. Alberto Bertolini, F. Le Monnier, (Florence, 1956).

29. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*.

30. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 141.

31. Ibid., 143.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., 142.

collective memory" driven by the development of the social groups of the city. Thought economic factors fail to fully explain the final appearance of the city, specifically through the mechanism of expropriation, they do influence the formations of these social groups. The factor of necessity appears to be the *raison d'être* with expropriations recognized as a necessary condition and a decisive moment in urban development, "deeply rooted in urban social movements."[34] It is in this light that we can read that "it was the city that conferred the criteria of necessity and reality on single buildings,"[35] followed by the fact that "the key element in understanding urban artifacts is their collective character", and "that they are made by the collective for the collective."[36] Bearing in mind Rossi's sympathy for the decisive moment always attributed to a higher reality, it is easier to understand his critique of Hans Bernoulli. [37] In the first instance, he relays on his argument as to the harmful consequences of private property ownership, in which land becomes a speculative marketable entity, just like anything else. Yet, afterwards, Rossi criticizes the negative attitude by which Bernoulli addressed the consequences of the French Revolution on land redistribution. "Features that followed general economic laws that would have emerged anyway were actually a positive moment in development of the city. The breaking up of the land on one hand led to the degeneration of the city, but on the other, it actually promoted its development."[38] Thus, through various examples, including the Berlin 1853 Master Plan,[39] *Siedlungen*, the sanitary developments of industrial cities such as Barcelona, Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris, the development of a socialist city such as Moscow and even artificial ones such as Brasilia, land is always seen as mirroring the decisive moment of the Collective in constituting the artifact anew. In this sense, architecture as an act of constructing the city, is foremost a necessary urge of the manufacturer and then also a communist mirror of the Collective labor of workers.

34. Ibid., 144.

35. Ibid., 53.

36. Ibid., 57, 86.

37. Hans Bernoulli, *Die Stadt und ihr Boden* (Zürich: Verlag für Architektur AG., 1946).

38. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 154.

39. Rossi refers to Werner Hegemann's book *Das steinerne Berlin: Geschichte der grössten Mietkasernenstadt der Welt* (Lugano: Jakob Hegner, 1930): "For Hegemann, Berlin, a city which had a very large number of rental barracks owing to its unfortunate police code, was also a city which had within itself great possibilities for renewal." Further, Hegemann writes about the fearful consequences that the Berlin financial law of 1808 had for the city up to the notorious Master Plan of 1853 of the President of Police, "which marked the beginning of the famous Berlin courtyards", Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 153.

> "In *The Architecture of the City*, I spoke apprehensively, almost fearfully, of the remains of houses destroyed by the war. I saw pink walls, hanging sinks, tangles of pipes, destroyed intimacies; I so vividly imagined the feeling and the vague malaise of these destroyed apartments that a certain idea for a "project with interior" has followed me ever since. In designing the Venetian theater I knew from the start that this idea was the life or silence of the theater: the silence of the theater is like the silence of empty churches."[40]

40. Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography*, 69.

Tafuri will address the empty sign for the instrument of expression of the stream of thought of Max Weber, Ludwig Wittgenstein and Mies van der Rohe. Ultimately he will position Rossi within this continuum with "a sort of frustrated nostalgia for the structures of communication."[41] Yet, contrary to Mies - for whom "the reification of the sign still occurred in

41. Manfredo Tafuri, *La sfera e il labirinto. Avanguardie e architettura da Piranesi agli anni '70*, (Torino: Einaudi, 1980), trans *The Sphere and the Labyrinth. Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s* (Cambridge Massachusetts and London England: The MIT Press, 1987), 273-75.

the presence of the real, in direct confrontation with the "swamp of the cities" – for Rossi it is communication "that has nothing to speak about except the finite character of language as a closed system". In Rossi's work, the categorical imperative of the absolute estrangement of form appears as an attempt to create an emptied sacredness: "an experience of fundamental immobility and of the eternal recurrence of geometrical emblems reduced to ghosts". This removal of the form from the sphere of the quotidian has, according to Tafuri, an explicit origin. It is forced continually to circumnavigate the central point from which communication springs forth, without being able to draw from that primary source. The "center" has been historically destroyed and the "source" has been dispersed into multiple streams, each without a beginning or end, leaving only the "revelation" that Rossi's architecture seems to offer.[42]

42. Ibid., 273-275.

In a status which resonates Tafuri's quote on Robbe-Grillet[43] – "The world is neither significant nor absurd… it is, quite simply. And suddenly the obviousness of this strikes us with irresistible force"[44] – it is not a coincidence that Rossi finds in housing the true opportunity to communicate about "mute things". Since housing, aside from mediating the necessary urgency of postwar reconstruction, also relates to the repetitive patterns of home usage.

43. Alain Robbe Grillet, *Pour un Nouveau Roman* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963).

44. Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth. Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, 273.

Housing and land have a special importance in understanding the city as a man-made object. Just as form is the principal for understanding the primary elements of the city, land is the crucial criteria for residential districts.[45] Both primary elements - monuments and residential districts - are urban artifacts. These represent the constituting events of the city, perhaps most accurately described as the first thing you see during a quick glance at a city plan. The inertia of the object and its resistance to easily modification is paradoxically explicit in the housing itself. That is the first reason why architectural treatises are important for Rossi: as a panorama of housing development that is as constant as possible. Again, the reference to Viollet-le-Duc[46] serves to promote the customs, tastes and usages of people as being best characterized in housing and changing very slowly only over long periods of time.[47] In "strongly denying that housing is something amorphous and transitory" Rossi leads the dwelling toward becoming a tool for studying the city, attributing it primary importance between the dwelling and its area.[48] Thus, the relationship between house and land becomes essential in satisfying elementary human needs and refers to the Collective through the instance of ritual.

45. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 92.

46. Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, 10 vols., (Paris: A. Maison Morel, 1854-69)

47. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 70.

48. Ibid., 97, 72.

> "Today if I were to talk about architecture, I would say that it is a ritual rather than a creative process. I say this fully understanding the bitterness and the comfort of the ritual. Rituals give us the comfort of continuity, of repetition, compelling us to an oblique forgetfulness, allowing us to live with every change which, because of its inability to evolve, constitutes a destruction." [49]

49. Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography*, 37.

In the introduction to the American edition of *The Architecture of the City*, Peter Eisenman refers to Rossi's metaphor of the city as a giant man-made house which comes into a being through a double process. The first element is that of production; of the city as a work of *manufatto* (manufacture) "an object literally made by the hands of man". The second process is the time required for the constitution of the Collective artifact.[50] With all caution in respect of any attempt at equalizing the city and the final enlargement of the house, in the process of the necessity of constructing the house we can rightly see the first point of the Collective. However, this point always stays bound in direct confrontation with is actual opponent, of the reality of the city. Thus, time is relevant as a binding element leading toward the second corner of the Collective that is the potential choice of the city. Here lies the first hope in answering Tafuri's question on how one should see the object: through the necessity of land and of a house unconsciously bound with the repetition of ritual toward its potential Collective force hoping for the logical rationale of choice. In this way, ritual actually serves Rossi as a first action to distinguish the house from the pure necessity of the Collective, moving toward the act of choosing collectively.

50. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 5.

It is for this same reason that Rossi's loyalty to Adolf Loos emerges as the only modern architect who "alone revealed the connection to the great questions: the Austrian and German tradition of Fischer von Erlach and Friedrich Schinkel, local culture, handicrafts, history, and especially theater and poetry." "My favorite book was certainly that of Loos and without doubt I owe to this reading of Loos the profound contempt I have always felt for industrial design and for the con- founding of form and function."[51] Loos also serves as an alternative figure in understanding the origins of the Modern Movement where he (Loos) "shows us in a more or less systematic way the path of study." However, these "directions which at the first may seem compelling to follow, subsequently have often been forgotten" and "artistic investigations have diminished."[52] In his article on Adolf Loos in *Scritti scelti sull'architettura e la città 1956-1972*, Rossi recognizes in the Moller House "il monumento di un mondo nuovo. " … "Questa casa così razionalmente concepita, così chiusa nel suo volume di geometrica purezza, si inserisce ottimamente nell'ambiente." Yet, its exterior is not by any chance arbitrary but rather the expression of the interior by the tools of a perfect composition. "Per questo essa possiede all'esterno l'interiorità di un mondo privato e l'accento personale di ciò che è abitato."[53] Again, the fragmentary condition of Modernity allows the artistic articulation of the exterior by typological geometrical tools while allowing a non-orchestrated unfolding of the interior world.

51. Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography*, 46.

52. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 169.

53. Aldo Rossi, *Scritti scelti sull'architettura e la città 1956-1972* (Milano: CLUP, 1975), 103.

Recognizing in Rossi's attitude a neo-Enlightenment attempt, Tafuri argues that it can be understood as a mode of compensating for the irreparable act perpetrated in the eighteenth century: "the fragmentation of the *order of discourse*". According to Tafuri, only the ghost of that lost

order can be identified today and "the thread of Ariadne with which Rossi weaves his typological research does not lead to the reestablishment of the discipline, but rather to its dissolution."[54]

54. Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth. Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, 22.

The Collective and Choice: Planning

The 1960s saw in Italy an echo of the "international utopia" of the establishment of "planning" as an autonomous discipline. According to Tafuri, this new work was caused by two factors. The first was the methodological crisis of instruments of "heterodox Marxism" of Lucio Libertini, Raniero Panzieri, Franco Fortini and Elio Vittorini. Thus, the attitude of anxiety among intellectuals towards cultural production was exhausted. The second one was "reality" again, but this time – contrary to the neorealism – one of rapid economic growth with convulsive urbanization and the diffusion of mass communication. With the aim of clarifying the relationship between analysis and intervention, ILSES (The Lombard Institute for Economic and Social Sciences) was founded promoting the theme of the city-region, with De Carlo as one of its main protagonist. "The attack that De Carlo and Quaroni had launched in 1954 against the Italian tradition in urbanism was turned into the working methodology."[55] De Carlo made an appeal for a formal skeleton, "tribune design" with the points of many centers functioning as territorial unifiers that could not be fully designed, but rather served as a support for successive interventions. Thus, form was the first sacrifice of an attempt to insert intervention as infrastructure into a constantly changing reality. From the architectural point of view, "it was hoped that the supporting skeleton, the bony structure and brains of this magnetic field, would eventually become apparent". On the other hand, new classes of cultivated people "now sough to give voice to the anonymous think tanks in which they were concentrating power."[56] In the overarching debate in the pages of *Casabella*, the topic of the city-region, the large scale and new dimensions of the city, were seen as the origin of the division explicit in the positions of De Carlo and Aldo Rossi.[57] The Arezzo Urban Planning Seminar lead by Ludovico Quaroni and organized by the Olivetti Foundation in 1963 served as a link in a chain of events in which actors regarding the issue of planning directly took part. In subsequent readings of Rossi's works, his strong confrontation with the debate on planning was seen as the origin of his shift toward type.[58] By contrast to Giancarlo De Carlo, Paolo Portoghesi, the Smithsons or Aldo van Eyck, for Rossi there is no extension of the field of modern architecture where the planning is addressed from *outside* the city.[59] This was considered in Tafuri's analysis as well, referring to Rossi as one who did not intend to dirty his hands with controversy: "His *poiesis* refused to compromise with reality, since the only way to return to the *ancient house of language* was by maintaining the attitude of surely indifference."[60] However, though being definitively

55. Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture, 1944-1985*, 76.

56. Ibid., 77.

57. For critical analysis of debate see: Mary Louise Lobsinger, "The New Urban Scale in Italy. On Aldo Rossi's L'architettura della città," *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 59, no 3 (January 2006): 28-38.

58. See Aureli, "The Difficult Whole"; Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008); also Aureli, "Intellectual Work and Capitalist Development: Origins and Context of Manfredo Tafuri's Critique of Architectural Ideology," in *SiteMagazine* no 26-27, (2009): 18-23.

59. See Baukuh, *Two Essays on Architecture* (Zürich: Kommode Verlag, 2013), 92.

60. Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture*, 135.

critical toward politics on planning in Italy, Rossi does not leave it out of the scope of the city. Bearing this in mind, we can actually ask: which kind of planning relates to Rossi's case?

In the hypothesis of the city as a man-made object and as a total masterpiece of art, planning is a relevant practice only when it considers a part of the city. A similar approach can be seen for zoning, an acceptable as well as a technical practice rather than an attempt to enlarge the field of work toward the constitution of a city as a totality.[61]

Referring to the Berlin *Siedlungen*, Rossi place it in between the actual structure of the existing city and an ideal vision of the new city. *Siedlungen* can be only understood as an attempt, "more or less consciousness" to mediate between two conceptions of the city rather than as an autonomous design in and of itself.[62] Thus, the lost confrontation between the ideal and the real remains the main challenge of functionalist theory in its attempt to affect the city in totality. Any other planning attempts, varying from the planning of an American city toward socialist ones that actually translated decisive moments into the built material of the city – as a particular moment and a part of it – are actually proof of the superiority of the city. "I consider the plan to be the primary element, the equal of monument like a temple or a fortress." This is because "the plan is always but one moment of the city in the same way that any other primary element is".[63] Following Poète's[64] theory on the permanence of a city's layout and plan, Rossi comes to the concept of the plan persisting in different levels, though often deformed, but with a substance that is not displaced. Thus, cities tend to keep their initial development axis, remaining in their original layout and growing in line with their oldest artifacts. "The key element in understanding the urban artifact" – which is the plan as well – "is their collective character."[65] The plan relates to the Collective by "the collective memory in the works of the collective" up to its transformation "that is always conditioned by whatever material realities oppose it."[66]

Thus, the plan stands as material that opposes the Collective in the process of transformation. Within this idea, the action of the individual certainly exists, as "not everything in urban artifacts is collective; yet the collective and the individual nature of urban artifacts in the end constitutes the same urban structure."[67] Departing from the role of the individual (architect) and moving towards Lavedan's[68] argument of offering a plan as an originating element for a particular change within the city, Rossi arrives at Sorre[69] in answering the crucial question: "how does the environment influence the individual and the collective" rather than the other way around?[70] Here, the relationship between fabrication and the Collective, it would seem clearly, for Rossi, starts with the former.

According to Rossi, the further answer can be found only in the Collective psychology of the city in all its totality. In this rather vague statement, we

61. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 65.

62. Ibid., 82.

63. Ibid., 99.

64. Marcel Poète, *Une vie de cité. Paris, de sa naissance à nos jours*, 4 vols. (Paris: A. Picard, 1924 – 1931); *Introduction à l'urbanisme: l'évolution des villes, la leçon de l'Antiquité* (Paris: Boivin, 1929).

65. Rossi, A., *The Architecture of the City*, 59, 57.

66. Ibid., 130.

67. Ibid., 131.

68. Pierre Lavedan, *Géographie des villes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1936); *Histoire de l'urbanisme* 3 vol. (Paris: Éditions Laurens, 1926 – 1952). In referring to Lavedan, Rossi states that "when he speaks of the *plan* of the city, he means the *architecture* ". Further, Rossi quotes Lavedan in: "whether it is a matter of spontaneous city or a planned city, the trace of its plan, the design of its streets, is not due to chance. There is an obedience to rules, whether unconscious in the first case or conscious and open in the second. There always exist the generating element of the plan", *The Architecture of the City*, 100.

69. Maximilien Sorre, *Rencontres de la géographie et de la sociologie*, (Paris: ed. Marcel Rivière, 1957).

70. Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 112.

read that this totality represents the clash of the real and the ideal city. Departing from simple statements in Rossi's argument we start from: "each relation between collective artifact and the individual is unique". Further, there are no buildings that are politically imposed "since the one realized are always those of the dominant class". However, architecture can be seen to unfold in a logical succession of principles detached from reality (being those of the dominant classes). "This city may be an ideal city of perfect and harmonious relationships."[71] The artifact adopts this discrepancy within its development by resolving itself in: "its material", of the fabricator (architect) as an individual dealing with the *ideal*, "the succession of events that unfold around it" which is the real, and "the minds of its makers", that is a Collective of citizens. Thus the Collective cannot be understood except as standing between the dialectic of the ideal and the real within the time process of constituting an artifact. It happens between the sign of the physical presence of the material and the *event* of reality. At times when architecture is "capable of synthesizing the whole civic and political scope of an epoch, when it is highly rational, comprehensive and transmissible seen as a style, than transmission is implicit". In these cases, we can speak of a *civic design*.[72]

71. Ibid., 113.

72. Ibid., 116.

> "For this to occur, it is necessary that a moment of decisive historical and political importance coincide with an architecture that is rational and definite in its forms. It is then possible for a community to resolve its problem of choice, to desire collectively one kind of a city and to reject another."[73]

73. Ibid., 114., 116.

Planning as a technique eventually concerns city's materiality in its the physical presence of the sign. In dialectic with this materiality, the Collective as a possibility of choice of citizens can resolve. In this sense, the sign is always seen as confronted with the event. Based on this conflict, the constitution of a city is possible in the first instance. With architecture acting as a distorted collectively, it is actually put *against* the Collective in order to become an artifact. Here lies its actual pervasive character and the hope for revolution; it is this that is the only opportunity for planning according to Rossi.

Further modifications and the growth of the city emerge through "the natural tendencies of many groups dispersed throughout different parts of the city" acting in a form of irrationally, through the clash of their "collective manifestations". In these confrontations, "only a correct coincidence of factors yields in authentic urban artifact, one wherein the city realizes in itself its own idea of itself and registers it in stone. There is as absolute and unambiguous a relationship between the element of chance and the element of tradition in artifact as there is between general laws and real elements."[74]

74. Ibid., 162, 163.

Clearly enough, in between the *ideal* and the *real*, the sign and the *event*,

the *making* and the transmitting, the Collective appears, always as an implication of the event for the sign, of reality over the plan and through transmitting the Collective force of choosing through the process of making.

"Social Democratic Illusions"[75] and The Collective: Neighborhoods and Community

"I love the beginning and end of things; but perhaps above all I love things which are broken and then reassembled…The beautiful illusion of the Modern Movement, so reasoned and moderate, was shattered under the violent yet definitive collapse caused by the bombings of the Second World War. And I sought what was left not as though it were a lost civilization, but rather by pondering a tragic photograph of postwar Berlin where the Brandenburg Gate was still standing in a landscape of ruins. … What was left certainly did not belong to architecture. It was rather a symbol, a sign, at times a tiresome memory. Thus I have learned how to look at cities with an archaeological and surgical eye."[76] Recognizing in Rossi's work "the isolation of pure design", Tafuri places it within the stream of thought of Massimo Scolari, the Kriers, Walter Pichler, Franco Purini, John Hejduk, and Peter Eisenman. "Those designs wish to resist the attack of time; they demonstrate in their absoluteness the sole possibility of 'narrating clearly'." Calling these texts in which the form lies inert and narrates its own factures, Tafuri recognize within them the "attempt to heal the radical rift that Le Corbusier had originally established between painting and constructing". The task of their critical interpretation is to begin from within the work only to break out of it as quickly as possible in order not to remain caught in the vicious cycle of a language that speaks only of itself, in the "infinite entertainment" that it promises.[77] Yet the isolation of pure design than Rossi seeks for, before then expressing "critical communication", serves as an attempt at initiating the sign for the confrontation of the Collective thorough the event. From this comes Rossi's disobedience of planning seen in the light of communal, neighborhood and social values. This is due to their tendency to resolve the confrontation of the Collective and its architecture into the actual pacifying unity of the Collective as a social democratic attempt. Thus, "the Romantic Socialist, the Phalansterist and others who proposed various concepts of self-sufficient community" are criticized for their presumption that society can no longer maintain any common representative values that can be transcended apart from purely functionalist ones such as dwellings and services.[78] Even if their reference to the Enlightenment emphasis on plan is relevant, their "modern alternative to the earlier formulations" is what reduces the opportunity for confrontation originally rooted in the unpredictability of the Collective. It reduces it to the denominator of common functions which are the same for all. For Rossi,

75. Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography*, 82-83.

76. Ibid.

77. Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth. Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, 280-284.

78. Ibid.,126.

in all applications of this type of "so-called communitarian ideology", the problem of housing as a relationship between the form of democracy of the local community and the spatial dimension as a moment in the social life of the group is particularly explicit. In no other examples - seeing the city as a whole – does this problem exist, as it becomes less visible compared to the constant confrontations with other functions.[79] Even in arguing his concept of the study area as a part of the city, Rossi does not leave space for the application of communitarian ideology. The analysis of the study area "does not involve a communitarian idea of the area nor any of the implications in the idea of community which relate to neighborhood".[80] Rooted in his critique of naïve functionalism, this argument actually does not point toward any of the particular promoters of the concept. On the contrary, examples such as the Smithsons Sheffield residential complex, Unite d'Habitation, the development of Brasilia or planning within the socialist city are seen as referential examples as they as actual projects confronted the city in other ways, or, in a way, independently of the intentions of their protagonists. However, the real target of the critique remains the stream of thought on the expansion of the discipline toward the utopian ideal of planning as a holistic practice that excludes confrontation.[81] The distribution of the role of the individual architect toward whether decisions of the community or institutions, causes an actual loss of the sign, the fact, and the material for the Collective to oppose. By the loss of the individual in the sense of the ancient builder of a wall[82] and by blurred dialectic between the sign and the event, the Collective resolves as well. An attempt to adopt the Collective as a vehicle for contemporary democratic practices appears at best naïve and at worst to be guided by everything but the natural mechanism of capitalism.

Communitarian ideology appears extremely difficult for Rossi, as for him the Collective does not have a prescribed development of its own, but instead the somatic character of the unpredictable. It firstly relates to human existence as a given, by its pure condition of being among others without any intentionally of its own. It is in this sense that the first point of the Collective is necessity. However, it becomes a device for the city due to its accumulated potential force that stands against everything else. Here lies the second point when answering Tafuri's question on how the Collective should see the object: it holds the possibility of choice by its potential revolutionary aspect. Between the natural condition of necessity and the house, on the one hand, and the action of choosing a different reality through transmitting the event of the city, on the other, the Collective reappears as timely all over again. Architecture manifests it without adopting the narration of it, but by confronting it: as *obicere*, something thrown against. Due to the subversive aspect of it, Rossi refers to type as a truly recognizable sign for confrontation. By contrast, when shared with the community, the physical outcome becomes unreliable, so that the dialectic quality of the sign and the event is lost and it cannot

79. Ibid., 85.

80. Ibid., 64.

81. See Eric Mumford, *The CIAM discourse on Urbanism 1928 – 1960* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

82. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 194., 195. Referring to the Greek polis, Arendt states that "before men beginning to act, a definitive space had to be secured and a structure built where all actions could take place", the space being the public realm of the polis, while the law acts as its structure. The wall and the law are made by the architect and the legislator as the builder of a city and a lawmaker. These could be commissioned from abroad and need to be finished before any political activity begins. "These tangible entities" – the wall and the law – "were not the content of politics themselves" but the space of appearance, where less tangible products such as action and speech can gain the reality of being seen and heard before an audience of their fellow man acting together. As such no architect or lawmaker is an actor but rather they are fabricators, providing the infrastructure for the gathering of the men sharing words and deeds.

serve as pervasive any more. Here lies the beautiful paradox of Rossi's Collective: in its aspects of necessity and the pervasive right to choose it is rooted in communism drawn from Greek materialism. However, instead of adopting the ideology of this, the Collective holds frozen the potential for revolution, thus making his protagonist a communist without a community.

Monument in Revolution: 1968, *Tendenza* and Education in Aldo Rossi

Kenta Matsui
PhD Candidate, The University of Tokyo (Japan),
Department of Architecture, Graduate School of Engineering
dancehall.no3104@gmail.com

MA Degree in History of Architecture at the Graduate school of the University of Tokyo. Research Fellowship for Young Scientists supported by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (2016-2018). His research focuses on the architectural theories of Aldo Rossi and other contemporary Italian architects in relation to the contexts of postwar Italy.

ABSTRACT

In the 1960's, as Italian architectural schools faced student protests and forceful occupation attempts, Aldo Rossi tried to reform the schools through the idea of 'tendency school' shared with Carlo Aymonino, and to reconstruct architecture as discipline and theory. His theory has two aspects: urban analysis and architectural project. The former presents a dynamic conception of the temporal evolution of the city, as if echoing the restless social situation of the time; the latter centers on the logicality of architecture represented by monuments. This study explores the meaning of this dualism between urban analysis and architectural project as an intent for revolution, and in light of this, investigates the idea of 'monument in revolution'.

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Aldo Rossi; tendenza; school; monument; urban analysis; revolution

Introduction: Aldo Rossi and the '1968' phenomenon

While Aldo Rossi's famous 1966 book *The Architecture of the City* has come to gain a worldwide reputation as a manifesto for an 'autonomous architecture'[1] and as an explanatory device for his own works, we find very few studies that pay attention to the relationship between the book's contents and the phenomenon known as '1968' despite their relatively close temporal proximity[2]. In addition, it can be said that these studies are divided into two opposite poles: on one hand, Rossi's book is understood in function of the more general political ideology of the left, as somewhat 'close to the Operaists' conclusions' such as Raniero Panzieri and Mario Tronti[3]; on the other hand the book has been stuck in a more narrow sphere, namely, that of architecture itself, under the pretense of searching for an 'autonomy post-1968'[4], based on the Kantian concept of auto-criticism and the Derridian of deconstruction of disciplinary borders. However, it can be argued that the book has a more concrete context, in a place other than in the realm of generalist political ideology or that of overly-abstract art criticism: it is the period of crisis and reform of Italian architectural education circa 1968.

At that time, Italian architectural schools were also facing the challenges of student revolts and forceful occupations. It is of note that the concerns of Italian architectural students were originally limited to institutional or disciplinary problems inside the schools; in other words, their collective intents and actions were undergoing an initial phase, better described as 'reformational' rather than 'revolutionary'[5]. In this regard, they stand in striking contrast to the cases of students' revolts in other European countries, who generally pointed towards the situation outside of the schools themselves, displaying an 'international and "planetary" character'[6].

Particularly in the case of the Milanese architectural school (*Politecnico* di Milano) that was Rossi's alma mater, it was the stage for 'the first attempt to break down the fences—hierarchical and authoritarian—inside Italian universities and to reform the discipline of architecture', with 'the complete absence […] of a specifically political connotation'[7]; and also the example of a certain degree of success in reforming the traditional institutional structure through the initiative called 'Experimentation' (*Sperimentazione*) in 1968. Therefore, the events that took place at the Milan school can be said to represent an exemplary case for surveying the relations between the '1968' phenomenon and the specific and concrete problems of architecture at that time. In this period, Rossi, who was also actively engaged in the reform of the Milan school as one of its teachers, came to develop his own architectural theory reflecting his teaching experiences.

In Italian historiographic studies of the '1968', when expressing the peculiarity of the Italian 1968 movements in comparison with those

1. Rafael Moneo, 'Aldo Rossi: The Idea of Architecture and the Modena Cemetery', trans. Angela Giral, *Oppositions*, no. 5 (1976), 1.

2. One of the reasons for this scarcity can be identified in the fact that the book was disseminated in its English version only in 1982, long after the period of the '1968', and also because its contents were filtered through an Anglo-Saxon 'post-modernist' culture, which had to some extent different origins and concerns, when compared to the original Italian context.

3. Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008), 53.

4. Peter Eisenman, 'FOREWORD: [BRACKET] ING HISTORY', in *Histories of the Immediate Present. Inventing Architectural Modernism, 1930-1975*, by Anthony Vidler (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 2005), xi. See also Peter Eisenman, 'The Houses of Memory: The Texts of Analogue', in *The Architecture of the City*, by Aldo Rossi, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1982), 3–11; Peter Eisenman, 'Autonomy and the Will to the Critical', *Assemblage*, no. 41 (2000), 90–91.

5. Gianni Ottolini, 'Per Una Storia Della Facolta' Di Architettura Di Milano', *Notiziario Della Banca Popolare Di Sondrio*, no. 107 (2008), 122. All English texts quoted from non-English sources have been translated by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

6. Nicola Tranfaglia, 'Il '68 e Gli Anni Settanta Nella Politica e Nella Società', in *La Cultura e i Luoghi Del '68*, ed. Aldo Agosti, Luisa Passerini, and Nicola Tranfaglia (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1991), 328.

7. Marco Biraghi, 'Università. La Facoltà di Architettura del Politecnico di Milano (1963-1974)', in *Italia 60/70. Una stagione dell'architettura*, ed. Marco Biraghi et al. (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2009), 89. Later on, especially after the second occupation of the school in 1967, the Milanese architectural student movement was gradually accompanied by an 'ideology of contestation' which provided a compelling impetus for subsequent student movements in other universities such as the Catholic University. See Robert Lumley, 'Il Movimento Studentesco Di Milano', in *La Cultura e i Luoghi Del '68*, 270.

in other European countries, the expression 'drawn-out May (*maggio strisciante*)' has been employed: this is meant to describe the Italian 1968 with 'the image of the gradual process'[8], or as the 'long duration', by which throughout 1968 the movement of students and workers continued up to the 'hot autumn in 1969', finally entering into the 'years of lead'. While originally this term was aimed mainly at prolonging the range of the '1968' to its successive years, since then other studies have emerged that point towards the opposite direction, by considering also the years preceding 1968 as a part of this 'long 1968'[9]. Interestingly enough, we can perceive some echoes of this Italian peculiarity of 'long duration' in Rossi's contemporary theory as the transmission of the architectural discipline beyond generations and eras[10].

In the midst of calling for radical changes towards a new age, Rossi searched for a way to maintain architecture as discipline. Nevertheless, his architectural thought also belies an inclination to envisage an alternative for the present condition, namely to move towards revolution. This dualism in Rossi's thought that contemplated both 'revolution' and 'long duration', or 'event' and 'process'—which are two interpretative categories of the historiographic studies of the 1968[11]—probably comes from his experience of the 1968 as a teacher at architectural schools. When the protagonists of the Italian 1968 are identified as the students, their aim is explained as being that of destabilizing 'the balance of society based on […] transmission of values'[12]. However, the architectural theory of Rossi—who in this period while trying to have continuous dialogues with the students never abandoned his duties as teacher—can be said to show an intention to reconcile enduring transmission and momentary disruption or destabilization, which he respectively portrayed as the transmissibility of architecture as discipline, and the disruptive, revolutionary power of architecture.

It is at this point that his concept of 'monument' manifests itself as the node between the two poles. For Rossi, the monument, which can often persist through the long duration of centuries as a symbol of a certain event, can be said to be what represents the revolution in its duration, or the condition of continuously being 'in' a state of revolution. This view of the 'monument' appears to have the potential to offer a new perspective for the building condition circa 1968. Based on the above, this study will seek to survey Rossi's architectural theory writings from that period including *The Architecture of the City* without falling into simplistic reductions, not from the viewpoints of general political ideologies or abstract art criticism, but based on the concrete problems of architectural education in Italy due to the crisis and reform of its architectural schools; it also aims to clarify the meaning and potential of Rossi's thoughts on 'monument in revolution'.

This article is divided into three parts: firstly, we will confirm that in

8. Emilio Reyneri, 'Il "maggio strisciante": l'inizio della mobilitazione operaia', in *Lotte operaie e sindacato: il ciclo 1968-1972 in Italia*, ed. Alessandro Pizzorno (Bologna: Mulino, 1978), 54.

9. See Simona Urso, 'Il lungo decennio: l'Italia prima del'68', in *I giovani e la politica: il lungo '6*8, ed. Nicoletta Fasano and Mario Renosio (Torino: Gruppo Abele, 2002), 18–25. In recent historiographic studies of 1968, this term is no longer limited to Italy but has become a common interpretative category applicable for other countries. For example, see Daniel J. Sherman et al., *The Long 1968: Revisions and New Perspective*s (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Richard Vinen, *The Long '68: Radical Protest and Its Enemies* (London: Penguin UK, 2018).

10. This resonance can be found also in *The Architecture of the City*, which looks at urban dynamism from the ancient period up to the twentieth century. Carlo Olmo explains this book by using this exact term. See Carlo Olmo, 'Attraverso i Testi', *Aldo Rossi: Disegni Di Architettura, 1967-1985*, Milano: Mazzotta,1986, 85–108.

11. Marco Revelli, 'Movimenti sociali e spazio politico', in *La trasformazione dell'italia: sviluppo e equilibri. 2. Istituzioni, movimenti, culture*, vol. 2, Storia dell'italia repubblicana (Torino: Einaudi, 1995), 402.

12. Marco Grispigni, 'Note per una storia da fare: la stagione dei movimenti in Italia', in *I giovani e la politica: il lungo '68*, ed. Nicoletta Fasano and Mario Renosio (Torino: Gruppo Abele, 2002), 10.

regards to Italian architectural culture, the '1968' phenomenon manifested itself first of all as the crisis of architectural schools. In this context, a number of Italian architects including Rossi searched not so much for new architectural forms or styles, as for a new role or setup of architectural schools. Following this, we investigate Rossi's program of 're-foundation' of architecture as a transmissible discipline and theoretical body, which he championed as his response to the school crisis. Throughout this investigation, it will be shown that an intent towards revolution lies underneath his conception of architectural education. Finally, in light of Rossi's architectural theory, we will consider the episode of an occupied school in Milan as a 'monument in revolution'.

FIG. 1 Students' occupation at Rome.
Cited from *Casabella Continuità,* no.287, (1964), 4-5.

Towards the reform of architectural schools in 1960s Italy

Protests by architectural students in the 1960s

From the beginning of the 1960s, architectural schools in Italian cities began to take direct criticism from the students against their anachronistic educational systems. Already in the 1950s, just after the World War, Italian architectural schools had revealed their inability to respond to students' needs, who for example in Milan found a more attractive place for their activities and personal formation outside the school system, like in the Milanese architect group MSA (*Movimento di Studi per l'Architettura*) or in the architectural journal *Casabella Continuità*[13]. In the context of the rapid increase of enrollment in universities and the aggravation of urban problems caused by fast economic growth (especially in terms of housing), architectural students demanded an authentic 'mass-university'[14] which could maximize the potential of students as a proactive mass and give them the ability to solve real social problems. Starting with the occupation of a school by Milanese students in February of 1963, architectural schools all over the nation were transformed into barracks by students.

Reacting to these student movements, Ernesto Nathan Rogers, chief editor of *Casabella Continuità*, devoted a special number of his magazine to the theme of 'discussion of Italian architectural schools'[15]. This edition provided reports of the student movements in each school (Milan, Turin, Vicenza, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Naples and Palermo) with many shocking pictures [Fig. 1-2], along with articles written by its young editors and others. According to Rogers' prefatory note, the students' protests were an attempt to substitute the unrequited 'dogmatism' based on the old academicism with a 'democratic' education based on a 'new relation between teachers and students'[16]. Expressing sympathy with their

13. On the situation of the Milan school in the immediate postwar period, see Giovanni Durbiano, *I nuovi maestri: architetti tra politica e cultura nel dopoguerra* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2000); Lucia Tenconi, 'The City and Its Social Problems, as a Subject of Study: Rebel Architects at the Faculty of Milan (1963–1973)', in *Student Revolt, City, and Society in Europe: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Pieter Dhondt and Elizabethanne Boran (London: Routledge, 2017), 393–409.

14. Biraghi, 'Università. La Facoltà di Architettura del Politecnico di Milano (1963-1974)', 91.

15. Casabella Continuità, no. 287, (1964).

16. Ernesto Nathan Rogers, 'Elogio dell'architettura', *Casabella Continuità*, no. 287 (1964), 1.

demands, Rogers professed his idea of education not as 'the Chair as a kind of pulpit from which the Word is given forth', but as 'the common discovery of new horizons' with 'increased responsibility, in the life of the School, mingling with my assistants and all the students'[17]. Rogers and a number of younger Italian architects who were collaborating with him, including Carlo Aymonino and Aldo Rossi, sought a new form of architectural education as a collaboration between teachers, assistants and students.

FIG. 2 Making a poster at Turino. 'The students occupy the school.' Ibid., 10.

The notion of 'tendency (tendenza)' as an alternative to existing architectural schools

In the same number of Casabella, Aymonino presents his own idea for architectural education by using the word 'tendency (*tendenza*)', namely 'tendency school (*facoltà di tendenza*)'[18]. He also identified the target of students' attacks as a 'telling (*raccontato*)' and 'dictating (*dettato*)'[19] mode of education which arose their suspicions regarding the cultural autonomy of schools and their relationship with society. Furthermore, Aymonino, referring to the case of the Roman school, accused that the solutions offered by the school revealed its intent to preserve its previous academic and conservative structure. Against this situation, Aymonino insists on the 'necessity to construct tendency schools', i.e., schools 'with different educational tendencies differentiated in their cultural bases and therefore in their teaching methods and procedures'[20]. Thus, Aymonino's idea of tendency school aimed to improve architectural schools by having them accept more pluralistic viewpoints.

Aymonino's idea can be further inferred through the consideration of its original context: a clear awareness of crisis within the Modern Movement. He had already showcased the word 'tendency (*tendenza*)' as a technical term in 1961 on the pages of *Casabella Continuità*, which sent to several Italian architects, critics and historians a questionnaire on the fifteen years of Italian architecture after the war[21]. When answering one of the questions regarding the 'many talks today about a rupture in the midst of modern architects', Aymonino admitted such a rupture and as its definitive evidence, pointed out that many groups of modern architects established after the war (including MSA) 'today can no longer be able to work as a group and conduct joint actions'[22]. This was made explicit by their gradual distancing from political or economic powers and expressing reservations about the current moment of civic revolution inherent to architectural

17. Ibid.
18. Carlo Aymonino, 'Facoltà di tendenza?', *Casabella Continuità*, no. 287 (1964), 11.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Carlo Aymonino and Leonardo Benevolo, 'Risposta a Sei Domande', *Casabella Continuità*, no. 251 (1961), 3–8.
22. Ibid., 4.

discussion. Aymonino identified the underlying cause of this situation in Italian elites' ancient habit of 'neutral eclecticism' which tries to avoid any confrontation; and in opposition to this eclecticism, he introduced the word 'tendency' as 'a certain way of thinking about working relationships', which is aimed at 'a united engagement of powers truly invested in the transformation of Italian society, accepting in their confrontation their equal share (*pariteticità*) of rights and duties, and within this framework, address specific architectural problems'[23].

23. Ibid., 5–6.

Aymonino's idea of tendency has two moments: the need to manifest one's own cultural position which is not neutral but differentiated, and the development of discussions based on the confrontation of these positions[24]. It should be noted that here, architecture itself or its style is not what is relevant to the issue, but rather the ways of organizing architects as a group, or approaching architectural problems. Thus, originally, Aymonino conceptualized the notion of tendency as indicating an alternative mode of organization of architects against the habitual eclecticism inherent to postwar Italian architectural culture; later, he applied it to the problem of revising the organization of architectural education in the context of the architectural school crisis, where this idea found an agreement with the diversity of students' needs and became one of the key phrases in the discussion of architectural school reform at that time.

24. Such an idea clearly has its origins in Marxism, even if Aymonino did not reference any specific Marxists. Aureli notes that 'Tendenza is a Gramscian term. It refers to the potential of a cultural movement to express the hegemonic line of the dominant class.' (Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy*, 86, note 78)

From the above investigation on Aymonino's notion of tendency it becomes clear that the crisis of Italian architectural schools in the 1960s should not be considered as a mere revolt against anachronistic academism due to the rapid postwar changes of the society. Such an understanding could reduce it to a simple matter of updating the contents of architectural education in accordance with the new social situation. It should also be noted that proactive intervention towards solving social problems was—although not pervasive in the school environment—a central topic to which the generation of the Modern Movement in the immediate postwar period was diligently committed. The critical conscience of Aymonino and other Italian young architects also brought to the fore the tentative concerns of their generation and expanded their focus from the contents of architectural education towards its system and approaches as an institution. Such concerns were not limited to the problems of architectural schools, but were seen as a symptom of crisis in the whole Italian architectural culture.

Aymonino's idea of tendency schools did not remain as an ideal, but to some extent was realized in the form of experimental education initiatives in some architectural schools. In the following section, we comment briefly on two examples of these initiatives in which Aldo Rossi, the keyperson of this study, participated.

The course at Venice and The Architecture of the City

The place where Aymonino had the chance to try out his idea of tendency school was Venice. The Venice school (*Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia*), where students' protest activities had already occurred in the late 1950s, was 'an example for other schools that from 1963 began to be open to reform'[25]. This reform was guided by Giuseppe Samonà, the president at the time, who wrote in 1959 *The urbanism and the future of the cities in European countries* (*L'urbanistica e l'avvenire della città negli stati europei*)—one of the earliest Italian books on urbanism—and aimed to construct a 'Venetian School' in line with the interests of the city[26]. Aymonino was invited by Samonà as professor of the course 'Distributive characters of buildings (*Caratteri distributivi degli edifici*)' in 1963.

In the opening lecture for this course, Aymonino referred once more to the notion of tendency school, and based on this notion, he tried to reform the prevailing discourse, namely, 'to modify some traditional notions and the course program'[27]. Firstly, in light of the interest for the city that he shared with Samonà, Aymonino reinterpreted the course's objective, by shifting it from the distribution inside single buildings (distributive scheme) to the distribution between buildings in the city, i.e., the urban structure. Then, by manifesting his own tendency to intervene in actual urban problems, he set the course's agenda as the investigation of birth and development of the modern speculative city through an original approach that relates building typology with urban morphology[28]. His innovative intents can be seen also from his method of conducting the course. He set up six topics as research themes[29] and attributed them to six groups, each of which were composed of a few students and one assistant[30]. Aymonino asked assistants and students to collaborate in the course and to confront their different positions with each other.

Aldo Rossi, an old friend of Aymonino, also participated in this course as an assistant from the start of the course until 1966, the year when he transferred to Milan and also published his first book *The Architecture of the City* (*L'architettura della città*). It appears that it was through his discussions with Aymonino during these educational activities at Venice that Rossi was exposed to the notion of tendency[31], which later—and especially after the exhibition he organized at the XV Milan Triennal in 1973—became one of the representative words for Rossi and his architectural works. After the exhibition, the word 'Tendenza' was diffused all over the world as an indicator for 'Rossism'[32] which came to be defined as a certain architectural style. However, it should be noted that this word came from its original context in the crisis of Italian architectural schools after the war.

Moreover, this course gave Rossi another benefit, which is that of serving as a basis for *The Architecture of the City*, his first book which was later taken as a manifesto for his architectural projects and as one of

25. Michela Maguolo, 'Gli anni tempestosi', in *Officina Iuav, 1925-1980: saggi sulla scuola di architettura di Venezia*, ed. Guido Zucconi and Martina Carraro (Venezia: Marsilio, 2011), 178.

26. On the educational activity of Giuseppe Samonà and his school, see Paola Di Biagi, 'La "scuola di Venezia" e i "maestri della città", 1945-1970', in *Officina Iuav, 1925-1980: saggi sulla scuola di architettura di Venezia*, ed. Guido Zucconi and Martina Carraro (Venezia: Marsilio, 2011), 145–60.

27. Carlo Aymonino, 'I caratteri distributivi degli edifici: possibilità di modificare alcuni concetti tradizionali e programma del corso', in *Aspetti e problemi della tipologia edilizia: documenti del Corso di caratteri distributivi degli edifici: anno accademico 1963-1964* (Venezia: Cluva, 1964), 1–6.

28. Under this framework, various topics were discussed in the course, such as: laws and regulations of urbanism; public facilities, as understood within the urban scale; or the urban peripheries, among others.

29. They are: the building typology; the relation between regulations of buildings/urbanism and architecture; the structure of the modern city; the relation between various forms of services; approaches towards rationalization and quantification such as standardization; and the relations between utopias and the realizations of civic organizations. See Aymonino, 'I caratteri distributivi degli edifici: possibilità di modificare alcuni concetti tradizionali e programma del corso', 4–5.

30. The published course material of the academic year 1963/64 includes the list of these groups with the names of assistants and students: 'Indice ragionato delle ricerche effettuate dagli studenti', in *Aspetti e problemi della tipologia edilizia*, 115–31.

31. In the materials of Rossi's lecture at the Milan school in 1966, which makes references to discussions on school reform, we can find several statements common to those of Aymonino, where Rossi says '… each school has to specify the character of its unitary education and research and finally construct a true and proper tendency', or 'Only the formation of several tendencies and the manifestation of several theses born out of internal labor may enable such a dialogue at the university level, exposition, verification and dispute of diverse theses, of which to date we feel is sorely needed'. See Aldo Rossi Papers, 4 *Lezione Poli*, Box 1, Folder 31 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1966). Before 1966, the ending year of Rossi's activity as Aymonino's assistant at Venice, none of his published articles or lecture materials ever referred to the notion of 'tendenza' in relation to the architectural school system.

32. 'Entretien avec Aldo Rossi', *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 190 (1970), 43.

the 'bibles' for Postmodernist architecture. In spite of its 'crystallized and mythicized reading of a key person such as Aldo Rossi'[33], this book owes major parts of its arguments to his experiences in the course at Venice. In fact, the fundamental framework of 'building typology and urban morphology' that the book assumes as a methodological approach to the city was first proposed and investigated by Aymonino in the course[34]. Furthermore, Rossi's lecture manuscripts for the course were reprinted in the book with relatively few modifications. In his lectures, the main topic was the elaboration of a methodology for the study of the city as is suggested by his lecture titles, such as: 'Lecture on the methodological problems of urban research' or 'The city as a basis for the study of the character of buildings'[35]. This indicates that *The Architecture of the City* is rather a sort of manual for urban study than a manifesto for a particular architectural style[36]. The book itself should also be considered as the fruit of a collaboration seeking to construct a new urban science (*scienza urbana*), not as an independent authorial work by a single artist.

The 'Group Research (Gruppo di Ricerca)' program at the Milan school

The idea of tendency school shared by Aymonino and Rossi had another opportunity to be tested, this time in Milan. In 1967, a year after Rossi's transfer from Venice to Milan, the Milan school (*Politecnico di Milano*) suffered the largest protests from architectural students since 1963 and was occupied for three months. The repeated dialogues between the occupying student group and the administrative commission during this period finally resulted in the decision to put into action a major reform of architectural education called 'Experimentation (*Sperimentazione*)'[37]. Its most transformative point consisted in the substitution of large parts of lectures with a program called 'Research Group (*Gruppo di Ricerca*)'[38]. This program enabled teachers to set their own original topic as a research theme and allowed students to choose between different research groups so that the school could create a democratic environment for the students and instill a greater sense of responsibility for society. Rossi also took charge of his own group[39]. According to Giovanna Gavazzeni and Massimo Scolari, active students in the protest movement and members of Rossi's research group, the Experimentation of the Milan school and its Research Group Program brought to the education field 'an articulation of school activities, a different disciplinary vision, and a different way of thinking about the training of architectural students', and substituted 'the rigid hierarchy of working relations and power' with an 'equal share (*pariteticità*) of labor and its foundational bases on the collective processes of participation and decision'[40].

These words closely resonate with the idea of tendency school derived from Aymonino via Rossi. In fact, Rossi and his research group members saw this program as the realization of the very idea of 'tendency school',

33. Elisabetta Vasumi Roveri, *Aldo Rossi e L'architettura della città: genesi e fortuna di un testo* (Torino: Allemandi, 2010), 24.

34. Rossi's book barely explains this framework, and merely refers to Aymonino's lecture in the course. In addition, it can be said that Rossi's discourse on the notion of type or typology, while playing an important role in the reception of Rossi's theory (especially in Anglo-Saxon architectural culture), owes almost all of its characterization to other teachers' lectures on type/typology (including the one just mentioned by Aymonino, or that of Costantino Dardi which can be consulted in Costantino Dardi, 'Processo architettonico e momento tipologico', in *Aspetti e problemi della tipologia edilizia: documenti del Corso di caratteri distributivi degli edifici: anno accademico 1963-1964*, Venezia: Cluva, 1964, 8–13), and never shows much of his own originality in *The Architecture of the City*. Moreover, the other two texts that Rossi published in the same period, and which will be latter referred in more detail in this study, almost never make any mentions to this notion. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the notion of type/typology falls outside the scope of this study.

35. Aldo Rossi, 'Comunicazione sui problemi metodologici della ricerca', in *La formazione del concetto di tipologia edilizia: atti del corso di caratteri distributivi degli edifici, anno accademico 1964-1965, Istituto universitario di architettura di Venezia* (Venezia: Cluva, 1965), 83–92; Aldo Rossi, 'La città come fondamento dello studio dei caratteri degli edifici', in *Rapporti tra la morfologia urbana e la tipologia edilizia: Documenti del corso di caratteri distributivi degli edifici. Anno academico 1965-1966* (Venezia: Cluva, 1966), 85–95.

36. In fact, the original title of the book was 'manual of urbanism (*Manuale d'urbanistica*)'. Regarding the change of the book's title, see Roveri, *Aldo Rossi e L'architettura della citt*à, 23ff.

37. On the chronology of events from the occupation to the start of *Sperimentazione*, see Fiorella Vanini, ed., *La rivoluzione culturale: la Facoltà di architettura del Politecnico di Milano* 1963-1974 (Milano: Associazione G.R.U., 2009).

38. On the details of the program, see *Controspazio*, no. 1, (1973).

39. On the activities of Rossi's group between 1967 and 1971, see Florencia Natalia Andreola, 'Architettura insegnata. Aldo Rossi, Giorgio Grassi e l'insegnamento della progettazione architettonica (1946-79)' (Doctoral Thesis, Università di Bologna, 2016), 193–205; Beatrice Lampariello, *Aldo Rossi e le forme del razionalismo esaltato: dai progetti scolastici alla 'città analoga' : 1950-1973* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017), 231–40.

40. Giovanna Gavazzeni and Massimo Scolari, 'Note metodologiche per una ricerca urbana', *Lotus*, no. 7 (1970), 118.

where different 'cultural tendency groups' present 'different disciplinary visions and different ideas about the training of architectural students'[41]. Even though the program of research groups in the Milan school was stopped in 1971, Rossi and his group continued to seek the potential for such pluralist approaches and the tensions that they facilitate. And finally, they brought this idea to fruition as the exhibition of 'City-Architecture' which Rossi organized at the XV Milan Triennal in 1973[42].

When considering the postwar crisis of the Italian architectural school and some attempts to reform it in the light of the idea of 'tendency' which focused on the positive potentialities of different positions and their dialectic confrontation, it should be repeated once more that this phenomenon was not concerned with architecture in itself, or its form and style, but with devising a new approach to architectural problems, especially within architectural schools. In this case it might be less accurate to say that the revolution of '68 in Italian architecture failed because it could not appropriate the 'language of revolution' like Bruno Zevi did[43] (who also sorely criticized the Triennale exhibition of Rossi and his group). Instead, what mattered was not a new language but a search for a collective and educational approach to architecture. And the approach which Rossi chose as his research group's own tendency was that of architecture as theory or discipline.

41. *Aldo Rossi Papers*, *1967-1968 Gruppo Rossi. Materiale ciclostilato*, Box 5, Folder 8 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1968).

42. Rossi explained this exhibition as the place for 'a dialectic confrontation between positions which for years in Italy and over the world, have confronted each other, grown up together and have always been differentiated' (Aldo Rossi, 'Perché ho fatto la mostra di architettura alla Triennale', *Controspazio*, no. 6, 1973, 8). In the exhibition catalogue, Scolari used the expression 'Tendenza' with the first letter capitalized for the purpose of presenting this idea on the international scene. The installation included the presentation of school projects by students from several cities and countries such as Milan, Rome, Pescara, Naples, Zurich and Berlin. See Aldo Rossi et al., *Architettura razionale: XV Triennale di Milano - Sezione Internazionale di Architettura* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 1973).

43. Bruno Zevi, 'Architettura versus Sessantotto', in *Sterzate architettoniche: conflitti e polemiche degli anni settanta-novanta*, by Bruno Zevi (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1992), 321.

Theory and education of architecture in the case of Rossi

Tendency of Rossi's group: disciplinary re-foundation of architecture

In Research Group's program at the Milan school, Rossi's group designated the issue of 'disciplinary re-foundation of architecture'[44] as its chosen tendency. The idea of reconstructing architecture as a discipline can be found already in the materials of Rossi's lecture in 20 April 1966 when the student protest movement was rising again before the start of Research Group[45]. In this case, the issue was defined in contrast to 'authoritarianism' and 'professionalism'[46]: the latter represents the functionalist conception and as mentioned before, Rossi's critical attention was directed not only towards anachronistic academicism but also to its alternative, offered by the generation of the Modern Movement.

After the relative clean-up of academic authoritarianism through the reforms brought about by Experimentation, a number of issues related to architecture as a discipline continued to be discussed by Rossi and his group within the battles between different tendency groups. His group explains its own position by confronting two other tendencies in the school: one which placed social themes at the core of the school's concerns, and another which updated the contents of architectural education with the topics of urban planning, architectural industrialization, etc.[47]

44. Gavazzeni and Scolari, 'Note metodologiche per una ricerca urbana', 119.

45. *Aldo Rossi Papers*, Box 1, Folder 31 (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute).

46. Ibid.

47. Gavazzeni and Scolari, 'Note metodologiche per una ricerca urbana', 119.

For Rossi and his group, while no longer being at war against academism, both of these positions are nevertheless still viewed as problematic. The former denies or minimizes discourses specific to architecture and leaves any meaningful decisions up to the whims of general political positions; while the latter, called professionalism, accepted the traditional structure of the bourgeois society and commercialized the skill of architects or their professional routines and practices for the sake of individual profits. Based on the claim that both paths are dismissive of cultural engagements, Rossi's group chose a third way: the 'foundation of a school of architecture with autonomous disciplinary characters', for the sake of intervening in concrete reality in an autonomous cultural way, without restricting architecture to the epistemological cage of 'disinterested knowledge (*conoscenza disinteressata*)' or leaving its own body of decisions up to politics or the pressing needs of 'immediate utility' (*utilizzazione immediata*)[48].

The concrete aim of Rossi's group in searching for such a disciplinary autonomy of architecture is to 'construct a logical formal system of architecture', and this system should be based not so much on 'some kind of slogans' as on 'the research of specific facts of architecture' which can ensure its scientificity and provide freedom from claims of necessity or utility.

This kind of strong concern with practical intervention towards a more scientific method of research, or the identification of 'cognitive momentum' with 'projectual activity' constitutes the 'exact cultural position related to the problems of architecture' adopted by Rossi's group[49]. From this position arises a particularly controversial topic for the group: the dualism of analysis and project. What matters here, is how the analysis of architecture—concerning the question of *what it really is*—connects to the problem of project, namely the question of *how architecture is made*. In Rossi's architectural theory, these two issues respectively take the form of the theory of urban analysis[50], and that of the theory of logical and rational construction of architecture, as indicated by the title of a book detailing the group's activity published in 1970, *Urban analysis and architectural project* (*L'Analisi Urbana e la Progettazione Architettonica*).

Rossi's urban analytical theory

Rossi's theory of urban analysis is summed up in his book *The Architecture of the City* which was also included in the bibliography for Rossi's research group[51].

The expression 'urban analysis' might seem strange as a referent for the analysis of architecture. In fact, it can lead to misunderstandings. But although the theory of urban analysis is one moment of architectural theory, its main analytical object is not the city itself. Correctly speaking,

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. More precisely, the dualism of analysis/project has two dimensions dependent on two distinct scales of analysis: 'urban' analysis and 'architectural' analysis. In the latter case, which is the main discussion theme of Giorgio Grassi (Rossi's assistant and collaborator), for whom the notions of type, classification and architectural elements constitute key concepts, the analogy between analysis and project within the same level of architecture does not seem to be such a complicated issue (see Giorgio Grassi, 'Il rapporto analisi-progetto', in *L'Analisi Urbana e la Progettazione Architettonica: contributi al dibattito e al lavoro di gruppo nell'anno accademico 1968/69*, ed. Aldo Rossi (Milano: Cooperativa libraria universitaria del politecnico, 1970), 64–82); however, the former seems to demand a more complicated approach to the relation between analysis and project, because of considerable differences in scale (city and architecture). When referring to the relation between analysis and project, Rossi always means 'urban' analysis. Therefore, this study will also focus on the topic of analysis at the urban scale in relation with project, while arguing that the topic of 'architectural analysis' or its corresponding relation should be situated within his architectural project theory.

51. The references for his research group, in addition to Rossi's own book, also included the published lecture materials of the course in the Venice schools and the books of Aymonino and Samonà: *Aspetti e problemi della tipologia edilizia: documenti del Corso di caratteri distributivi degli edifici: anno accademico 1963-1964* (Venezia: Cluva, 1964); *La formazione del concetto di tipologia edilizia: atti del corso di caratteri distributivi degli edifici, anno accademico 1964-1965, Istituto universitario di architettura di Venezia* (Cluva, 1965); Carlo Aymonino, *Origini e sviluppo della città moderna* (Padova: Marsilio, 1965); Giuseppe Samonà, *L'Urbanistica e l'avvenire della città negli stati europei* (Bari: Laterza, 1959).

the analysis of architecture is one which investigates what architecture is in the real world, and this real world is precisely the city. Therefore, Rossi rephrases what architecture in the real world is, as the expression '*fatto urbano* (urban artifact or urban fact)', which simultaneously means artificial object and real, concrete fact[52].

The basic viewpoint of Rossi's theory of *fatto urbano* consists in observing the growth process of the city or 'the construction of the city in time'[53], and tries to capture the city in its dynamism. It clearly reflects the real face of the city that was dealing at the time with urban sprawl, which Rossi did not always view as negative[54]. From this perspective is deduced the classification of *fatto urbano*: the monument and the dwelling area. This is based on the criterion of how they contribute towards urban dynamism, where monuments work as a stable catalyst or promoter, and dwelling areas are an ever-changing performer. These two aspects define the idea of the city that Rossi presents in his book, namely, '*Città per parti* (city constituted from its parts)'[55]. This idea means that the city is complex, constituted from different components, and grows through 'the continuous tension between these elements'[56]. It is possible here to find echoes of the restless mood of the time, and also of the concept of 'tendency' explained above, in the idea of *Città per parti*, in that the latter is also based on the pluralism of components and the confrontation between them[57]. In fact, Rossi associated this idea with the new urban situation of the postwar period, and he points to its novelty, explaining it as 'a new bilateral conception of urban architecture'[58].

52. As for the English translation of the Italian term '*fatto urbano*' several ideas are offered such as 'urban fact' in Moneo, 'Aldo Rossi: The Idea of Architecture and the Modena Cemetery', 'urban artifact' in Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1982), and 'urban event' in Pier Vittorio Aureli, 'The Difficult Whole', *Log*, no. 9 (2007), 39–61.

53. Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della città* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2011), 11.

54. Rossi regarded this phenomenon as an opportunity to redistribute the population and to achieve the development of the State and its cities. See Aldo Rossi, 'La città e la periferia', *Casabella Continuità*, no. 253 (1961), 23–26.

55. In the introduction of *The Architecture of the City*, Rossi explains that its second chapter is devoted to the structure of *Città per parti* (Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 19).

56. Ibid., 91.

57. Aureli identifies a similarity between the idea of *Città per parti* and the thought of Operaists such as Raniero Panzieri and Mario Tronti in the notion of 'a reality based on the tension between antagonists' (Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy*, 66).

58. Aldo Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', in *Teoria Della Progettazione Architettonica* (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1968), 130.

Rossi's architectural project theory

The most important materials for exploring Rossi's architectural project theory, another significant momentum of his architectural theory—which is not handled within the pages of *The Architecture of the City*, per its own clear statement to this effect[59]—are constituted by two of his texts published in the same period: a 'foreword' to Etienne Louis Boullée's book, translated into Italian in 1967 by himself[60] and 'Architecture for museums'[61]. Boullée's book focuses mainly on the way of teaching architecture, and Rossi's latter text is a draft for his lecture held at the Venice school in 1966. Moreover, for Rossi, architectural project theory represents 'the concrete objective of an architectural school' and he adds that its 'supremacy over all other types of research is indisputable'[62]. Thus, it should be noted that his architectural project theory is, first and foremost, the problem of education or instruction in the architectural school.

Before investigating his own project theory, it is useful to look at two approaches which Rossi rejects as being inadequate for education or instruction of architectural project in schools. One is the position which insists on the power of architectural forms through two possible

59. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 129.

60. Aldo Rossi, 'Introduzione à Boullée', in *Architettura: saggio sull'arte*, by Étienne Louis Boullée, trans. Aldo Rossi (Padova: Marsilio, 1967), 7–24.

61. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei'.

62. Ibid., 123.

means: visual 'psychological' cognition and the experience of 'formalist' architecture[63]. Even though Rossi accepts the value of form, he denies these means because the former 'cannot be proposed inside architecture' and the latter does not exhibit logicality, so that students cannot help but merely 'imitate'[64]. Rossi places the emphasis not so much on architectural forms as on the procedure itself because 'it is always difficult to judge the superiority of one procedure over another on the basis of the architecture, namely of the results of the procedures'[65].

The other target of Rossi's criticism is the advocacy of 'method' represented by the Modern Movement, especially Walter Gropius and his Bauhaus[66]. Unlike the first position, it addresses the procedure rather than its result, but denies its logical or theoretical aspects, claiming that 'the theory is exceeded by the method'[67]. Rossi found two risks in the notion of method: its excessive allowance of freedom for students, which can cause them to lose their way and fall into eclecticism, and its possible rigidification as métier which contributes towards the previously-mentioned problem of 'professionalism'. Contrary to the notion of method, Rossi aims to construct a theory which can enable the adequate regulation of students and stands for disciplinary dignity, rather than the exclusive profiteering of the professional.

Based on these criticisms against architectural teaching approaches discussed through the concepts of form and method, it can be said that Rossi's architectural project theory gives priority to the procedure of the project over architectural forms as its final result, and that this procedure should be a 'logical construction'[68]. Borrowing his own words, the architectural project theory is a 'rational explication about the procedure for making an architecture'[69].

The primacy of procedure over its end result means not so much a disparagement or disregard of architectural forms, but rather the definition of teachable contents, namely, that which is transmissible from teachers to students in architectural project education. Here for Rossi, such a 'teachability' or 'transmissibility' of the contents of architectural education is made equivalent to a 'logicality' or 'rationality' of the procedure of architectural project. When emphasizing the transmissibility and logicality of architecture from an educational viewpoint, Rossi uses the term 'architecture as technique'[70] in contrast to *fatto urbano*, or architecture observed in its concrete reality.

One of 'the fundamental points of a project theory' is 'the analysis of monuments'[71], because monuments have the 'character of logical formation' which enables a rational explanation or architectural project theory. This rational character makes monuments into principles of 'immutability'[72] or fixity, which in turn enables freedom of choice for the individual or students because 'the choice presupposes fixed points of architecture'[73]. Here, it is possible to find another interpretation to Rossi's

63. Rossi, 'Introduzione à Boullée', 9–10.

64. Ibid., 10. To explain the confrontation between the architecture of formalism and that of logicality, Rossi gives examples of the contrasts between Louis Kahn and Le Corbusier, or Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Boullée.

65. Ibid., 9.

66. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 124. Rossi's view of Gropius and *Bauhaus* as the best example of architectural education through 'method', as of the year 1966, comes probably from he interpretation of the educational context during the Modern Movement diffused by Rogers, who identifies 'the most profound discovery of the Modern Movement' in 'exactly the introduction of methodological research in the process of form' (Ernesto Nathan Rogers, 'Metodo e tipologia', *Casabella Continuità*, no. 291, 1964, 1). Daniele Vitale, a student guided by Rossi, recalls Rossi's criticism against method as the confrontation between him and Rogers at the occasion of the Milan school course; while Rogers considers that a good teacher should teach a method which enables students to discover their own talent and personal approach, Rossi showed his disagreement with Rogers and insisted on the construction of a system (Daniele Vitale, 'Narrate, uomini, la vostra storia', in *Italia 60/70*, 310). Later, Rossi changed his judgement to a more positive appreciation of the architectural project education of Gropius and Bauhaus as indicated by his lecture manuscript of the academic year 1967/68, Cf. Aldo Rossi Papers, *Lezioni Poli* 1967/68, Box 1, Folder 31, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1967.

67. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 124.

68. Rossi, 'Introduzione à Boullée', 9.

69. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 123.

70. Ibid., 126.

71. Ibid., 130. Here we can find another dimension of the previously-mentioned dualism of analysis and project, namely 'architectural analysis' and architectural project. See note 50.

72. Ibid., 126.

73. Ibid., 132.

classification of monument/dwelling as seen in his theory of *fatto urbano*. On the criterion of logicality or rationality, monuments are so logical that they can be regarded as the fixed points of architecture, while 'the discourse on dwelling is (…) separated from architecture as technique and largely subjected to other factors'[74]. In addition, the logicality or rationality of monuments makes them autonomous or 'ahistorical (*astorico*)', namely, it enables us to observe them separately from their historical contexts so that they are 'always repeated not only as history and memory but as elements for a project'[75]. To make a project is to, on the basis of monuments chosen with personal responsibility as fixed principles, give an always-different solution for each occasional real problem.

74. Rossi, 'Introduzione à Boullée', 11.

75. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 132. As an example of such a repeatability or transmissibility of monuments, Rossi refers to the gothic cathedral, which Le Corbusier associates with his Unité d'Habitation, or San Lorenzo and the Duomo in Milan which Francesco Borromini synthesized to achieve his baroque style.

'Resonance' between analysis and project

The relation between the two aspects of urban analytical theory and architectural project theory is quite complicated. While *The Architecture of the City*, in its concern with the theory of urban analysis, never touches upon the concrete contents of architectural project procedures, in the case of 'Foreword to Boullée', which exemplifies Rossi's architectural projects in reference to Boullée's projects, he claims that 'B. [Boullée], unlike Ledoux and other architects of the Enlightenment, never brings forward the urban question in a systematic way'[76]. Nevertheless, 'Architecture for museums' points out that one of the fundamental aspects for a project theory, besides the study of monuments, is 'the analysis ['reading'] of the city, namely, our conception of urban architecture which is new in many points'[77]. Thus, we are required to distinguish and associate them at once[78].

76. Rossi, 'Introduzione à Boullée', 22.

77. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 130.

78. This ambivalence also confused the very students participating in Rossi's group. This confusion can be found in the form of questions directed towards teachers in the course: 'analysis and project: no nexus of consequence nor of continuity?' (Aldo Rossi, ed., 'Questionario sui problemi dell'analisi urbana. Elaborazione collettiva di studenti e docenti', in *L'Analisi Urbana e la Progettazione Architettonica: contributi al dibattito e al lavoro di gruppo nell'anno accademico 1968/69* (Milano: Cooperativa libraria universitaria del politecnico, 1970), 27). The answer to this, while denying any fracture between the two, was limited to insisting on the necessity of conducting more research, but without choosing any clear position for the time being.

This ambivalence is suggested also in the title of the book, namely, *The architecture of the city*. As Rossi tells in the beginning of the first chapter of the book, with the term 'the architecture of the city' he refers to 'two different aspects'[79]: architecture seen as a component of the city and the city seen as an architecture. The first is exactly what he calls *fatto urbano*. Contrary to the expectation of readers who think they can deduct from the book certain instructions for making an architecture closely connected to the city, Rossi's intention behind the introduction of this notion consists in the denial of the possibility of giving instructions to achieve it. In other words, *fatto urbano*, the subject of urban analytical theory, is required to be strictly distinguished from an architectural project, which is the subject of architectural project theory[80].

79. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 21.

80. See Ibid., 22; 143, and Id., 'Architettura per i musei', 126.

Here, Rossi tries to draw a boundary line between the teachable through architectural project theory and the unteachable. *Fatto urbano* remains within the sphere of that which is unteachable or untransmissible as architectural project theory. Surprisingly, this sphere includes also 'the built work' which should be distinguished from 'the thought of architecture'[81], and this means that Rossi's teachable and transmissible architectural

81. Rossi, 'Introduzione à Boullée', 14.

project theory stops short of the start of the process of physical building construction. From this, Rossi deduces his controversial affirmation of 'theoretical architecture (*architettura teorica*)'[82] or 'conceptual architecture (*architettura pensata*)'[83]. However again, it should not be overlooked that Rossi's above arguments have nothing to do with the question of what architecture in the real world is, or should be, but is strictly limited to the original problematics of architectural project education. His emphasis on the theoretical or conceptual aspect of architecture signifies a clarification of what is teachable and transmissible as architectural project theory from the teacher's point of view, and not an insistence that architects should make or consider only theoretical or conceptual architecture[84].

On the other hand, the vision of the city as an architecture indicates a certain association between urban analytical theory and architectural project theory at a different level from that of theoretical subject. Here again we need to reconsider the meaning of Rossi's statement that 'the analysis of the city' is one of 'the fundamental points of a project theory'[85]. To this end, it might be meaningful to refer to the words of Rossi's students, Gavazzeni and Scholari, which explain the association between urban analytical theory and architectural project theory not as 'rapport', but as 'resonance', because the former might 'presuppose the possibility, at least potentially, to describe and identify this nexus through rational categories'[86].

According to this explanation, the nexus between urban analysis and architectural project does not conform to ideas such as urban contextualism, in which urban analysis provides certain data or conditions for the architectural project. In such case, the two theories of urban analysis and architectural project are related in a rational way; instead, we should think of the nexus between the two more as 'resonance' rather than as rational rapport. It may be best to think that the word 'resonance' signifies the structural similarity between them, especially in those terms by which their respective processes are explained: fixed principles, and ever-different aspects. The growth process of the city as a 'construction in time' is explained through the existence of monuments as a fixed catalyst and an occasional growth stage of dwellings; whereas the projectual process of an architecture as 'logical construction' arises through the use of principles and occasional solutions.

By considering such a structural similarity in theoretical procedures between architectural project theory and urban analytical theory, and placing it in its original context of architectural education, it can be presumed that urban analysis has the function of motivating students towards the recognition of architectural project as a logical and rational construction. In other words, in Rossi's architectural theory, students are expected to learn, as a logical construction, how to make an architectural project from the recognition of how the city and its real architecture

82. Ibid.

83. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 128.

84. The qualification of 'appropriation of the real' which Alessandro Armando and Giovanni Durbiano attributes to Rossi's project theory as being a negative aspect (Alessandro Armando and Giovanni Durbiano, *Teoria del progetto architettonico. Dai disegni agli effetti* (Roma: Carocci, 2017), 60.) could in fact be reinterpreted positively from this viewpoint.

85. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 305–6.

86. Gavazzeni and Scolari, 'Note metodologiche per una ricerca urbana', 125.

exist as a real fact. Therefore, the urban analysis procedure functions as a means of legitimization for the sake of recognizing the architectural project as a logical and rational procedure. In this case, monuments play an extremely important role as nodes between the two.

Moreover, further consideration leads us to infer that this approach, geared towards the motivation of students and based on the notions of 'resonance' and 'structural similarity', presupposes the possibility to superimpose the growth process of the city and the projectual process of an architecture. Such 'resonance' suggests not only the similarity of theoretical procedures between the two, but also the superimposition between the temporality of urban growth and the logicality or rationality of the architectural project. To understand the significance of this superimposition, it is necessary to explore once again the meaning of transmissibility in architectural project education.

Transmissibility and Revolution

Rossi does not expect the transmissibility of logical procedures based on architectural organizing principles to be objective. In agreement with Boullée, who thinks that 'the way of teaching architecture cannot be made fully objective', Rossi insists that 'the system of instruction cannot give the same results for different students, so long as each of them develops the system according to their own capacity'[87]. But on the contrary, he assumes that some results based on the exact same principles can push forward the progress of architecture as discipline, where the individuals play the role of 'promoter'[88] who can change or even invent their own principles. Rationality is not always permanent or unchangeable, but 'rationality of monuments (...) is founded in their relations, which are continuously renovated, and give rise to ever-newer techniques'[89]. In this statement is depicted the progressive process of architecture as discipline, showing that in Rossi's architectural project theory, its 'teachability' from teachers to students also signifies its transmissibility through the passage of time. Rossi's superimposition of the logical processes of architectural project and the temporal growth process of the city means that he considers the transmission of architectural project theory as a temporal process, where the double meaning of the expression 'transmissibility' is fully expressed: instruction and inheritance[90].

This double meaning of transmissibility poses a question: how long is the time-span, by which the transmission of architecture as discipline is to be considered? Or, what is the temporal duration that Rossi attributes to the transmissibility of architectural project theory? *The Architecture of the City* pursues the process of growth of the city and its architecture over centuries, and it seems fair to assume that architecture as a discipline is likewise thought to be transmitted over centuries. From this point of view, we can understand why Rossi refers to the classical monument as being

87. Rossi, 'Introduzione à Boullée', 21.

88. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 125.

89. Aldo Rossi, 'L'ordine greco', *Casabella Continuità*, no. 228 (1959), 16.

90. This explains the reason why the third chapter of *The Architecture of the City* which focuses on the historicity of the city contains the paragraph entitled 'architecture as science'. Architecture as science, that is, as rational project theory that is also inherited during the passage of time.

the same as modern architecture when it comes to providing organizing principles for the project. This juxtaposition which states that 'it is meaningless to say that the problems of ancient architecture are different from ours'[91], should not be regarded as a mere flattening of historical facts through the deprivation of each building's historicity. Following this last phrase, Rossi goes on to add: 'on the other hand, it is meaningful to say that the conditions of ancient architecture are different from ours'[92]. This nuanced affirmation about the traversal between past architecture and the modern or present will require more careful investigations.

What matters here, are the transitions, alternations and discontinuities from one period to another period. By logical and rational architecture, Rossi means 'an architecture which is rational and transmissible from one society to another, from one state to another'[93]. This transmission might not be smooth and free of troubles (if so, it is not a transmission from one society to another, but inside the same one), nor may it remain unchanged, neutral and objective. This leads us to infer that the defining aspect of a logical and rational architecture consists of its power to break and jump from one reality towards another; the power of glimpsing an alternative, that is, the power of aiming at a revolution. This intent for revolution seems to underlie Rossi's theory of logical and rational architectural project.

Based on the above considerations, the 'autonomy' or 'ahistoricity' which Rossi attributes to logical and rational architecture ('the principles of the architecture, as bases, do not have history'[94]), can be understood not as the abandoning of reality, but as seeking tranition and separation *from* one reality, in order *to reach* at and identify itself *with* another alternative reality[95]. What should not be overlooked is that the separation, and the identification *from/to* reality appear simultaneously as two indispensable momentums for revolution.

From this view point, we can fully understand Rossi's words as he writes: 'architecture (…) is decisively inscribed into the constitution of urban facts when it is able to assume the whole civic and political range of its time; namely, when it is highly rational, comprehensive and transmissible'[96]. This apparently paradoxical phrase which states that the more rational and transmissible—that is, autonomous *from* reality—architecture is, the more connected it is *to* reality, indicates the power of architecture 'in' revolution which enables separation and identification from/to reality to manifest themselves simultaneously as two indispensable momentums for revolution.

It would be pointless to think that revolution is simply an instant of alternation from old or past realities, eras and societies to new and future ones. Being 'in' revolution should be understood as the simultaneity of separation and identification in both directions of past and future, where 'logical and rational' architectures are still in the course of breaking

91. Rossi, 'Introduzione à Boullée', 12.

92. Ibid.

93. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 136.

94. Ibid., 125.

95. It can be said that the 'ahistoricity (*astoricità*)' of architecture is not just 'non-temporality' but also one of the modes of temporality which persists beyond several historical moments. Olmo interprets Rossi's argument in *The Architecture of the City* in terms of the expression 'longue durée (*lunga durata*)', and paraphrases the 'ahistoric dimension' of Rossi's text as 'a time without events (*un tempo senza accadimenti*)'. Based on our discussion, it seems better to say a time 'beyond' events. See Olmo, 'Attraverso i Testi', 96.

96. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 130.

themselves from the past, but yet to arrive at the future.

Besides, it would be reasonable to say that their rationality or logicality is completely different from the neutral generality obtained through the removal of causal or occasional moments. The order of reasoning is reversed: architecture is rational and logical because it is transmissible, and not that it is transmissible due to being rational and logical. It is concluded that for Rossi, architectural rationality and logicality are first of all ensured by transmissibility as a temporal process.

Monument in revolution

Duality of experience of monument

In the last section, we showed that at the root of Rossi's project theory is the intention towards revolution, which has two simultaneously-occurring momentums: separation and identification from/into reality. This chapter tries to extend these momentums from rational project theory to the level of concrete experience, by referring to Rossi's discourses on monuments as *fatto urbano*. In other words, it explores the possibility of experiencing revolution as the concrete experience of monuments.

The monument is simultaneously: element or principle for the logical procedure of the architectural project; and promoter or catalyst for the temporal growth of the city, becoming a junction that connects the two in the form of resonance. Apparently, to these two different levels of monument, Rossi assigns two momentums of revolution: separation and identification from/into reality. This duality of the monument can be found in one of paragraphs of *The Architecture of the City* entitled 'the place (*il locus*)', where two different types of discourses on the monument coexist[97]. On the one hand, in the urban 'place', fatto urbano presents itself as being identified with the original event occurring at the same time as its construction. As a specific example Rossi cited Adolf Loos's 'mound in the woods': 'If we were to come across a mound in the woods, six foot long by three foot wide, with the soil piled up in a pyramid, a somber mood would come over us and a voice inside us would say, "There is someone buried here." *That is architecture*.'[98] Rossi deemed the mound as 'an extremely intense and pure architecture precisely because it is identified in facts'[99]. On the other hand, he claims that the 'separation' of this unification, or 'between the original element and the forms' can happen only in the logical and rational process of the artist(s) or by an ahistorical reading of architecture[100]. In other words, the separation and the identification which Rossi attributes to monuments are explained as two different and heterogeneous experiences. While the identification between the architectural project and real events can be experienced only in the urban place, the separation between the two is possible only as the 'rational experience of history'[101], in the words of Giorgio Grassi who

97. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 115ff.

98. Adolf Loos, *On Architecture*, trans. Michael Mitchell (Riverside California: Ariadne Press, 2002), 84. This paragraph is also cited in Rossi's argument on the urban place in *The Architecture of the city*.

99. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 118.

100. Ibid.

101. Giorgio Grassi, *La Costruzione Logica Dell'architettura* (Franco Angeli, 1998), 37.

was Rossi's assistant and tried alongside him to establish a theory of 'the logical construction of architecture'.

However, this begets the question: is such a distinction, between two momentums of separation and identification as heterogenous experiences, in danger of making impossible a real experience of revolution through architecture, given our conclusion that the condition of revolution is a simultaneity of the two? And through the assumption of this distinction, is architecture as discipline—even if being potentially led to a revolution—eventually forced to wait for 'a happy coincidence'[102] with a new real event or political choice without intervening in the reality that preexisted this coincidence?[103]

In order to verify the true critical power of Rossi's theory, beyond the apparent non-coexistence or heterogeneousness of the two momentums of monuments in his discourses, we need to explore the possibility of identifying these momentums of separation and identification at once, within a real experience of monuments. In fact, Rossi's discourses also seem to show, though in a negative way, this possibility, especially when referring to Loos' mound mentioned above. As some previous studies indicate[104], Rossi offers at separate occasions different and contradictory interpretations about Loos' argument on the mound in the woods. In his first article on Loos, Rossi regards Loos' mound as 'the negation of all the values of arts in the world without history'[105], that is, as being separated from concrete reality. On the contrary, in *The Architecture of the City*, as we already saw, the mound is explained as being 'identified in facts'[106]. This shift of value, found in Rossi's later interpretation of Loos' mound, suggests the possibility of experiencing separation and identification at once in a monument. It might be said that when Rossi talks about the feeling of the 'ancient surprise of a man in front of an experience which overwhelms his reason'[107], which refers to Loos' monument, it signifies the appearance of the dual power of the monument such as coexistence of separation and identification, that is, the power of revolution. We can see the same duality of experience of monuments also in his article on Greek monuments, where Rossi explains them as that which 'represents at once the order and the exception, being tensioned between the knowable and the unknowable, (…) [which] represents, first of all itself'[108]. It is this sort of surprise that activates the birth of architecture as discipline, as Rossi admits referring to Ludovico Geymonat, the advocate of 'a new rationalism' based on Neo-Positivism: 'The act of the birth of science is connected to the production of means for sounding out the marvelous [surprising]'[109]. Moreover, it can be said that the structure of the dual aspect of monuments is incorporated even in our ordinary experience of them. The simple experience that we see in an ancient monument today reveals the contradiction that the monument which still exists at the present represents a past age that does not exist anymore.

102. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 188.

103. From this view point, Aureli's interpretation of Rossi's locus (place) as 'a political category of the city' (Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy*, 60ff) is open to criticism. Aureli claims that against the infinite extension of capitalism's control, Rossi opposes the concept of locus (place) as an individual component of the city, with its absolute separateness from other components and the pluralistic image of the city. However, it seems possible to question if this absolute individuality that allows for separateness comes from the 'happy coincidence' between architecture and political choice. Can it be said that Aureli's argument focuses only on the aspect of identification and overlooks the other of separation as a momentum of revolution? In other words, does it concern the situation not in-revolution, but post-revolution?

104. Cf. Marco Biraghi, '«Das Ist Architektur». Da Adolf Loos a Aldo Rossi', in La Lezione Di Aldo Rossi, ed. Annalisa Trentin (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2008), 60–65; Roveri, *Aldo Rossi e L'architettura della città*, 122–24.

105. Aldo Rossi, 'Adolf Loos, 1870-1933', *Casabella Continuità* 233 (1959), 8.

106. Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 107.

107. Rossi, 'Adolf Loos, 1870-1933', 8.

108. Rossi, 'L'ordine greco', 16.

109. Ibid. Rossi refers to Ludovico Geymonat, *Studi per un nuovo razionalismo* (Torino: Chiantore, 1945).

FIG. 3 Posters on the façade of the Milan school in 1963.
Original: Archivo Walter Barbero, Bergamo, cited from Lucia Tenconi, 'The City and Its Social Problems, as a Subject of Study: Rebel Architects at the Faculty of Milan (1963–1973)', in *Student Revolt, City, and Society in Europe: From the Middle Ages to the Present,* ed. Pieter Dhondt and Elizabethanne Boran (London: Routledge, 2017), 396.

Could it be that when facing a monument with surprise at its duality, while remaining situated in the ordinary experience of them, the experience of revolution is truly made possible?

Monument in 1968: the occupied school

So far, we have argued that Rossi's discussions on monuments suggest the possibility of a real experience of simultaneous separation and identification in a concrete monument. In the concrete experience of a monument, lies the potential of an experience of revolution. Finally, we will discuss this possibility by taking up the case of monuments during the revolutionary period represented by the year 1968. For the purpose of comprehending the two momentums of revolution at the same time, it is not enough to consider the monument (or an architecture) 'of' revolution, which Zevi once urged us to seek[110]. This subtle word, 'of', presupposes the idea that revolution could be realized or completed through a new architecture or monument; this may overshadow the other momentum of separation, by overestimating only the momentum of identification as the suitability of a new architecture or monument for a new reality or society. Moreover, it can be said that the construction of such a new architecture or monument is, correctly speaking, a phenomenon that

110. Zevi, 'Architettura versus Sessantotto', 321.

only fully manifests itself 'after' revolution, not 'in' revolution. Instead of considering monuments as an instrument for the achievement of revolution, this study tries to observe monuments 'in' revolution, in order to grasp the continuous tension of monuments, lying in the liminal state between separation and identification in terms of transmission, without focusing on either side of before/after the experience of revolution. Only in this way, it is possible to understand what the dualism of *revolution happening within the monument* represents[111]. We take the case of Milan, the same place where Rossi established his theory of urban analysis and architectural project, both of which were developed while thinking about the challenges of architectural education.

In the student protests of 1960s Italy, one of the remarkable and recorded actions which students took for showing their disapproval was to hang some posters on the façades of school buildings. For example, at the Milan school, in 1962 they hung posters which poked fun at a classical building designed by a professor from the school, for the purpose of criticizing against its anachronism and the academic educational system[112] [Fig. 3], and in 1968, a more direct message which accused the Minister of Education and the president of the school at the time of disturbing the school reform process could be seen above the school's entrance [Fig. 4]. Although these actions show the desire for revolution by physically modifying a monument considered to be a symbol of the authority of academism, and are interesting enough on their own as a sort of strategic conversion of a building by its typical users in untypical manners, these episodes only prove that the forces of contestation have already occupied and conquered the symbols of authenticity; in other words, the 'event' already happened without showing any 'process'. Therefore, it would be difficult to capture through the messages in these posters how the monument in revolution and its revolutionary power were experienced as the tension between separation and identification. In this regard, what truly attracts our attention would be the phenomenon happening literally behind these posters: the actual occupation of the school.

FIG. 4 Poster on the façade of the Milan school in 1968. Taken by Walter Barbero, cited from *Occupanti 1963-1968. Gli esordi della moderna Facoltà di architettura nelle fotografie di Walter Barbero* (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 2011), 76.

During the 1960s, the Milan school of architecture was often occupied by its students. The action of occupation itself can be said to be the attempt by students to acquire their own rights through the appropriation of a building which is a symbol of authority. However, if our aim is to

111. For the same reason, this study does not discuss Rossi's own building works constructed in this period as the exemplification of a monument 'in' revolution. From the point of view of this study, it does not matter if his built works actually achieve social revolution in practice. Moreover, Rossi's own statement on the definition of *fatto urbano* lays strong doubts as to the validity of assuming that his own built works can be observed as *fatto urbano*: 'if the architectural artifact which we examine is, for example, constructed recently, it does not present yet the richness of motives with which we can recognize a given *fatto urbano*' (Rossi, *L'architettura della città*, 22). In this statement, he may be arguing that a separation of monument from reality becomes possible only after the passage of a certain amount of time. Because of the relatively short length of time that Rossi's contemporary built works have experienced, these should not be treated as *fatto urbano* or as monuments 'in' revolution.

112. On this event, see Tenconi, 'The City and Its Social Problems, as a Subject of Study: Rebel Architects at the Faculty of Milan (1963–1973)', 396.

observe the experience of the dualism of revolution between separation and identification, the photos of these occupations which convey this most effectively, and cause the most impression, would not be the ones which narrate the enthusiasm of the conquest, but the ones which capture various domestic and daily scenes like cooking, chatting and sleeping in the school as if it was their home [Fig. 5-7][113]. The strangeness of these photos seems to come from the transformation of the school into a dwelling area for students. However, if we assume the viewpoint of Rossi's classification of monument and dwelling, which is completely different from the functionalist viewpoint as previously mentioned, it leads us to find it inappropriate to see the occupation of the school as a mere shift of functions from monument to dwelling.

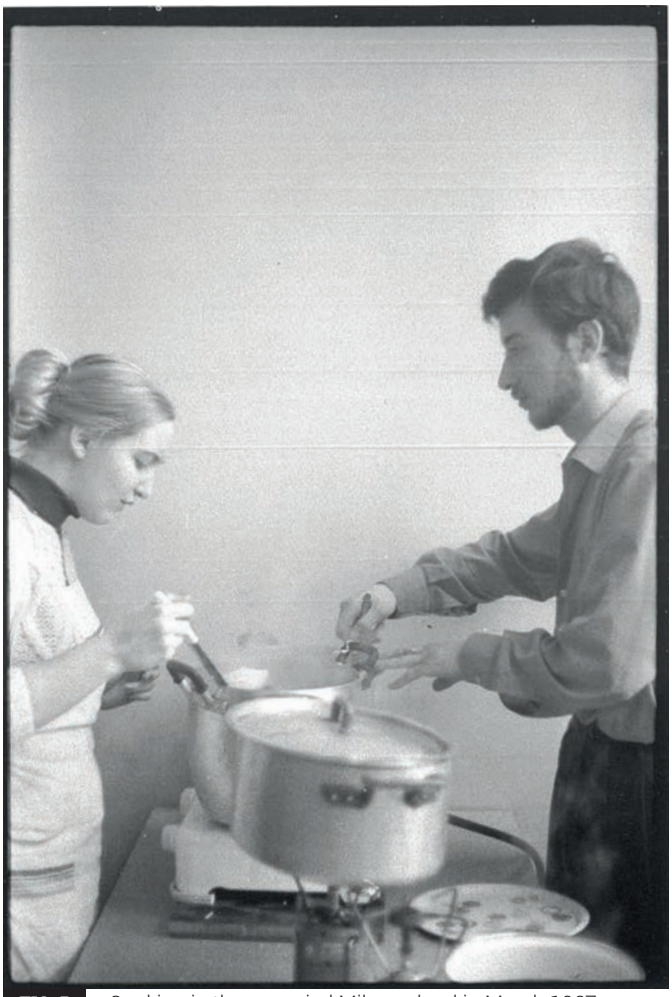

FIG. 5 Cooking in the occupied Milan school in March 1967. Taken by Walter Barbero, ibid., 54.

In terms of the dualism of revolution between separation and identification, it would be desirable to say that the photos show that the school was used as if it was a house, but in fact it was still the same school that it used to be; it also seems as if the students behaved more like family, but they were still students as before. In other words, just because the students started to engage in practices typical of domestic and familiar contexts, it does not mean that the school fully ceased to be a school, and that the students fully ceased to be students. It is necessary to think about this from a non-functional viewpoint, and identify the clear tensions between the school as monument and dwelling which are portrayed in the photos.

As already seen, Rossi's classification of urban components is based on criteria that differ from function: (in)stability in urban dynamism, and logical or rational purity. When reconsidering this criterion in terms of the tension between polar opposites, it can be said that the field of human life is divided and distributed by rationality and dynamism into two spaces: the monument for human life, which is lived in the form of 'reason', and kept away from dynamism; and the dwelling for human life, which deals with 'the concrete problem of the habitation of man' and escapes from architectural rationality[114]. Each refuses the life of its opposite through rationalism or dynamism: the monument rejects the aspect of concrete and daily life by its rationality, and the dwelling excludes the stabilization of life by its dynamism.

Considering all of this, we can say that the occupation of the school by

113. We can see such photos taken by Walter Barbero, who graduated from the Milan school in 1969, and later became a professor there, in *Occupanti 1963-1968. Gli esordi della moderna Facoltà di architettura nelle fotografie di Walter Barbero* (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 2011).

114. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 310–11.

FIG. 6 Playing chess in the occupied Milan school February 1967.
Taken by Walter Barbero, ibid., 39.

students, or even the act of inhabiting a monument means not so much an inversion of the classifications of monument and dwelling, as it is a shaking at the core level of this distribution of human life, shaking of 'the sense of reading of a monument'[115]; or if we may borrow the words of Jacques Rancière, the shaking of the 'distribution of the sensible'[116]. Here, the daily and concrete life dares to ignore the rejection of rationality and tries to become identified in the monument. The occupied Milan school, as a monument 'in revolution' that temporarily incorporates the foreign mode of daily life inherent to the dwelling, enables the experience of revolution, as the shaking of the distribution of human life in its dual facets.

115. Rossi, 'L'ordine greco', 16.

116. Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics. The Distribution of the Sensible*, trans. Gabriel Rockhill (London, New Delhi, New York and Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013).

Conclusion

This article investigated the original contexts, the structure, and the potentiality of the architectural theory that Aldo Rossi developed in the uncertain mood of the age represented by the year 1968.

In the first chapter, we surveyed Rossi's activity in the 1960s as a teacher. At that time, faced against the context of the architectural school crisis, his focus moved from architectural forms towards a new approach to architectural problems. Afterwards, seeing how he problematized the consciousness of architectural education, we showed that the notion of tendency (*tendenza*), a defining term for Rossi and often regarded as

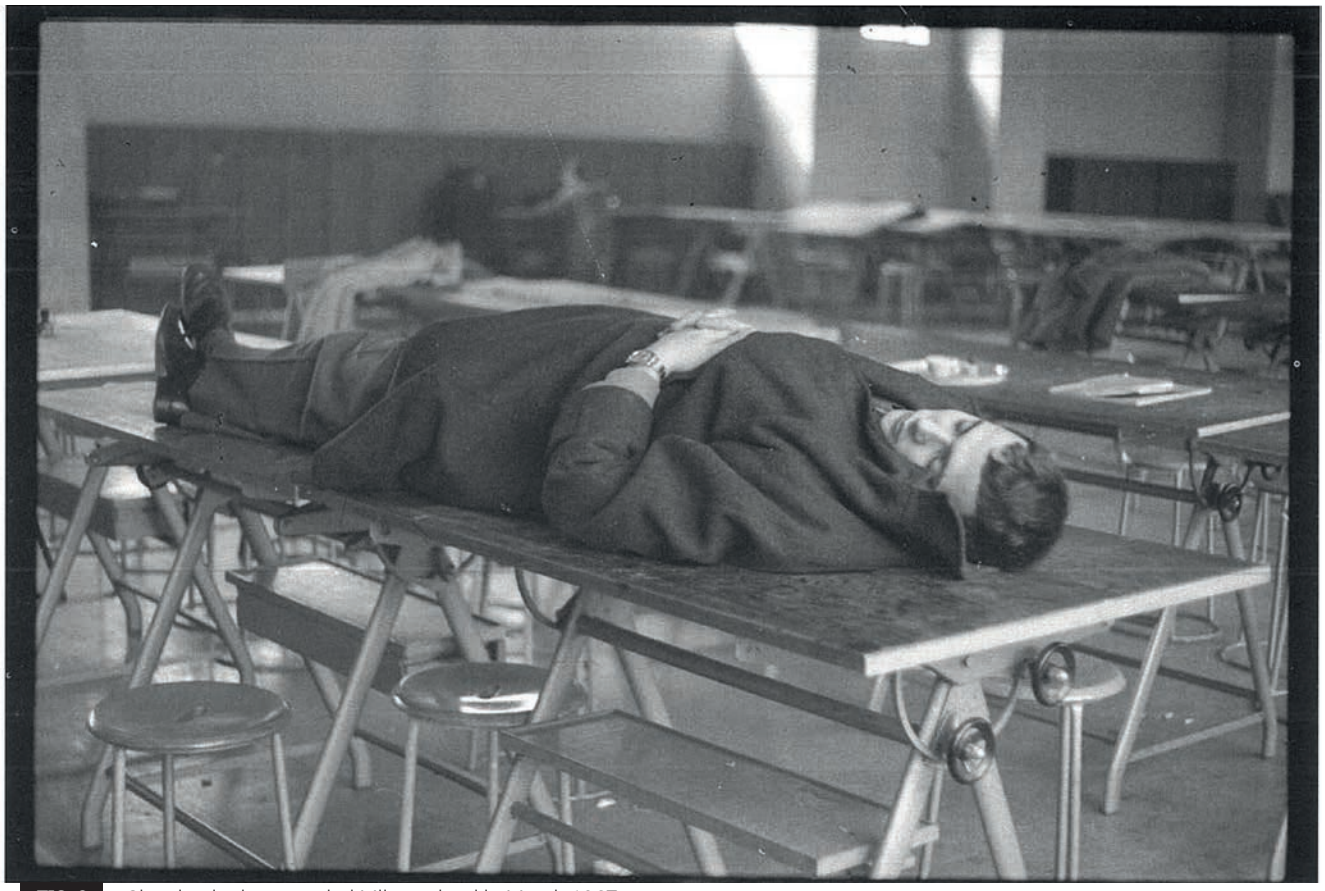

FIG. 6 Sleeping in the occupied Milan school in March 1967.
Taken by Walter Barbero, ibid., 52.

a certain style of his architectural works, was originally conceptualized first by Aymonino and then transferred from him to Rossi, as a form of collaboration engaged with architectural problems and methods of education.

In the second chapter, this study investigated the nexus between Rossi's theories of urban analysis and architectural project, in terms of the re-foundation of architectural education or architecture as discipline, and we have argued that it can be considered as a structural similarity between the two, and as a superimposition of the temporality of urban growth on the rationality of the architectural project. Based on these investigations, it was shown that his architectural rationalism was focused on the transmissibility of architectural project education, and that at the root of this rationalism lies an intent towards revolution, where the dualism of event/process of the '1968' appears as the simultaneous occurrence of two momentums of revolution: separation and identification from/to reality.

In the last chapter, this study explored the possibility of experiencing revolution—postulated by Rossi's architectural theory—as a concrete experience of monuments, and from this view we presented a reinterpretation of the protests at the Milan school by students, where their occupation of the school signifies the shaking of the distribution

of human life defined by architectural spaces, which are presupposed in Rossi's classification of monument and dwelling.

To conclude this study, we suggest two potential directions for further investigations.

The first direction concerns the relation between the '1968' and the problematic of 'subjectivity'. Although this study had to put aside any considerations on the topic of subjectivity, which was one of the key notions of the period during the search for 'autonomy' or liberty of individuals, it can be formulated as the problem of the interpretation of Rossi's activities after the end of the age of enthusiasm. At the time, as cultural and political movements started to escalate again eight professors, Rossi included, were suspended from all educational activities because of their political involvements. The enthusiasm of the movement passed away, and Rossi began to make architectural works of silence or suspension. This change in his activity has often been considered as his shift from logical objectivity to poetic subjectivity, the proof of which has been found in his second book, *A Scientific Autobiography* published in 1982. However, it should not be overlooked that Rossi suggested his plan to write his own autobiography already in 1966, the same year of publication of *The Architecture of the City*, during his lecture at the Venice school[117], and this study argued that for Rossi, logicality or rationalism does not equal objectivity, nor are they even contradictory, when seen from the viewpoint of transmissibility. For a better understanding of the meaning of subjectivity for Rossi and his (non-)shift, we need to consider the role that the notion of subjectivity played in Rossi's architectural theory by situating it in its original context of architectural education, from the viewpoint of transmission of architecture as discipline or technique.

117. Rossi, 'Architettura per i musei', 124.

In the second direction, one could potentially explore the true and concrete meaning or effect brought out by the '1968' into the sphere of architecture, based on Rossi's viewpoint of the double meaning of transmissibility of instruction and inheritance; in other words, by associating the questions 'what is teachable?' and 'what length of temporal duration is inheritable?', we may be able to evaluate the situation of architecture after the '1968' without resorting to abstract explanations of it as the 'de(con)struction' of architecture as an institution or system. The most important places for this exploration would be architectural schools, which according to Rossi, should offer to their students a 'transmissible' theory and discipline of architecture through its 'long duration'. His discourses on architectural education can be said to open an interesting perspective for today's architectural education and culture, where the topics of conversion, renovation and others, that necessarily go beyond the duration of the projectural process are becoming increasingly important.

Myths, Machines, and Words

Francesco Bacci, Alessandro Canevari, Gian Luca Porcile
Università degli Studi di Genova, dAD
fnc.bacci@gmail.com; a_canevari@me.com; gianlucaporcile@gmail.com;

Gian Luca Porcile, Ph.D., his research interests are the influences of natural patterns on architectural theory and urban development.
Alessandro Canevari, Ph.D., his research is based on the ontological and epistemological aspects of Architecture language.
Francesco Bacci, Ph.D. candidate at dAD of University of Genova, his research analizes relationships between Mythology and Architecture.

ABSTRACT

On the threshold of the deep epistemological cut of the post-modern era, the traditional architectural bulwarks that collapsed under the pressure of the avant-garde season open their gates to innovation both in technology and, above all, the theoretical needs in the discipline for managing the rich complexity of new horizons in science and society. Thus, to fill the gap inherited from the pioneers, in 1968, architecture, for centuries based on eminently constructive facts, had to deal with what was previously ascribed to other disciplines, marking a turning point. History, social claims, music, new natural and philosophical awareness, and, above all, language became the essential parts of the new debate.

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> There can be no doubt that many prohibitions exist only to enhance the power of those who can punish or pardon their transgression.
>
> Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 1960

Myths

The Clash

In 1968, Paolo Ramundo, Gianfranco Molteno, and Martino Branca were studying architecture at the University La Sapienza in Rome. They became fascinated by the work of Francesco Borromini through the lectures performed by the young and passionate professor Paolo Portoghesi, who was a major researcher of Roman Baroque at the time.

According to one report, the three asked professor Manfredo Tafuri for permission to visit the renowned spire on top of the lantern of the church of San'Ivo alla Sapienza, but access was denied[1]. On February 19, they, asked Portoghesi to guide them on the visit, and this time, thanks to his good relationships with the keepers—as he described it—access was granted. With a self-constructed staircase, the three succeeded in reaching the spire, and once atop it, they declared its occupation. They held the position for approximately thirty-six hours and became known as "gli Uccelli" (the "Birds"). This profoundly symbolic gesture is somehow remembered as the beginning of the 1968 Roman revolts, which reached the paroxysm a little more than a month later in the epic battle of Valle Giulia.

1. Paolo Brogi, *68, ce n'est qu'un début. Storie di un mondo in rivolta* (Reggio Emilia, Imprimatur 2017).

The university was stagnant, its curriculum obsolete and its governance strictly hierarchical and vertically structured. The teaching of architecture was based on programmes elaborated thirty years earlier in a dictatorial and war-planning cultural environment Meanwhile, architectural theory was dealing with changes, embracing topics from politics, semiology, psychology, and the sciences to gradually turn them against the modern masters' beliefs.

Borromini embodied gracefully the master of exceptions and, from some points of view, could represent an epitome of revolt. Even Bruno Zevi—who cautiously supported the movement—in a tenacious article stated that Borromini (together with the partisans Terragni, Michelangelo or Wright) should have been celebrated for his subversive acts and that ancient and modern culture had always been woven with sudden creative and revolutionary movements, so it would have been useless if their incidence on society had been precluded[2].

2. Bruno Zevi, "Apologia di reato" (editoriale) in *L'architettura. Cronache e Storia*, Anno XIV n. 4, Agosto 1968

Those were the years when the weakness of the straightforward and orthodox approach to architecture, advocated by the last disciples of modern architecture, was called into question by Robert Venturi. It is no coincidence if he repeatedly quotedd Borromini to show the beauty and

FIG. 1 'Three students 'roosted' on the San'Ivo alla Sapienza dome during Roman students protests. Picture published on "Il resto del Carlino" on the February 21st, 1968.'

the legitimacy of an architecture founded on inclusiveness, complexity, and contradiction[3]. The graceful imperfection of an architecture that plays on both knowing and bending the rules was significantly more similar to the structure of human society than the straight, univocal, and subservient-to-the-masters modernist architecture.

The masters were old, some of them already dead, and, while still respected, only an austere monument of the past. Their legacy was too heavy to carry, similar to a lumbering father: oppressive, and out of date.

In 1966, Venturi published his milestone essay *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*; the same year Aldo Rossi debuted on the global stage with *The Architecture of the City*. In 1967, it was time for Guy Debord's *La Société du Spectacle*, and Che Guevara was executed in Bolivia soon becoming an icon of all the left-inspired revolts, proudly shown in posters, flags and t-shirts as a part of the revolutionary uniform. The image of his dead body was venerated much in the manner of Christ's on the Holy Shroud, while Debord was arguing about how every icon or slogan can be reduced—emptied of its ideological content through the detournement—to a mere tool of the spectacle. "Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation". In 1968, the Beatles *White Album* was released, and Siegfried Giedion died: the consecration of the pop language and the death of the elitist thinking of the main mythologist of the modern happened at the same time. In that year, even the more moderate social reformers Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy were assassinated.

3. Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradictions in Architecture*, The Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966).

In July 1969, fifty years after the foundation of the Bauhaus, Walter Gropius died in the United States; only one month later, Mies van der Rohe followed him. The two Germans who changed the American architecture more than anyone else were gone. But still, 1969 was the time for the New York Five, when modernism finally became univocally embraced: a scholarly exercise around forms and paradigms of the Modern Movement without any remnant of its social or moral issue that anyway never really interested Americans. That same year was the time for Manfredo Tafuri ideology and Jencks and Baird's semiology applied to architecture[4]. Architectural theory enriched itself with unprecedented instruments to state the meaning of forms, their legitimacy, their beauty, and finally the role they play in society; meanwhile, speech around the discipline become fragmentary, semantically various, developed according to different interpretations. No more grand narratives were left. Every theme was admitted in architectural speech, and every form in its practice: this was the beginning of post-modern thinking[5].

Fundamentally, every established social and artistic order was being contested through the unprecedented awareness that several previously unquestioned prohibitions were only asserting power. There was no rational reason, neither nostalgic nor romantic, to bow one's head to the fathers' dogmas. Everything deserved to be experienced even if that meant risking engaging in an open and violent conflict, and if that meant facing the fear of losing the battle.

Here is the essence, strength, and unavoidable fascination of fighting orthodoxy: to claim the double significance of the taboo: not only blasphemous but also sacred. It deserves to be revealed and explored in its ambiguous and mysterious beauty.

Protests followed everywhere around the globe: youth against establishment, minorities against power, pluralism against orthodoxy, the pursuit of meaning against a given truth to be trusted. Everywhere is claimed—with violence when necessary—the right to transgress.

Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza was occupied in February 1968 and while in March, the battle of Valle Giulia took place. Milan Triennale was occupied right after its opening on May 30 while demonstrations, strikes, seizures and street guerrilla actions were taking place in Paris. That was also the time when the U.S., fights for human rights and demonstrations against the war in Vietnam were converging in large street parades and clashes.

¡No queremos olimpiadas, queremos revolución! was the shout in the streets of Mexico City, but the people's voice was soon silenced on October 2 in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Tlatelolco, the police opened fire on the protesters, killing hundreds of them. A couple of weeks later, the global uprising was ready to receive a new icon: Tommie Smith's and John Carlos' raised fists. Every stage of human activity, artistic, sportive or productive, held a political meaning: everyone had to be involved.

4. We here refer to Manfredo Tafuri,"Per una Critica dell'Ideologia Architettonica", *Contropiano* 1, Gennaio-Aprile 1969, Charles Jencks,"Semiology in Architecture",and George Baird,"La 'Dimensione Amorouse' in Architecture", in *Meaning in Architecture* (New York: George Braziller, 1969).

5. We here refer to Jean Francois Lyotard's Grand Recit definition (in *La condition postmoderne*, 1979), which could be pertinent if retroactively applied to our dissertation.

Meanwhile, even the desirable alternative to a capitalist organisation of society, for some represented by the Soviet Union, suffered that year when Leonid Brezhnev authorized the suppression of the reformists in Czechoslovakia with a massive military invasion, soon tragically known as the Prague Spring.

Both the socialist and the capitalist systems revealed their dictatorial nature, suppressing both the individual and the people's will. The notion of a "system" itself was intended to be endemically tyrannical; the fight was then to be conducted against the system.

During that year, it became clear that every belief was to be questioned, every dogma to be doubted. There was no place left for ministers of any faith, but only for prophets of the revolution. Any leading position and any history that tried to reconstruct the complex nature of the facts from a univocal point of view were considered illegitimate. A disenchanted awareness posited that history had never been a straightforward narration of events, but rather a partial story reconstructed on ideological premises to support the powerful and to deny the relevance of others. Those who had been side-lined laid claim to, at least, being cited. No history should serve power, but rather should engage the social clash.

On the architectural side, Charles Jencks revealed the deeper intents of the major historians and theorists of architecture in his *History as Myth* (1969): at its very beginning we read Oscar Wilde's emblematic statement "The only duty we owe to history is to rewrite it", which seems a highly appropriate way to embody what we meant to be 1968's spirit.

The myth is here intended not as logical reasoning but as a sequence of associated metaphoric images, elaborated to justify and validate the social order. It is not something to be questioned to demonstrate its falsity, but rather to understand the reasons for its permanence and persuasive capability. The myth is often that cultural common ground on which a community could agree in linking an object to its meaning. What is therefore suggested is that without the myth, there is no society, but at the same time "no group of meaning, neither any myth is sufficient or conclusive for mankind"[6].

Jencks' work describes the partial view of many faithful mythographers of architecture. Pevsner, Giedion, Hitchcock, Banham, Zevi or Scully, he says, found their critics on precise mythemes, in relationship to which they form a judgment about architecture. Gropius is chosen as a paradigm by Pevsner or Giedion since the mythemes were identified as rationality, standardization and "sachlichkeit", as parts of the leading myth of the zeitgeist, while, remaining faithful to other myths, Zevi promoted Wright or Scully Kahn.

What became clear was the process of posthumous attribution of meanings, values, and ideologies to most of the architects' work: "the

6. Jencks, "History as Myth" in *Meaning in Architecture*, George Braziller, New York 1969

historian can invent any theory about works of art, in which he will later believe to have discovered its foundation"[7]. This process was not a fault itself since the historian had the right, actually the duty, to express a judgment. What was then to be admitted was the partial, subjective, ideological, and often partisan will of any critic, which implied an interpretation that probably did not correspond to the author's original intention.

7. Ibid.

What Jencks was pointing out was that architecture was substantially an image. It was an image of rationality, instead of rationality itself, and in the same way a representation of the function, organicism, order, democracy, dictatorship, or honest construction; an image that would not mean anything without a myth to provide an interpretation, and that moreover could never be univocal. The meaning of architecture as an image could not be endemic, but arbitrary and posthumously attributed.

But what if the 1968 revolutionary spirit became a myth itself? And what if that happened at the precise moment in which the movement simply stated the end of any leading myth? Could architecture become in any way its image? How can architecture represent a vast street parade, a riot, a demonstrator beaten by police or a neighbourhood set on fire?

As soon as the revolution became a myth itself, it clearly emerged that architecture could not represent it; it might not be too hasty to say that, not being able to take part, architecture turned back to watch itself more carefully.

It is no coincidence that the more representative realizations of the radical culture in the field of architecture were programmatically unbuildable projects, emptied of a precise political aim, similar to those of Cedric Price, Archigram, Superstudio, and Archizoom.

"Forbidden to forbid" was the perfect motto, simultaneously reclaiming supreme freedom and imposing the strictest rule. It was both hopeful and nihilistic. In architecture, it opened the way for demanding the possibility to include multiple references, experimentations, eclectic or exotic citations from something far in time or space. But eclecticism and contradictions are the perfect antitheses to ideology.

When the global uprising movement turned in that sense, it inevitably lost its initial revolutionary impulse, soon to become reversed in its original will, a spectacle. Any slogan, as Guy Debord predicted, could not become other than a spectacle when ideology itself becomes a mere representation.

In 1969, the most crucial aspirations of both the establishment and the antagonist movement finally reached their realization. In that year, the first man set foot on the moon before astonished humanity, connected worldwide and live to the greatest ceremony of human progress of all time. Only a month later, at sunrise on August 18, Jimi Hendrix took to the stage at Woodstock, concluding with a brilliant performance at this

significant countercultural event. Nothing could ever go further.

Some months later, on December 6, some tried to repeat the format of a massive music festival in Altamont. Three hundred thousand people were expected to take part. But this time, the city of peaceful coexistence of an unregulated mass, united by the same passionate spirit, tragically failed. Meredith Hunter, an 18-year-old black man, dressed in a dandy green suit, was stabbed to death by a member of the Hell's Angels, while probably pulling a gun during the Rolling Stone's performance.

Writing on the *New Yorker* in 2015, Richard Brody stated that what Altamont ended was "the idea that, left to their inclinations and stripped of the trappings of the wider social order, the young people of the new generation will somehow spontaneously create a higher, gentler, more loving grassroots order. What died at Altamont is the Rousseauian dream itself".[8]

8. Richard Brody, "What Died at Altamont", *The New Yorker*, March 11, 2015.

When the revolution became a myth, it gained, even unconsciously or involuntarily, its ministers and uniforms, moved from streets to events, left its legacy either to be honoured, tuned into a spectacle or, worse, left to fight against itself. It surely did not have all its anticipated political success, but it had been undoubtedly a crucial cultural turning point, mostly as the highest moment of a global movement. For some moments, it seemed that a revolutionary zeitgeist pervaded indiscriminately different social groups united in will, aspiration, and ideology in a profound, while entirely generic, search for freedom.

During the demonstrations, many iconic flyers were passed out; one by the student movement in Bologna showed a threatening and inflexible fist hitting the tympanum of a classical temple from the top. The cracked temple represented government, church, industry, television, magistrature, trade unions, and the revisionist opposition; the fist was the merger of students and the working class.

The battle was fought on unequal fields, and the movement was undoubtedly not able to tear the entire temple of the system down but revealed, even if for a brief moment, its weak points, its contradictions, its orthodox injustice. The insurrection revealed most of all the right to transgress as the sacred mystery of the cult. Having access to the taboo was not a capital sin anymore.

Many of the protesters ended up finding a place inside the hated system, and many artistic disciplines turned their gaze away from social and political issues, unable to handle the involvement anymore, towards a reflection on themselves, but they gained from that year a lightning and radical twist. Those were the ones "who fell on their knees in hopeless cathedrals praying for each other's salvation and light and breasts, until the soul illuminated its hair for a second"[9].

9. Allen Ginsberg, *Howl*, in *Howl and other poems* (Pocket Poets Series, City Lights Books, San Francisco 1956).

Machines

The Prophecy of Samuel Butler

Erewhon: or Over the Range is a novel by Samuel Butler published anonymously in 1872[10]. The central chapters of this book focus on a theme that most interested the author: the relationship between men and machines in the context of rapid technological development.

The reflections on this topic were inspired by two facts, the spread of the theories of Charles Darwin and the social and technological implications of the Second Industrial Revolution. This second topic is exemplified by the *Great Eastern*, a giant ship designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel and launched on 31 January 1858.

In *Erewhon*, Butler summarizes two different attitudes towards progress and technological development. In the novel, these attitudes are attributed to different people, but in the real world, both can be traced to previous works by the same author.

When he was living in New Zealand, Butler wrote several articles on Darwinian topics, two of which, "Darwin Among the Machines"[11] and "Lucubratio Ebria"[12], were later reworked to become two chapters of the novel *Erewhon*. Both essays focused on the same problem: the relationship between mechanical and biological evolution. In the former, published under the pseudonym of Cellarius, Butler imagines the consequences of a society in which machines are considered living organisms competing with man in the struggle for existence. Here, the machines are seen as potentially alien to animals and plants. It is significant that in this context, Butler uses expressions such as "mechanical life", "the mechanical kingdom", and "the mechanical world". He imagines that men must develop a new awareness of the necessity to develop a discipline that studies the evolution of mechanical life.

> We regret deeply that our knowledge both of natural history and of machinery is too small to enable us to undertake the gigantic task of classifying machines into the genera and sub-genera, species, varieties, and sub-varieties, and so forth, of tracing the connecting links between machines of widely different characters, of pointing out how subservience to the use of man has played that part among machines which natural selection has performed in the animal and vegetable kingdom, of pointing out rudimentary organs which exist in some few machines, feebly developed and perfectly useless, yet serving to mark descent from some ancestral type which has either perished or been modified into some new phase of mechanical existence[13].

Starting from these premises, the author warns the reader against the danger that the evolution of "mechanical life" can become a threat to

10. Samuel Butler, *Erewhon. Or Over the Range* (London: Trübner & Co, 1872).

11. Samuel Butler [Cellarius] (1863), "Darwin among the Machines", Press, June 13, 1863; reprinted in *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler. Author of "Erewhon"*, ed. Henry Festing Jones (London: Ac Fifield, 1913): 42–46.

12. Butler, "Lucubratio Ebria", Press, 29 July 1865; reprinted in *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*, 47–53.

13. Butler [Cellarius], "Darwin among the Machines", 42–46.

humanity.

In "Lucubratio Ebria" (1865), he takes the opposite side: he ironically defines as a mistake "to consider the machines as identities, to animalise them, and to anticipate their final triumph over mankind". Instead, the machines are to be regarded as the mode of development by which the human organism is most especially advancing. They are extra-corporeal limbs and "more of these a man can tack on to himself the more highly evolved an organism he will be". Every fresh invention is, therefore, a new resource of the human body.

In *Erewhon*, the two articles are summarized in the context of a fictional story. The country Butler imagined has refused the machines and, with them, progress itself. However, he also imagines that in the past, there was an author with a different point of view regarding the relationship between mechanisms and life. This fictional author said that machines were to be regarded as a part of man's physical nature, being really nothing but extra-corporeal limbs, "according to this conception man can be considered as a 'machinate mammal'".[14]

> The lower animals keep all their limbs at home in their own bodies, but many of man's are loose and lie about detached, now here and now there, in various parts of the world.... A machine is merely a supplementary limb; this is the be all and end all of machinery. We do not use our own limbs other than as machines; and a leg is only a much better wooden leg than anyone can manufacture[15].

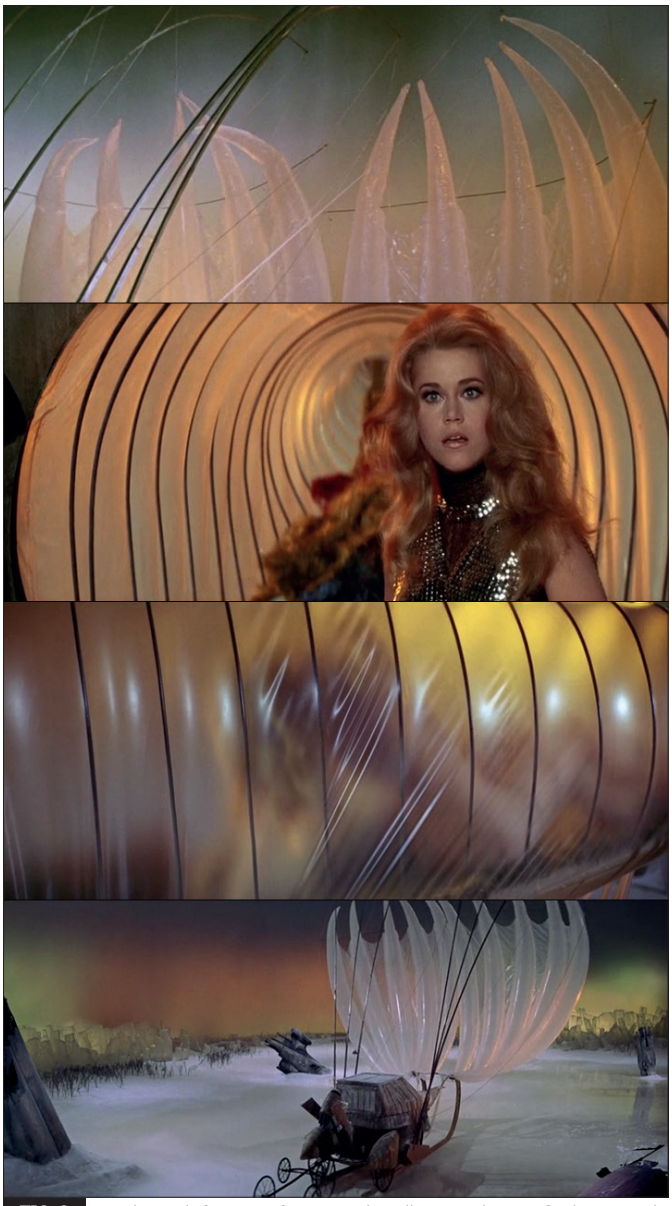

FIG. 2 Selected frames from *Barbarella*, a science fiction movie directed by Roger Vadim, released on October 1968 and based on the comic series of the same name by Jean-Claude Forest.'

15. Ibid.

If gigantic machines such as the *Great Eastern* evoked fears of a revolt of the machines against their creators, the optimistic side of device-based progress is based on the existence of an entirely different kind of mechanism: "The present machines are to the future as the early Saurians to man. The largest of them will probably greatly diminish in size. Some of the lowest vertebrate attained a much greater bulk than has descended to their more highly organised living representatives"[16].

16. Ibid.

Butler's complex vision about the relationship between men and machines aroused some attention when *Erewhon* was published. However, particularly during the first decades of the twentieth century, machinery was seen as a positive agent of societal change more than a possible threat to human civilization. The Modern Movement of Architecture

represents a dramatic shift in the design of buildings, founded on a theoretical framework that considered mechanization an essential condition for the improvement of human environments. Only in the sixties did the crisis of this peculiar conception of modernity reopen the critical debate on the dichotomy that Butler had investigated about a hundred years before. Confidence in the machine as a positive agent of progress is replaced by the question of which type of machinery can best adapt to the development of human societies.

The author who has investigated more consistently these arguments since the early 1960s is certainly the British critic and architectural historian Reyner Banham. One of the most effective summaries of these topics can be found in an article titled "Triumph of Software", published in New Society[17]. The article talks about two science fiction films released in the same year: *2001: A Space Odyssey* (directed by Stanley Kubrick, release date April 1968) and *Barbarella* (directed by Roger Vadim, release date October 1968). Erewhon was set in an imaginary country, and the two films are set in the future. A common element in all three works is the investigation of the relationship between men, machines and the environment.

17. Reyner Banham, "Triumph of Software", *New Society*, October 31 1968; reprinted in *Design by Choice*, ed. Penny Sparke (London: Academy Editions, 1981), 56–60.

Banham interprets the release of *Barbarella*, only a few months after Kubrick's 2001, as the significant sign of a change in the way we conceive relationships between mechanical and architectural elements: "By one of those splendid coincidences that used to make German historians believe in the *Zeitgeist* (and which English historians always miss) the film was premiered here in the same week that a company called Responsive Environments Corporation went public on the New York stock exchange"[18]. We have little information about the Responsive Environments Corporation, but we know that the English critic was interested in the development of lightweight, often inflatable, structures able to "provide everybody with their own habitable bubble of innocence"[19].

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

According to Banham, both *Barbarella* and Archigram were contributing to making inconceivable the survival of the "artefact-city". Archigram was progressively abandoning its megacity visions in favour of ever more compact, adaptable, and self-contained living capsules. *Barbarella* shows many aspects of inflatables structures. "She sleeps (lit and photographed from below) on a transparent membrane that dimples to her form. The sails of the ice yacht become erectile when the wind blows, and the fur-trimmed tumble takes place in the yacht's translucent "tail"[20].

20. Ibid.

In 1968, the eighth issue of *Archigram Magazine* was published, and in its pages are many references to inflatable structures. In an article titled "Mike Webb: Popular Pak. Comfort for Two", there is a diagram of two Suitaloons combining into one, and this was the first appearance of the Suitaloon in Archigram. A few pages later appears an article titled "Hard Soft. Hard and Soft-Ware" that contains an explicit statement: "In systems

planning we are reaching a point where the statement 'the software' is sufficient to organise the right (control of/positioning of) arrangement aof (sic) an environment. This oversimplification has the air—and necessity—of rhetoric at a particular moment in history"[21].

21. "Hard Soft. Hard and Soft-Ware" (Editorial), *Archigram Magazine*, no. (1968).

The entire magazine is full of examples of inflatable structures. The explicit intention is to blur the line between mechanical and biological systems. The Suitaloon is an exemplary case study: a biological organism and its mechanical enclosure interacting as one. It is therefore not by chance that Banham interpreted both the film and the magazine as two expressions of the same *zeitgeist*: "Barbarella is about responsive environments, of one sort or another, and so has been the architectural underground for the last three years or so"[22].

22. Banham, "Triumph of Software".

According to Banham, *Barbarella* had become a cult movie ever since the first stills were published in *Playboy*. A few years later (1972), the same magazine published an article on inflatable structures built by a company that, unlike the Responsive Environments Corporation, had strong links with the architectural culture of that period. The April 1972 issue of *Playboy* includes an article titled "The Bubble House: A Rising Market. Playboy Reports on a Portable Pleasure Dome with Inflationary Proportions[23].

23. "The Bubble House: A Rising Market", *Playboy* 19, no. 4 (April 1972): 117–119. Photography by Richard Fish.

This "portable pleasure dome" was created by a Los Angeles design group named Chrysalis. The group was founded in 1968 by some of Archigram's UCLA associates (Chris Dawson and Alan Stanton, joined the next year by Mike Davies). They named it Chrysalis after the natural exemplar for an "architectural interface"[24].

24. Simon Sadler, *Archigram. Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005).

In the Richard Fish's photographs that accompany the *Playboy* article, Banham's famous "prophecy" in his famous 1965 essay "A Home Is Not a House" seems to come to life.

> …a properly set-up standard-of-living package, breathing out warm air along the ground…, radiating soft light and Dionne Warwick in heart-warming stereo, with well-aged protein turning in an infra-red glow in the rotisserie, and the ice-maker discreetly coughing cubes into glasses on the swing-out bar—this could do something for a woodland glade or creek-side rock that Playboy could never do for its penthouse.
>
> […]
>
> The car, in short, is already doing quite a lot of the standard-of-living package's job—the smoochy couple dancing to the music of the radio in their parked convertible have created a ballroom in the wilderness (dance floor by courtesy of the Highway Dept. of course), and all this is paradisal till it starts to rain. Even then, you're not licked—it takes very little air pressure to inflate a transparent Mylar air dome, the conditioned-air output of your mobile package

> might be able to do it. With or without a little boosting, and the dome itself, folded into a parachute pack, might be part of the package[25].

This short excerpt from Banham's essay on *Barbarella* (particularly the scene of the ice yacht) and the *Playboy* article tell the same story and ask the same question: will the architecture of the future be capable of adapting itself to the transformation of society with regard to changes in living habits and the search for a different relationship between man and natural environment?

In 1968, Banham finds in *Barbarella* a shred of evidence that popular culture is also adapting itself to a new conception of the machine. The intention was to re-establish modernity, overcoming the limits of the "classical age" of the International Style, without indulging in a conservative or nostalgic attitude towards the past.

The British critic, however, is aware that it is not possible to ignore the second hypothesis expressed more than a century earlier by Samuel Butler; 1968 was also the year of Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*.

Banham briefly talks about the film as a "Pompeii re-excavated, the kind of stuff that Richard Hamilton had in his *Man, Machine, and Motion* exhibition back in 1955. All that grey plastic and crackle-finish metal, and knobs and switches, all that...yech...hardware!'[26] His attention is rather directed towards *Barbarella* as "the first post-hardware SF movie of any consequence"[27].

However, one cannot underestimate the fact that Kubrick's movie is a reflection on the relationship between man and machine that illustrates the ideas Butler had already expressed in 1863. If the giant ship Great Eastern was at the origin of Butler's fears, the gigantic spaceship *Discovery One* becomes the scenography and the protagonist of the staging of the rebellion of machine against man. According to this perspective, "the monolith triggers the functioning of a certain kind of evolutionary law, a Darwinian struggle for survival that is continually, problematically figured by Kubrick as a clash between dominant males'[28]. In the same way, the second appearance of the monolith triggers the violence of artificial intelligence towards its creator.

HAL 9000, at least in the first part of the film, is a machine that takes care of human beings and regulates the environment in which they live. This role is emphasized by his soft voice and in "his 'maternal' care-taking of the astronauts (his attentiveness to their needs, playing chess, validating Dave's creativity and sharing his feelings)"[29]. But in any case, HAL is a machine that does not improve the functionality of the human body but rather ends up limiting its vitality, as symbolized by the part of the crew kept unconscious, in cryogenic stasis, for the entire movie.

In *L'Anti-Oedipe* (1972), Deleuze and Guattari grasp the profound relevance of Butler's text and try to go beyond his point of view. According

25. Reyner Banham, "A Home Is Not a House", *Art in America* (April 1965): 133–136.

26. Banham, "Triumph of Software".

27. Ibid.

28. Susan White, "Kubrick's Obscene Shadows" in *Stanley Kubrick's 2001: A Space Odyssey. New Essays*, ed. Robert Kolker (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 127–146.

29. Marcia Landy, "The Cinematographic Brain in 2001: A Space Odyssey", in *Stanley Kubrick's 2001: A Space Odyssey. New Essays*, 87–104.

to the two French scholars, Butler drives both arguments beyond their very limits. "He shatters the vitalist argument by calling in question the specific or personal unity of the organism, and the mechanist argument even more decisively, by calling in question the structural unity of the machine"[30]. However, in recent years, the debate on artificial intelligence and technological singularity is growing, and the words of Samuel Butler, as well as those of Reyner Banham, can help us grasp the complexity of a debate that has been running for about a century and a half.

30. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *L'Anti-Oedipe* (Les Editions de Minuit, 1972); reprinted as *Anti-Oedipus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

Words

"Alles ist Architektur"

In what is probably his most famous claim, the Czech art historian Mojmír Horyna compared baroque Santini-Aichel's masterpiece—the Church at Zelená Hora—to a poem, specifying that twentieth-century buildings are really only slogans.

Far from taking advantage of those words to criticise the development of shapes in the last century, Horyna's sharp remark proves to be interesting from a slightly different point of view. The idea of buildings as slogans immediately brings to mind the famous Venturi sketch, in which a shed with a billboard declaring "I'm a monument" tries to gain architectural status. Notwithstanding that the Venturian example is the slogan-building par excellence, the Horyna remark reveals another key if we shift it from the architectural works to the theory of architecture.

Indeed, taken from the buildings to the words, the idea of a building representing a slogan has a great deal to do with the history of the architectural theory of the last century, shifting from its metaphorical attributes to a more literal meaning. In fact, it is possible to pick out several analogies that permit us to imagine not only—as Horyna noted—buildings as slogans, but also buildings grounded in slogans (which, in turn, will feel the need to became slogans themselves).

At first glance, these statements present us with a conundrum, sounding like an awkward and difficult way to paint the architectural customs of that period: how could an edifice be grounded in a few blunt pairs of words, and later become a slogan itself?

To a certain extent, however, the slogan seems to be one of the leading tools of the architectural theory of the XX century, finding a turning point in the 1968 movements and cultural climate. In other words, the answer to that puzzle causes us to consider and follow the slogan as a driving force with the power to overturn through the language architectural theory as well as the built shapes, taking control and leading the disciplinary development in a thorny slice of history.

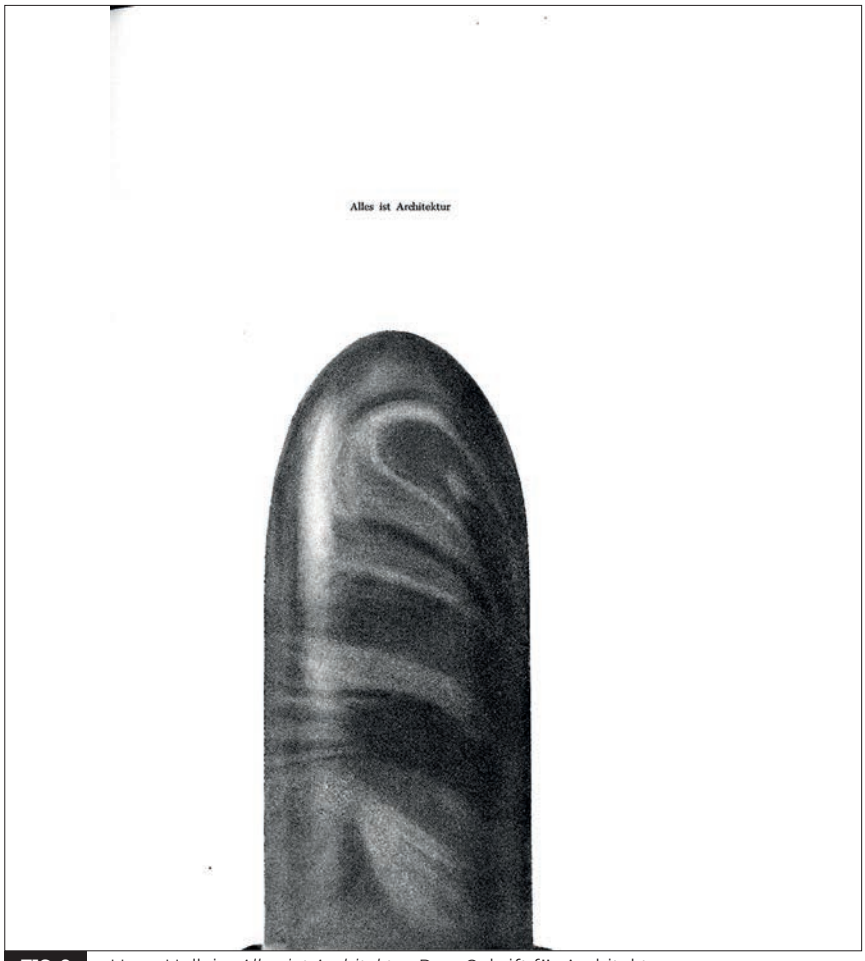

FIG. 3 Hans Hollein, *Alles ist Architektur*, Bau. Schrift für Architekt...

Born literally as a battle cry—the word originates from *slogorn*, an Anglicisation derived from the Scottish Gaelic and Irish term *sluagh-ghairm* (a combination of "army", *sluagh*, and "cry", *gairm*)—the slogan comes across as a real weapon. Indeed, its ability to hit sharply and profoundly is the measure of its success. Of course, this application is not actually new. The strength of the words was already compared to those of the sword in the Bible. Just think of the well-known paragraph in the *Wisdom of Sirach* [28:18] to see how it reflects upon this comparison both in theory and through use, thanks to the aphoristic form of the paragraph.

Thus, an appealing, concise, and memorable phrase ready to pour out on to the crowd—the new society demanding culture—is the perfect tool for managing the idea of change claimed by the 1968 cultural movements. Certainly not aphoristic like those of the Bible, these had to be words by the crowd for the crowd itself: ironic, provocative and, above all, pervasive: revolutionary words.

Before proceeding, however, we should underline that the revolution they were trying to trigger was mainly cultural and it was not only the importation of interpretative models of a social and political crisis, as shown by the blend and cross-origin of its actors as much as by the different objectives of the movements in every country. Their goal was to persuade members of the public and the new order to produce culturally

through the transposition of a new collective imagination filtered by an innovative style of communication. Even though at first this appears outwardly firstly politically based, it was in fact driven by new ethical and epistemological needs.

Thus, it is clear that slogans have the makings of becoming the best weapons for leading those revolutionary purposes, pursuing the yearnings for freedom and new ways of life. Furthermore, this makes rather obvious how the overwhelming cultural mood of that period tainted the language, jargon, and theoretical background of almost every art form. In fact, unquestionably, in such a cultural turmoil, it would be no wonder if some branches of architecture had been lured into the revolutionary maelstrom, applying its jargon and following its customs.

Nevertheless, the employment of slogans was not new for the architectural debate, which had already marked the dispute of the first half of the century. In this respect, although slogans have certainly marked a turning point in architectural debate thanks to the cultural climate of 1968, those events could be read on the horizon of architectural debate as part of the same dynamic that it was intended to challenge. More precisely, it is possible to identify in that phenomena the last extreme act of fifty years of *pars-destruens* and the first steps of the climate that pave the way to the post-modern era, a sort of spark of a new *pars-construens*.

Le Corbusier's well-known slogan "*Architecture ou Revolution*" epitomizes the trend of the previous fifty-year-long *pars-destruens* period. A look backward to focus on that fifty-year course of destruction of past values is similar to taking a step back to get a broader view.

Many interpreters have emphasized that the book *Vers une Architecture*, in which the threatening Lecorbuserian slogan appeared as the title of the last chapter, is offered as a rare example of the architectural treatise of the twenty-first century, although it was not entirely unique to the situation.

Admittedly, Le Corbusier's mastery in tailoring books is undisputed. His insightfulness in juxtaposing sharp and peremptory verbal formulas to images evoking a new and thrilling iconographic universe playing on semantic leaps and perceptual shocks was a milestone to the treatises of art and architectural history.

Despite the apparent suspicion expressed against the language of avant-garde movements—think of, for example, the dogmatic Mies Van der Rohe's precept "build, don't talk"—the broad use of slogans was, however, functional to the practice of the very character of the architect, albeit indeed only in a sibylline way.

The famous 1965 article "A Home Is Not a House" was a bridge between the modernist revolution and the ripe 1960s. In that article, Reyner Banham criticises the unusefulness of their slogans "in coping with the mechanical invasion", listing the main ones, such as "Form Follows

Function", "accusez la structure", "Firmness Commodity and Delight", "Truth to Materials" or "*Weniger ist Mehr*"[31].

Those sibylline mottos were in fact not actually directly part of the "proverbial wisdom of the profession"—in Banham's words—as operating intentions. Indeed, the famous mottos ceaselessly declaimed by modern architectural pioneers are flawless catchphrases calling on architects to perform the role of the prophet they had carved out for themselves in society.

As the political theory scholar David Milne noted, those mottos—in particular, of course, Le Corbusier's "*Architecture ou Revolution*"—reveal how their authors believed that they possessed a clear political role, a sort of social investiture[32]. Therefore, they conformed to the role, performing the character of seer-artist, with the claim to be "makers of the age". Their mission was to lead society to the dawn of a new age through architecture as the "unified synthesis for which men had been yearning ever since the Enlightenment"[33]. Consequently, they needed impressive slogans that sounded as much pompous as oracular and trenchant to nimbly spread their vision of the new world, seemingly demolishing the old one.

Indeed, according to Milne, the seed for much of the twentieth-century architecture heroic theory and performance lies simply "in the assumed congruence between the aesthetic and the political and moral", rooted in ideas going back at least to Schiller, if not to Plato[34]. His studies unveil, in point of fact, how the masters of modern architecture, behind the mask of thaumaturgical agents of the future, concealed the same theoretical scheme of their immediate predecessors. The nostalgic cult of the poetic hero, embodied in this case by the architect, the artist as society's mentor "who might lead the mass where the mass itself could not successfully go", is a quintessential romantic element on which they even grafted of Hegelian historiography[35].

In essence, Milne shows that the would-be architectural radicals and revolution at the dawn of the twentieth century were not much different from those whom they were struggling against, using the language even before the facts—a practice in which they shone. Therefore, their rhetoric was firmly grounded in a romantic atmosphere that should have looked starkly worn out to their eyes. This aspect became blatant when historians placed such rhetoric into historical perspective, despite that this view had been hindered by the enthusiastic reaction to the bold shapes of what appeared as a "new architectural epoch"[36]. However, such excitement over the new buildings combined with the hieratic figure raised around the modern architects—hybrids between a scientist and a new epoch's high priest—permitted them to follow their revolutionary credo.

As unequalled communication masters, their revolutionary strategy was pursued with slogans and statements, making a clean slate of the values of their age and, of course, of those of the previous periods. Indeed,

31. Banham, "A Home is Not a House": 70–79.

32. David Milne, "The Artist as Political Hero: Reflections on Modern Architectural Theory", *Political Theory* 8, no. 4 (1980): 525–45.

33. Ibid.: 527.

34. Ibid.: 530.

35. Ibid.: 529.

36. Ibid.: 526.

the originality displayed by the masters of the modern, a purely romantic invention itself, gave them a growing credibility.

Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion is a classic example of the application of this strategy. Its sophisticated asymmetry of shimmering columns and bright marble walls, the large panes of glass and the refined squared-off and polished details, make the Pavilion a model of "sublime rationality" studied by generations of architects[37]. However, as Robin Evans claimed, the only reasons for thinking of the Barcelona Pavilion as a rational building were "Mies said it was, and it looks as if it is"[38]. This view is possible due to the misleading idea of rationality being rooted in our culture, which confers the pure rational characteristic only to objects that look rectilinear, regular, abstract, and flat. Mies flawlessly took advantage of this opportunity.

37. Robins Evans, *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*, AA Documents 2 (London: Architectural Association, 1997), 244.

38. Ibid.: 242.

Thus, while their caustic slogans were destroying what they considered an obsolete world, through its own cultural tools, the new "rational" buildings of the future were grounded in those destructive utterances. Therefore, the slogans and the exclusionary behaviour of the pioneers of modern architecture succeeded in making a void, opposing the past with new values and ways of understanding the dwelling, art, the world, and life.

By the process of elimination, further than the classical architectural shapes, their strategy wiped out from the horizon centuries of theoretical tradition in architecture. The goal was achieved, and an illusory clean break with the past was marked. Downstream of such a cut lies a telling emptiness, the outcome of the sway of rationality and function.

It is precisely in that emptiness that the bases for the second revolution that architecture saw in the twentieth century lie, grafted on that odd phenomenon called with the name of a year without being strictly delimited by it: 1968.

At that moment, the slogans once again played a key role, as is well known. In obtaining this, the complicity of the last significant avant-garde movement is undeniable. Indeed, the Situationist International (SI) was broadly recognized as nourishment to the highly imaginative riots started within the famous French May.

More than every other avant-garde movement, the Situationist, led by Guy Debord, made of slogans and aphorisms tools of conflict, mainly against the elitist character of artistic creation, which they consider a sort of impassable barrier to personal communication. In their opinion, the art in those conditions is only a static element that freezes the flow of time and kills the lived experiences, enveloping them in a sort of empty eternity. Instead, the Situationist theory sees the situation as a tool for the liberation of everyday life that it aims to make exciting, following real subversive aesthetics in ideal connection with the extinct Surrealism. For

this reason, with the aim to free the arts from the contemporary social order they propose to follow multiple directions, such as the game, the shock, the *détournement*, and the manipulation of art itself through the reuse of scraps of texts out of their original context, evoking different, bizarre, and alienating meanings. Thus, their provocative behaviour and their habit of grafting the contexts legitimized and promoted the blending of a new mass culture with the traditional elitist high culture.

Against a communication system with a few tightly controlled channels, the leaflets would not suffice: so, the walls of Paris spoke directly, making the constructed surface an improper means of communication for the revolutionary claims. This use ignited a challenge that transforms into *impromptu dazibaos* the Paris beaux-arts buildings despite themselves. In fact, during the May 1968 events in France, quotations from the key situationist books—mostly from the prophetic Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967)—were written on the walls of Paris. Then, in a matter of a few weeks, that graffiti came into view, not only in Paris, but on walls all over the world with other slogans such as "*Il est interdit d'interdire*" or "*Sous les pavés, la plage*", clearly influenced by the Situationist's experience. Precisely like the Situationist's way, a sort of cutting-edge desire of multiplicity and mixing was utterly rife with every cultural environment. Indeed, the positive outlook after a decade since the end of World War I, the significant expansion of the educational system, the economic improvement in many countries, the substantial limitation of personal freedom in others, caused a need for changing above all on cultural horizons and in costumes. In particular, as noted previously, the new mass culture loudly demanded an adaptation of old social dynamics, bringing about a profound epistemological and aesthetic gap.

What remained of the great utopias of the historical artistical avant-gardes was looked upon with a detached and consciously disillusioned gaze. Of course, the wishes of a cultural reconstruction tainted the architectural debate, under the light of the increasing awareness of complexity that grew in scientific and philosophical environments. This perception swiftly made tight and stifling the emptiness and the aut-aut, black or white, climate of the pioneers, as Venturi declared in his famous *Gentle Manifesto* (1966): "Architects can no longer afford to be intimidated by the puritanically moral language of orthodox Modern architecture"[39].

The emptiness due to that orthodoxy began to fill up with a new theoretical reconstruction beyond the pioneers' destructive slogans, but more than ever with the language's complicity. This aspect is pointed out by the contribution in the reconstruction of "non-architectural" intellectuals such as Jurgen Habermas, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida, each committed to semiology, philosophy, and media studies. In particular, as Lavin points out, "these authors can be said to have had the deepest transformative effects on architectural discourse"[40].

39. Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*: 16.

40. Sylvia Lavin, "Theory into History; Or, the Will to Anthology". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 494–99.

Thus architecture, for centuries based on eminently constructive facts, had to deal with what was previously ascribed to other disciplines, triggering that "stormy controversy that has consistently surrounded the theorization of architecture since the 1960s is the conflict over engagement with ideas and concepts developed in other fields"[41].

Notwithstanding in the traditional architectural treatises, there were strictly various obligations towards specific disciplinary orthodoxy and, of course, a particular jargon. Those bulwarks collapsed under the pressure both of innovation in technology and above all the theoretical needs in the discipline to manage the rich complexity of the new horizons. Indeed, according to Michael Hays, thanks to that climate, "architecture theory has freely and contentiously set about opening up architecture to what is thinkable and sayable in other codes, and, in turn, rewriting systems of thought assumed to be properly extrinsic or irrelevant into architecture's own idiolect"[42].

Echoing the Dada Cabaret Voltaire, artists for whom everything is art, Hans Hollein in 1968 summarized the new fleeing and overwhelming enthusiasm of architectural theory once again in a slogan: now "*Alles ist Architektur*"[43].

41. Ibid.

42. K. Michael, Hays, ed., *Architecture Theory since 1968*.(Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), XI.

43. Hans Hollein, "Alles ist Architektur", *Bau. Schrift für Architektur und Städtebau 20*, no. 1–2 (1968): XXIII, 1–32. (every year, Hollein numbered *Bau*'s first issue 1).

Leonardo Savioli: Didactics and Projects for "Space Involvement"

Carolina De Falco
carolina.defalco@unicampania.it
Università della Campania "Luigi Vanvitelli"

Carolina De Falco, PhD, is Associate Professor of History of Architecture at the Engineering Department of the Università della Campania "Luigi Vanvitelli". She was a member of the Council of the Polytechnic School (2013-16). She is peer reviewer and member of the International Scientific Committee *Architetti del Novecento Storia e Progetto* (Edifir Florence). Speaker and Chairperson at national and international conferences, she participated in the winner competition by MiBACT for National Census of Italian architectures of the second half of XXth century (2018) and in the agreement for Conservation of the archival heritage of the Istituto Autonomo Case Popolari (2016). She was Researcher fellowship at Vth Workshop by EAAE (Belgium 2015). Her research focuses on the History of Architecture and the City after World War II, on which she published the books *Case INA e luoghi urbani. Storie dell'espansione occidentale di Napoli* (CLEAN 2018) and *Leonardo Savioli. Ipotesi di spazio: dalla "casa abitata" al "frammento di città"* (Edifir, 2012) and essays including: "La costruzione della nuova stazione nel secondo dopoguerra", in *La stazione Centrale di Napoli* (Electa 2010).

ABSTRACT

Leonardo Savioli taught to the generation of Radical Architects by the end of the 1960s, succeeding, at that particular period, to accept their experimental ideas in a mutual and fruitful exchange. Thanks to his curiosity, ability to dialogue and above all to the ability to "live his time", Savioli's projects show attention to the user, leaving him the freedom to imagine the place to live "made to measure". Savioli realizes his "space involvement" – taught in the course of "Interior Architecture and Design", from 1966 to 1970 – both through the use of prefabricated elements in concrete, as in his studio realized in 1968, and through the metal, extendable and modular. During the creative and idealistic years one should highlight and note the cultural exchange and generational "handing down of the baton".

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KEYWORDS

Leonardo Savioli, space involvement, participated architecture, Piper, Radical Architecture

Introduction

A series of events dedicated to Leonardo Savioli in memorial of his centennial, 1917-2017, has recently ended. These events included tours to his studio realised between 1968-1970 in the hills of Galluzzo in Florence, that has been frequented and open to collaborators, students and friends.[1] Savioli was a scholar of Michelucci and, by the end of the 1960s, he was teaching Radical Architects from Florence and some of his most substantial projects are associated to that period; such as the new Flower Market in Pescia, announced in 1969, or the less known designed for the "International Competition for the Resolution of the Leisure Time", won at Cannes in 1971.[2]

FIG. 1 Book cover of *Ipotesi di spazio* by Leonardo Savioli.

The attempt to eliminate space as a representation but to express it as a living reality derives, as is known, from experiences that dominate the international scene over that period, such as Action Painting, Pop Art and Programmed Art, while in Italy Giancarlo De Carlo encourages the participation of users in the project for Villaggio Matteotti in Terni, in 1969.[3] From this point of view, worthy of merit is Savioli's *The city of Tomorrow* where as far back as 1965 he clarifies the task of the architect who is to enable the user to take an individual part, a "space of action", in other words in relation to "a new dimension in which one lives" and thus the result will be given "more than from a "project", from a combination of operations that register/record and select our existence […] that solicits and is solicited by actions in our life".[4]

Teaching 'space involvement'

Savioli will forever be remembered as a university professor who "shaped a school […] of quality; his talks did 'inside the architecture' and were therefore able to produce".[5] He let artists and experimental architects such as Bruno Munari or the MID group take an active dialectical part in the lesson.[6] Rather than impart notions and methods to the students, they were stimulated in the search for the "perception of space, emotional involvement, existential condition".[7]

As from 1966-1967 and up to 1969-1970, during the course of "Interior Architecture and Design" Savioli faces the question of 'Space

1. I edited the Architecture Section at the exhibition "Nello spazio intorno all'uomo. Disegni e modelli di Leonardo Savioli", promoted by State Archives of Florence 23 september / 8 october 2017, within of the enterprise "Savioli 100. 1917/2017. L'eredità di un architetto toscano a un secolo dalla nascita".

2. Carolina De Falco, *Leonardo Savioli. Ipotesi di spazio: dalla "casa abitata" al "frammento di città"* (Florence: Edifir, 2012), 1-166.

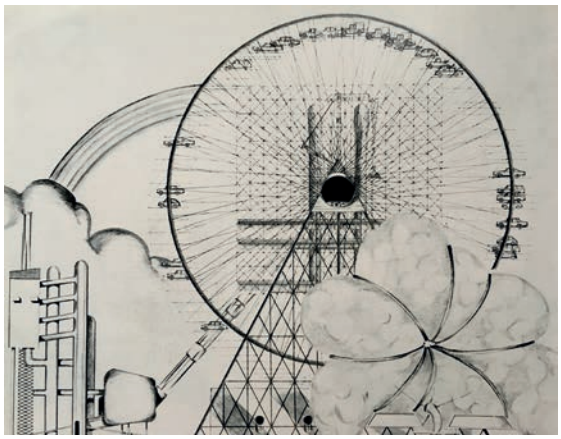
3. Daniel Chenut, *Ipotesi per un habitat contemporaneo* (Milano: Il saggiatore, 1968). Alberto Donti, *Architetture per la nuova città: esperienze a confronto* (Alinea: Firenze 1992), 287.

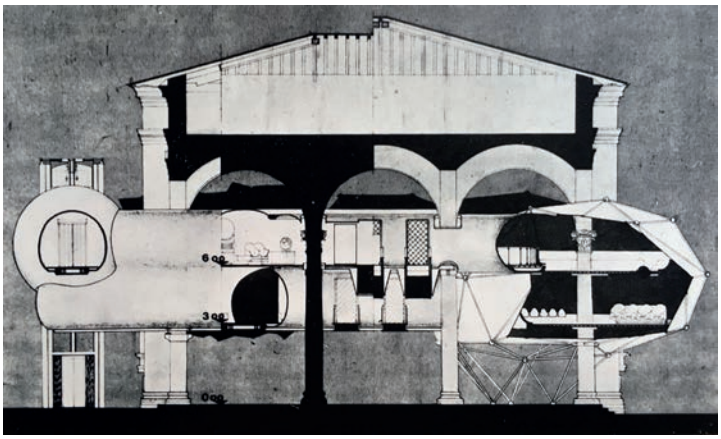
4. Leonardo Savioli, *La città di domani* (1965), 22, in Archivio di Stato di Firenze (from now ASF), Leonardo Savioli, *Materiali relativi a progetti*, 222.

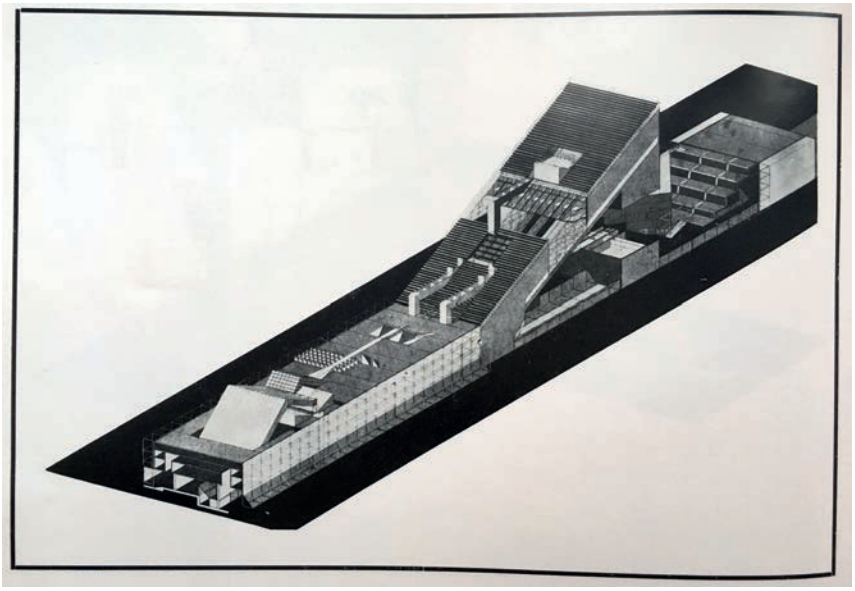
5. Bruno Zevi, "Tra i due Leonardi fiorentini", in Rosalia Manno Tolu, Lara Vinca Masini and Alessandro Poli eds. *Tra i due Leonardi fiorentini*, in *Leonardo Savioli: il segno generatore di formaspazio* (Firenze: Edimond, 1995), 42.

6. Lara Vinca Masini, "Leonardo Savioli: il segno generatore di forma-spazio", in Rosalia Manno Tolu, Lara Vinca Masini and Alessandro Poli eds, cit., 13.

7. Alberto Breschi, "Leonardo Savioli, un maestro", in Rosalia Manno Tolu, Lara Vinca Masini and Alessandro Poli eds., cit., 75.







FIGS. 2-4 Projects by the students of "Interior Architecture and Industrial Design" course, by Savioli. (from Leonardo Savioli, *Ipotesi di spazio*) At the bottom is the project of the "Synthesis architectures in Santa Croce neighborhood" by Breschi.

Involvement' with research on the adaptability of avant garde languages to contemporary architecture. Amongst the students were some of the major exponents of Radical Architecture, such as Alberto Breschi, founder of ZZiggurat and assistant to Savioli from 1969, and Adolfo Natalini, at his side from 1966, the year of the latter's degree.[8] Natalini's thesis already contains one of the orientations of the Superstudios: the will to transform "an elementary and primordial, illuminist and Kahnian geometry" into a Pop key, while, on the other hand, the monument building and the 'great design' were "fragmented in a Savioli tendency".[9]

"Space Involvement" concerned, in particular, the design of a Piper, the show business and entertainment Club in vogue at that time that revolutionised "the manner in which 'dance' is conceived, no longer as individualistic but as a global ceremony".[10] New spatial theories were expressed in which the user was no longer to endure the 'conceptual' space of the project designer but could intervene living it and therefore modifying it.[11] In this respect Koenig had noticed that the Piper project was "amongst the most extravagant inventions that may be seen today" stressing that Savioli's course was "amongst the few amusing and witty things, that do not anaesthetise the younger generation's faculty to

8. Adolfo Natalini, "Arti visive e spazio di coinvolgimento", *Casabella*, (328, 1968), 34-36.

9. Roberto Gargiani, Beatrice Lampariello, *Superstudio* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2010), 3.

10. "Piper Club a Roma", *L'architettura cronache e storia*, (138, 1967), 789.

11. Leonardo Savioli "Spazio di coinvolgimento", *Casabella* (326, 1968), 32.

create".[12] The research carried out by the students is published by Savioli in the volume *Ipotesi di spazio (Space Hypothesis)*, in 1972.[13] [Fig. 1] It is particularly interesting to leaf through the pages of the book and to observe the projects, also reading the explanatory reports, which are furthermore actual. The Piper is considered as a modern square: "it's the *environment*, the parking, the programmed space, the light paths, and on every occasion, it's a pretext for stimulation, for communication".[14] The main solicitation is the visual one, perceived as a "new dimension", indeed it is observed that "the perceptual datum has been strongly inserted between aesthetics and human psychology, fully influencing the critical examination", causing a dissociation of man from its own time "bringing it to the new dimension of a 'technological and mechanical' current time"[15]. [Figs. 2-4]

The copious exchange in experience between Mentor and scholars also existed with those who were external assistants to Savioli in that period, such as Pietro De Rossi, who realised the Piper in Torino 1966 together with Giorgio Ceretti,[16] or Maurizio Sacripanti, second prize at the Competition for the Italian stand at Osaka in 1970 with a 'space in movement', a kind of Escher module of a quarters-facility.[17] Whatever the case, on the other hand, Savioli himself in a note drawn up for the biography to be written for the exhibition dedicated to his professional career, at Faenza in 1982, recalls: "Piper: as one of the generators of Radical Architecture".[18]

In the preface to the book, Leonardo Ricci, who was then Dean of the University, highlights the validity, four years after the student revolts, of that research aimed at stimulating a new attitude to design, wishing to "all those who, between utopia and reality, feel the need that between theory and practice the distance decreases until it coincides" that this may happen soon. In this sense, it is worth stressing the effort made by Savioli in his projects.[19]

Studio Savioli and the prefabricated window

As regards "Habitat 67", the residential complex presented at the Expo in Montreal, Moshe Safdie highlights that interaction between the architect and the users "consists in breaking down the building into small components, fit for industrial production […] each inhabitant is to be able to move the walls, change the floor, in other words adapt the home to own habits".[20] On the other hand, Savioli writes two years earlier: "The day will come when we rent or buy a house and they will just give us a roof with toilet facilities, and we will need to provide for all the rest, including the walls. This we will do without turning to the mason or even the carpenter: walls and furniture will be cement prefabs"[21]. In support of the user in preparing own space in an innovative manner with respect to the tendency that favours traditional building methods, Savioli proposes prefabricated elements from the 'minimal home module' project with which he won the

12. Giovanni Klaus Koenig, *Architettura in Toscana* (Torino: ERI, 1968), 3.

13. Leonardo Savioli, "Per un nuovo rapporto tra l'utente e il suo spazio", in Idem, *Ipotesi di spazio* (Florence: Giglio & Garisenda editrice, 1972), 8-9.

14. Lorenzino Cremonini, "L'uso della luce in architettura", in Leonardo Savioli, *Ipotesi di spazio*, cit., 29. The word "environment" is written in english.

15. Ibid., 28.

16. Silvio Micheli, *La cultura architettonica italiana*, in Marco Biraghi, Gabriella Lo Ricco, Silvia Micheli, Mario Viganò (eds.), *Italia 60/70. Una stagione dell'architettura* (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2010), 23. One remembers the exhibition "Radical City", held at the State Archives of Turin from 30 May to 30 June 2012, edited by Emanuele Piccardo.

17. Achille Perilli, "Il segno utopico di Maurizio Sacripanti", *Controspazio*, (2, 1997). Cfr. Maria Luisa Neri and Laura Thermes, *Maurizio Sacripanti maestro di architettura* (Roma: Gangemi, 1998).

18. Savioli disappears in that year. The manuscript sheet is published in Massimiliano Nocchi, *Leonardo Savioli. Allestire, arredare, abitare* (Firenze: Alinea, 2008), 85.

19. Leonardo Ricci, "Preface", in Leonardo Savioli, *Ipotesi di spazio*, cit., 2.

20. Bruno Zevi, "Autobiografia di Moshe Safdie", *Cronache di architettura* (vol. 8, 842, 1973) 81 and Modhe Safdie, *Beyond Habitat*, Tundra Books, Montreal 1970. Cfr. Nilda Valentin, *Moshe Safdie*, Roma, Kappa, 2010.

21. Paolo Bugialli, "Gli architetti ci propongono l'appartamento 'su misura'", *Corriere della Sera*, (8 march 1965), ASF, Savioli, *Materiali relativi a progetti*, 218.

'Gold Seal' at the 'La Casa abitata' (The inhabited homes) exhibition on display in Florence in 1965, published in "Domus" and praised as "it belongs to a study of great interest that he is carrying out with a new approach to prefabrication".[22] It concerns, Savioli underlines, the ability to construct "a unique and unrepeatable piece with repeatable elements, to use prefabricated concrete elements in such a way as to allow freedom, fantasy, and thereby ambience"[23]. Savioli demonstrates how this outstanding variety is possible by using a self-same element in the building in Via Piagentina, in 1964, in which the openings show the multiple variations on the topic of windows, one of his most significant prefabricated elements, which becomes one of the characterizing theme of his studio.[24] As his professional activity expands, this leads to the realisation in 1968 of the studio. Since the death of the Master in 1982, it has become a true place of cult, thanks to the availability of his wife, the artist Flora Wieckmann who has allowed tours of the studio.[25] Although it is a work of art of small dimensions it is the expression of the mature evolution of Savioli's train of thought in the second half of the 1960s when he experiments new meanings attributing "the capacity for continuous, open, variable testimony of everyday existence to spatial wrapping".[26]

FIG. 5 Savioli study, main façade with a "block" window (photo by the author, 2010. Currently the studio is in disuse).

The studio has a rectangular and compact volume plan and was realized in a lower level in front of the house (the latter having been built in the 1950s), so as to create a roof garden with open, transparent, dome skylights which are spacious and allow an evocative lighting from above, directly onto the space destined for paintings. [Fig. 5] From the main façade the incredible steel and crystal prism of the main entrance door stands out and enables one to glimpse the inside within, and reflects the garden at the front and the circular pool by means of a transparent game of mirrors. Next to the entrance and on the side facade one can see a small series of cement 'block' windows: an invention, a true object of design, inserted to create and vary movement in the sole glass window. [Fig. 6] The prefabricated relief box-like blocks, with red wooden, protruding frames interrupt the surrounding landscape.[27]

The new Flower Market and the City for Leisure Time

The project for the new Flower Market in Pescia, as is known, won amongst 72 competitors in the 1970 competition and was praised as "one of the few emerging works in Italian architecture panorama" of

22. Lara Vinca Masini and Agnoldomenico Pica, "La casa abitata", *Domus*, (426, 1965), 45.

23. ASF, Savioli, *Materiali relativi a progetti*, 178.

24. Carolina De Falco, "From the "finestra arredata" to the prefab windows", in Salvatore Cozzolino, Françoise Klein, Marc Streker, Renata Valente (eds.), *Threshold Seuil Soglia IWS 2012* (Firenze: Alinea, 2013), 110-117.

25. From her donated in 2008 to the Tuscany Region and closed to her death in 2011, the studio was open to the centenary celebration, but its adaptive reuse is desirable. In this regard, see the video *Leonardo Savioli: Edificio A_INCIS e Studio Savioli* that I presented at the International Congress and video-exhibition Paolo Mellano and Gentucca Canella (eds.) *Conservazione, tutela, ridestinazione per l'architettura italiana del secondo Novecento* (Torino 12/13 december 2017).

26. Leonardo Savioli, *La città di domani*, cit.

27. Mario Dogi, "Scomposizione del paesaggio", *Ville Giardini* (69, 1973), 26.

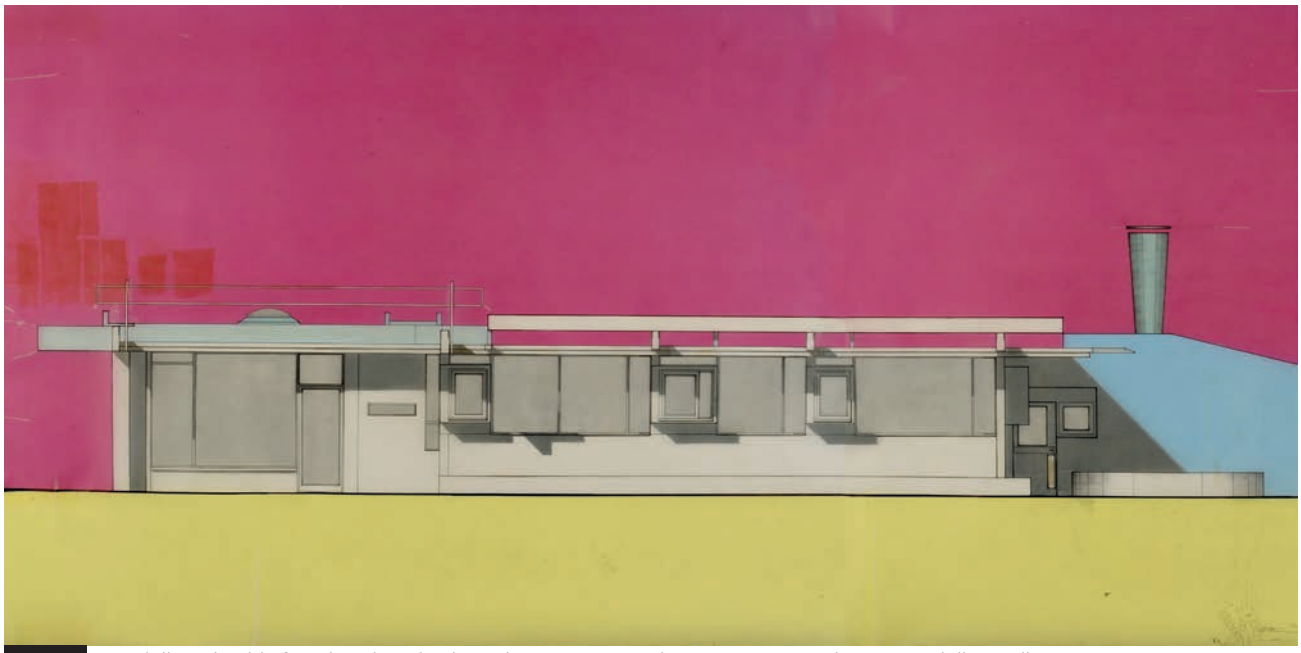


FIG. 6 Savioli study, side façade. Ink and coloured screens on tracing paper, 1:20 scale. ASF, Savioli, Rotoli, P 78,T 6, C 140.

that period.[28] [Fig. 7] It is characterised by a metallic reticular structure, modular and extendable, which although responding to the indications of the competition, on the other one it show's interest in the latest projects of Savioli in this more technological material, but also "more ephemeral, more transient, more modular and on the whole more destructible than cement" a sign of his search in continuous evolution. [29] [Fig. 8] The cover, without intermediate supports over 11,000 square metres, uses the expressive accentuation of new technologies, aligning itself with the contemporary research of Renzo, Piano and James Stirling.[30] On the other hand metal is also the material used in new discos and contemporarily responds to the dry assembly of prefabricated elements.[31] The user is one again at the center of the project, as can be seen by the study of paths: mechanized for flowers, pedestrian for operators and even for tourists heading to the lookout, in a structure also equipped with a bar and newsstand. [Fig. 9]

In the project of the Flower Market, fortunately realized, Savioli has possibility of putting into practice that idea of modular implementation of his designs and his care for people. But it is possible to contextualise that project also in light of the design for the "International Competition for the Resolution of the Leisure Time", won in Cannes a year later, whose jury included Bruno Zevi, Louis Kahn and Jacob G. Bakema. The competition, indeed, was aimed at the realisation of a multifunctional space, not separated from the residences, in line with the theme discussed since the Triennale of

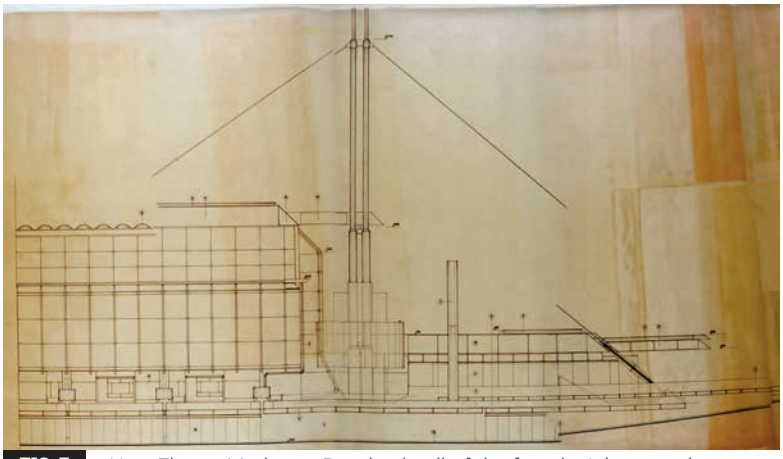


FIG. 7 New Flower Market at Pescia, detail of the façade. Ink on tracing paper. ASF, Savioli, Rotoli, P 85, C 82.

28. Giovanni Klaus Koenig, "Un piccolo Beaubourg", *L'architettura. Cronache e storia* (273, 1978), 146.

29. Pier Carlo Santini, "Architettura a Firenze, oggi", *Ottagono*, (3, 1966), 40.

30. Giovanni Fanelli, "Leonardo Savioli. L"Opus' dell'anima", in Ezio Godoli (ed.), *Architetture del Novecento. La Toscana* (Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2001), 137.

31. François Burkhardt, "La 'cattedrale dei fiori' di Pescia rivisitata", in Claudia Massi (ed.), *Mercati dei fiori* a Pescia (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2017), 87 and see the book in general.

1964 dedicated to 'Leisure Time' and also in the example of the Archigram who had foreseen a true and proper city with spaces dedicated to parties, music and celebrations, conceived as a means of collective recreation.[32]

Savioli's work group includes his friend Danilo Santi, Giovanni Corradetti and Alberto Breschi, assisted by engineers, sociologists and designers, amongst whom Remo Buti, co-founder of Global Tools. This on one hand confirms the inclination of Savioli to listen to innovative ideas and his constant upgrading through experimentations with the younger generations, and on the other hand the interest, in that particular historical context, for inter-disciplinary system approaches aimed at resolving urban questions.

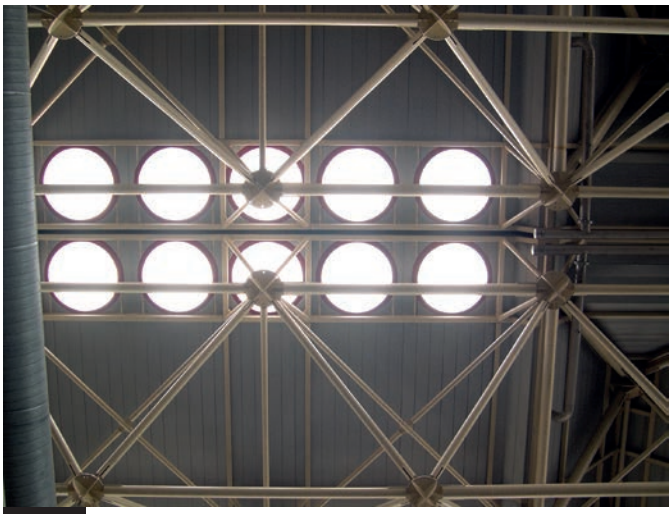


FIG. 8 New Flower Market at Pescia, detail of the cover (photo by the author).

Savioli looks into the aspect of human well-being and proposes the construction of a city with parallel levels, evoking the project of Fun Palace of Cedric Price, 1961-1965, flexible centre of instruction and entertainment, formed of an open structure of steel frameworks or the ideas of 'free mounting city' by Yona Friedman, 1968. One should note that Savioli's project foresees the realisation of a 'live' fabric able to organise itself and self-plan according to the will of the citizens.[33] Actually, the project does not propose "a new form of city a new form of free time apparatus, but a new way of relations, so as to obtain optimisation of the interchanges".[34] Savioli stresses furthermore that he intends resolving the question of free time "not as a reality in itself and temporary i.e. as a liberating means and *una tantum*".[35]

Savioli is also respectful and careful regarding the relationship with Nature and establishes a first level made up of natural land, free of property restrictions, while the underground lower level holds warehouses, depots and vehicle traffic is to be found. [Fig. 10] Above the natural land a kind of urban artificial landscape is to be found formed by three prefabricated levels with the possibility of development and growth in each direction, that constitute the support for all types of activity. Three modular meshes rest respectively on said levels and vary in shape and dimension: the first one has artisan workshops, laboratories and small industries, the second one enclosed in a spherical area, is the one dedicated to leisure or sport and includes "a series of prefabricated and multiple objects of rapid use". Furthermore it can characteristically be shifted so as to be arranged on the level for that work or on the natural one, to adapt to the idea of integration between leisure time destination and work time destination. As concerns the third

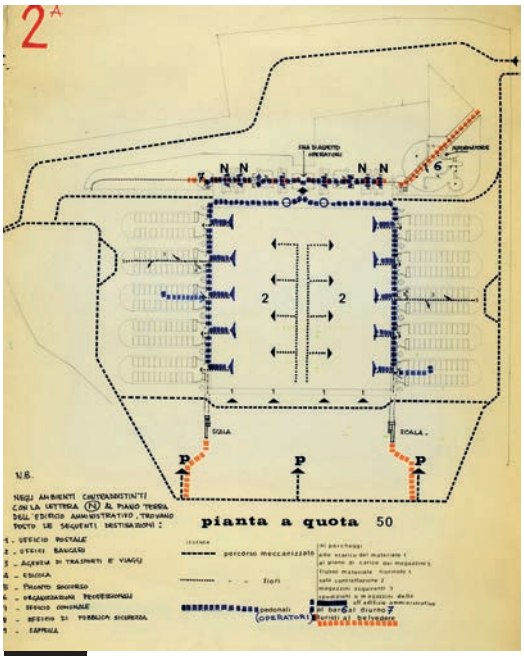


FIG. 9 New Flower Market at Pescia, project plan with indication of the routes. ASF, Savioli, Rotoli P 85 T 01 C 010.

32. Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: a critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), ed. it. *Storia dell'architettura moderna* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1986), 339.

33. Alberto Breschi, "Leonardo Savioli, un maestro", in Rosalia Manno Tolu, Lara Vinca Masini and Alessandro Poli eds., cit., 76.

34. ASF, Leonardo Savioli, *Rotoli*, P 71, T2, C7. Handwritten note in the margin of the sheet, the underlining is by the author. See also Leonardo Savioli, Danilo Santi, "La produzione architettonica contemporanea", *Necropoli*, (17-18, 1973), 44.

35. ASF, Leonardo Savioli, *Premio Internazionale di urbanistica ed architettura. I problemi del tempo libero*, Relazione di progetto, *Materiali relativi a progetti*, 382.

one, it is formed of residences made with mountable units "consumable and destroyable" and available according to the user's choice.

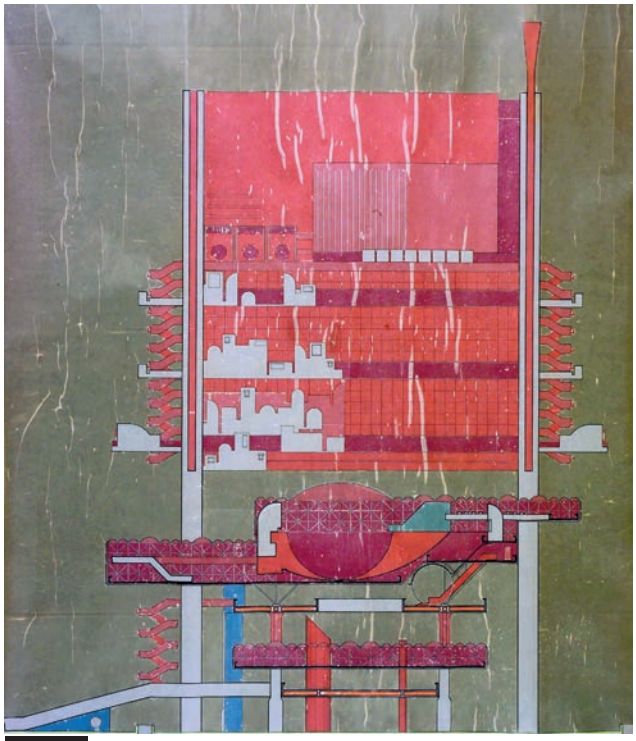


FIG. 10 "Resolution for Leisure Time", project for the competition in Cannes. Ink and coloured screens on tracing paper. ASF, Savioli, Rotoli, P 79, C 70.

Conclusions

Savioli's aptitude to grasp originality enables him a kind of short circuit: The Master's lessons to the scholars return to him in a reciprocal exchange and contamination. For example one cannot let slip that the triangular matrix structure of the last projects, as at Sermoneta or at Pistoia, the great staircases, the steps on the top of the buildings are amongst the themes proposed in 1969 by Zziggurat of Alberto Breschi, Giuliano Fiorenzoli and Roberto Pecchioli in the "Città Lineare" (Linear City). As, in the other hand, it is possible to find the influence of Savioli in the recent project by Breschi to redevelop the square at Tavernuzze (2006-2015).

In 1979 Natalini writes a letter to Savioli, who is by then seriously ill, in which he recognizes the importance of having him as a Mentor, and declares: "I believe that architecture exists as long as someone, like yourself, makes it a testimony. I have thought it many times while listening to your lessons, or watching the drawings you call projects, or the sculptures you call architectural model".[36]

In the era of contestations it was difficult for the new generations to recognise a Mentor but at a distance one can attribute that role to Leonardo Savioli, in the innovation of his work, within the Tuscan school.

36. ASF, Savioli, *Carteggio, Lettere a Leonardo Savioli*, 222, c. 561.

Hexagonal Architecture of Slobodan Vukajlović: An Example of the City Chapel in Nikšić City, Montenegro

Vladimir Bojkovic
Università Politecnica delle Marche
bojkovicv@gmail.com

Vladimir Bojković received his PhD in March 2018 at Università Politecnica delle Marche at Dipartimento di Ingegneria, Edile e Architettura in Ancona. He is interested in architectural/urban city identity phenomenon, its methodological approach determination and its problems of continuity and discontinuity. He is also interested in the history of the architecture of Montenegro and the former Yugoslavia.

ABSTRACT

For the history of architecture of the former Yugoslavia and today for the Montenegrin history of architecture, the opus of the architect Slobodan Vukajlović (1934-2006) is one of the most important. Still, a systematic study of his work has only recently begun. Vukajlović is an architect of strong individuality who designed most of his buildings in Nikšić city, where he was born, but he also designed two buildings in Italy in the city of Bari. His architecture is defined by the strong connection between the building and the environment, with respect to the context. One of the important design features of his buildings is the reference to hexagon and its variations, most often the transformation and multiplication of it. One of his most important works is the city chapel in Nikšić, built in 1969. At this object, some of his main design postulates are clearly presented: the shape of an object that originates from historical patterns found on the site, respect to the urban structure and context that will give the continuity of the built space and spatial identity and the strong poetic of the building. The city chapel in Nikšić is a building that encourages a man to think and feel. Its plastic, due to the multiplication of hexagons, elements such as the gate as a powerful symbol, the rhythm of the mass as well as the relationship between light and the shadow on the facade are a unique example of architectural reflection.

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KEYWORDS
Slobodan Vukajlović, City Chapel, Hexagon, Modernism, Nikšić

The Life and Work of Slobodan Vukajlović

Architect Slobodan Vukajlovic was born in Nikšić on 12.08.1934. He finished Real Gymnasium in 1954 and the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade in 1961 in the class of a very important professor and architect Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010). The topic of his graduation work was the reconstruction and revitalization of the old town fortress in Nikšić, the so-called Bedem. By its structure, the fortress Bedem was built according to the system of Roman castrum and as such, it is quite geometric. The pure geometric structures of individual towers are noticed, which represent either a square, hexagon or octagon. It seems that the fascination with hexagon, Vukajlović began exactly on the preparation of his final, degree project, where his studious analysis of the fortress was especially focused on hexagonal towers. [Fig. 1]

FIG. 1 Slobodan Vukajlović in Bari, Italy during the opening ceremony of the Grotta Regina Motel, 1974.

It seems that graduation work for Vukajlović was a basis for forming a way to design future facilities. In the case where these objects are projected in the enclosed environment, they are always part of the context and complement it, forming a harmonious whole without losing their peculiarity. In case there is no existing built-in context, the building is in harmony with nature and never acts as a foreign body without dialogue with the environment. This suggests that building for Vukajlović is an act of continuous development of the built space, respecting its already identity. [Fig. 2]

After the completion of the studies, Vukajlović worked in the Department of Public Works of the Nikšić Municipality a year after which he served military service. He returns again in 1963, when the Institute for Urbanism opened in the city, where he will work as head of the Urban Planning Department until 1967 when he was elected as Director of the Institute for Urban Planning and Design. He remains on this duty until 1974. During this period, he was the main city urban planner and designer. In the period from January 1975 to July 1978, architect Vukajlović worked as the director of the Bureau for Design and Technological Development at the Construction Company “Crna Gora”. [Fig. 3]

Vukajlović was a participant of all symposiums, consultations and congresses about urban and architectural activities in Yugoslavia. He participated to some important international meetings like the International Congress of Architects Conservators in Venice in 1964 and

FIG. 2 The 45 meters long parchment sheet, graduation work by Slobodan Vukajlović.

the XXX World Congress of International Federation for Housing and Planning in Barcelona in 1970. He was a member of the international organization IKOMOS.

As a scholar of the Polish government, Vukajlović attended the doctoral studies from 1974 to 1978 when he defended the thesis "Hexagonal Systems in Architecture" under mentorship of professor Tomasz Mankowski (1926-2012). It is interesting to note that professor Mankowski was a student of the architect Julius Żórawski and Louis Kahn. It is certain that such a significant personality of architecture, especially Kahn, left an impression on professor Mankowski, who then gave to his students understanding of architecture from the points of view of his mentors, architects Żórawski and Kahn.

For his work in architecture, Slobodan Vukajlović received a number of significant awards: the first prize at the Yugoslav "Stan Jugoslovena" competition at the micro-level Senjak in Osijek in 1969, then the "18th September" award given by the city of Nikšić to prominent individuals who contribute to the city by their actions. Vukajlović received this award for the buildings of the City Chapel built in 1969. Next is Borba award for the best achievement of architecture for 1971 for a kindergarten built in 1971.

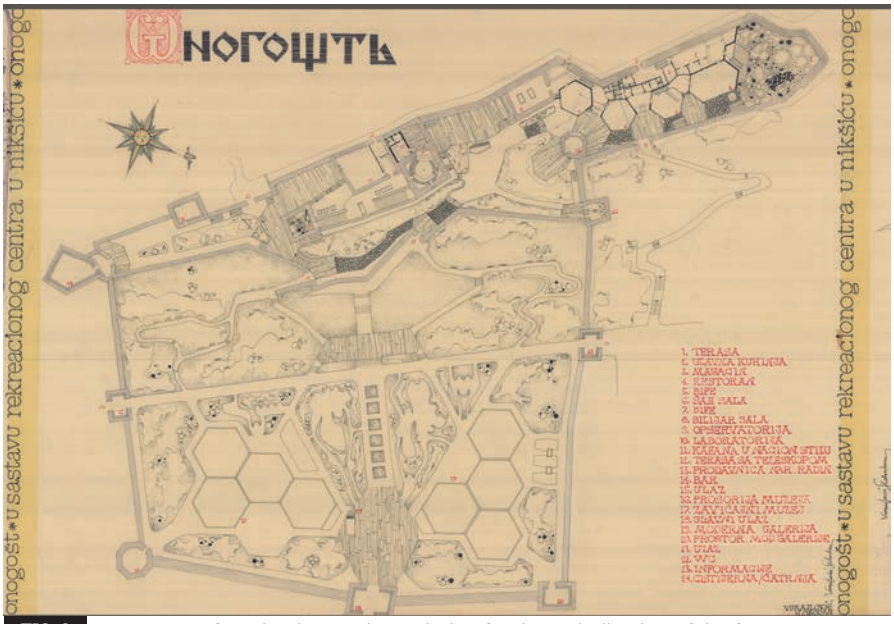

FIG. 3 Segment of graduation work, a solution for the revitalization of the fortress.

It is interesting to note that Vukajlović designed most of his facilities in Nikšić and its surroundings. Some of these objects, typologically for the first time were designed in the city and thus influenced the transformation of spatial identity in a positive direction. Architect Slobodan Vukajlović died in Nikšić in 2006.

Historical and Political Context

If one wants to understand better the circumstances in which architect Vukajlović worked, it is necessary to look at the historical and political circumstances that preceded the time in which he was creating his buildings.

After the end of the Second World War, in November 1945, six republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro formed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, led by Marshal Tito (1892-1980), managed the country. SFR Yugoslavia, among other things, was created also because Partisans were the only pan-Yugoslav movement that fought against occupation and for the equality among all South Slav nations. At the same time, the Partisans established communist rulers in liberated territories.

Expectation was that SFR Yugoslavia will be another Eastern European country under the strong influence of the Soviet Union, but this did not happen. In June 1948, the Comintern (the Association of European Communist Parties, the pre-convened USSR) excluded Yugoslavia from this organization due to the confrontation of Marshal Tito with Stalin's plans that Yugoslavia be one of his subordinate states, although the Yugoslav peak wanted to be allies.[1]

After the breakup with Stalin, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia began a series of reforms. The most significant and most revolutionary reform was the decentralization of political, economic power through the method of self-management, according to which workers are responsible for the work of the company, they are owners and they decide on the work while the state has the role of patron. This political and economic method has resulted in great economic growth, and in the period from 1957 to 1961, Yugoslavia was immediately behind Japan as the fastest growing economy in the world.[2]

From these brief reviews of the historical and political circumstances, it is clear that after the Second World War, although in difficult circumstances, Yugoslavia was moving through recovery, development and construction. Soon there will be a transformation of most agricultural economies to developed industrialization, which will also affect the transformation of society, from the once underdeveloped rural to developed and urbanized population. The great transformations that Yugoslav societies had taken had an impact on architecture as a profession, too.

It is important to note that, after the end of the Second World War, nationalizations of all economic branches and activities, including private architectural practices, came about. Architectural offices work under state control. Federal and regional ministries and institutes for buildings and universities are formed. Already in 1947, 60% of Yugoslav architects and engineers worked in such institutions.[3]

Self-Management also referred to architectural practice. This system allowed architects to freely organize and make decisions, in accordance with the priorities and requirements of the state at that time. It is important to note that Self-Management favored collective coordination, so professional criteria determined architectural production. As a result, there was high quality architecture, despite the fact that there were negative phenomena such as wild construction in suburban areas.

1. Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias, State Building and Legitimation*, 1918-2005 (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006).

2. P.H. Liotta, "Paradigm Lost: Yugoslav Self-Management and the Economics of Disasters", *Balkanologie V*, No.1-2 (2001).

3. Vladimir Kulić, *Land of In-Between: Modern Architecture and the State in Socialist Yugoslavia 1945-65* (Austin: University of Texas, Austin, Doctoral Dissertation, 2009).

At the beginning of the 1950s, architecture in Yugoslavia recorded very high quality results, better than in other Eastern European countries.[4]

Thanks to the numerous bilateral agreements between Yugoslavia and the Western countries and the good political position and reputation of Yugoslavia, it was possible for architects to travel and gain experience and knowledge across Europe and the world. Many talented architects were trained in the studies of Lous Kahn, Alvar Aalto, Paul Rudolph, Jaap Bakema, I.M.Pei.[5]

The architecture of Yugoslavia has accepted the principles of functionalism and rationalist architecture that are in line with the tasks and needs of socialism in relation to society and the economic potential.[6]

In this context, Vukajlović's architecture is a response to the demands of a small city that were in line with political, social and economic developments in Yugoslavia at that time. In addition, Vukajlović's architecture is a personal interpretation and response to architectural events and trends in Yugoslavia of that time.

Charles Jencks gives the definition of modern as a universal international style based on the facts of new constructive means, suited to a new industrial society that aims to change society, both in its taste or perception, and in social ordering.[7]

4. Udo Kulterman, *Savremena arhitektura* (Novi Sad: Izdavačko preduzeće Bratstvo i jedinstvo, 1971), 200.

5. Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrduljaš, Modernism In-Between, *The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin: Jovis Verlag GmbH, 2012), 29.

6. Bogdan N. Nestorović, *Arhitektura novog veka* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1964), 316.

7. Charles Jencks, *Modern Movements in Architecture* (Belgrade: Građevinska knjiga, 2003), 449.

Characteristics of Vukajlović's Architecture

The architectural characteristics of the objects designed by Slobodan Vukajlović can be discussed with several starting points. One of the essential characteristics of his work is the diversity that relates both to the typology of the projected objects, the number of objects and to the different style approach to solutions, even within the same typology groups.

The typology of projects made by Slobodan Vukajlović is quite large. In general, we can divide it into urban solutions, reconstructions of objects, memorial-monumental architecture and architectural solutions. Urbanistic solutions mostly refer to Detailed Urban Plans, individual parts of Nikšić. The urbanistic solution of the promenade and beaches on Lake Krupac is an interesting example of interweaving urbanism, architecture and landscaping, and as such, it is rarely among the first examples in the area of Montenegro. The

FIG. 4 Plan for the beach of Krupac Lake.

competitive solutions of the squares in Nikšić and Podgorica are valuable evidence of the relationship of the architect Vukajlović with the inherited urban designs where his solutions contribute to the continuity of the urban morphology. Even at the first impression, almost all urban projects and competitions that Vukajlović worked on show respect for the context. However, the interpretation of the solution in addition to the harmonious and logical upgrades of the founders also speaks of the author's impressive, unique style. [Fig. 4]

FIG. 5 Monument to Patriots, Nikšić.

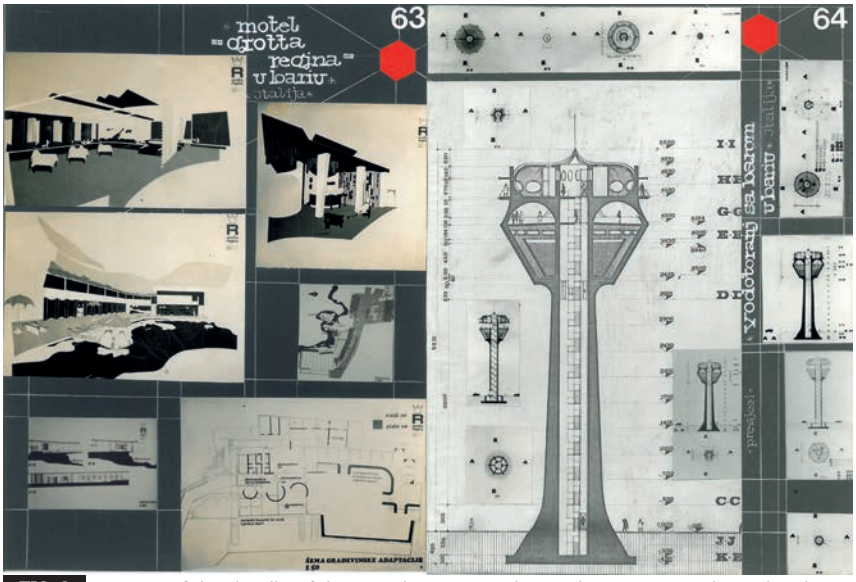

FIG. 6 Some of the details of the Motel Grotta Regina and Water Tower in Bari, Italy.

Architect Vukajlović worked on reconstruction solutions, mostly of old city houses and some important public buildings. In particular, the reconstruction of the King Nikola Castle, which is beside the reconstruction of the building accompanied by an adequate landscape and urban solution, as a kind of supplement. Moreover, in these solutions, the urban and architectural patterns that have been presented are fully respected and the architect gives solutions that upgrade them.

Memorial and monumental architecture takes a special place in the entire work of the architect Vukajlović. This architecture has been present since the graduation thesis in which the synthesis of the square and monuments dedicated to all those victims for freedom is also presented. In a formal sense, the monumental architecture is also diverse and it is difficult to talk about variations of some of the topics present in each of the monuments constructed. On the contrary, every architect's solution has been re-considered, taking into account the spatial but also the historical context, offering non-repetitive solutions, whether they have a strict geometric or figural character. The influence of the architect Bogdan Bogdanović is noticed, but it is only fragmented and in the notes, it is quite enough that the originality and the particular poetics of the architects of Vukajlović come to the fore. [Fig.5]

Architectural solutions are also diverse depending on the purpose of the objects. Typologically there is the architecture of houses, collective housing, architecture of hotel facilities, public, health, sports and architecture of school facilities. Slobodan Vukajlović is the only Montenegrin architect whose buildings were built in Italy, the Grotta Regina Motel in Bari and the Water Tower with a restaurant on the top, also built in Bari in 1974. [Fig. 6]

The stylistic characteristics of Vukajlović's architecture are as diverse as it is difficult to talk about just one or a few patterns and stylistic postulates that he applied. Although his work has recently been characterized as "hexagonal architecture", that is, the architecture in which the shape of object is solved by the various combinations of volumes created from the hexagon as a base, yet interpretations should not and should not be so one-sided. The work of Vukajlović is far more complex and cannot be said about the manner in which he worked. It is true that in a large number of objects hexagon is present, but its use is never without reason and it is never arbitrary. There are some similarities with Frank Lloyd Wright, who had a strong influence, primarily in philosophy and the design of objects at a given location, on Vukajlović's work.

Wright, on the one hand, used a simple orthogonal raster to organize different zones of space; he also used diagonal planning methods, especially in dramatic landscapes with uneven terrain. His project for Hanna House, in which he used the bee collar in the form of hexagon for floor motif, is a synthesis of these principles.[8]

8. Anthony Alofsin, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Modernism* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1994), 32-57.

Similarly, Vukajlović uses orthogonal design systems, but in terms of the hexagons usage, he, unlike Wright, nevertheless recourse to a calmer linear method of multiplying hexagons.

Vukajlović's first architectural objects were designed in a modernist, international style, but with respect to the conceived context. Namely, the radial setting of the city, with its strict geometrical, has a clear differentiation of the city zones and the purposes of the surface and accordingly the purpose of the objects. The city urban plan of Josip Seissel (1904–1987), Dragan Boltar (1913-1988), Bruno Milić (1917-2009) and Boris Magaš (1930-2013) made in the period from 1954-58 is clearly related to the urban matrix of the First Regulatory Plan. This upgrade gave precise zoning by introducing new urban rings that radially spread from the old urban city map, where new objects were built after the Second World War. This way, as if to avoid the possibility of building new buildings besides the inherited, old ones. However, this construction was still in places that were not built in the old city center.

Alongside the growing interest in public monumental buildings, mid-to-late fifties, two aesthetic ideals emerged. One was a new humanism, and the other, less prominent was the new regionalism. Especially critical regionalism will be present in the territory of SFR Yugoslavia in the mid-sixties, precisely at the time when Vukajlović begins to build his facilities.

In the time of the definition of regionalism, it began to imply that architects should take into account the architectural heritage of a particular culture, which sometimes referred to its national construction, and sometimes to the author's artisanship.[9]

In this view, Vukajlović always conceives objects based on the local experience derived from the urban matrix of Nikšić. Strict geometry of the matrix logically requires that the objects be concise, geometrically and integral. Critical regionalism has advocated the idea that projects that take into account the particular climatic conditions will satisfy the aesthetic and ecological conditions, and thus resist the homogenizing forces of modern capitalism.[10] Vukajlovic's buildings could be seen in this context without any doubt.

Another important feature of Vukajlovic's buildings is the meaning. His objects usually have a pronounced narrative characteristic given in the form of associativity and metaphors, even those objects made in the spirit of modernism.

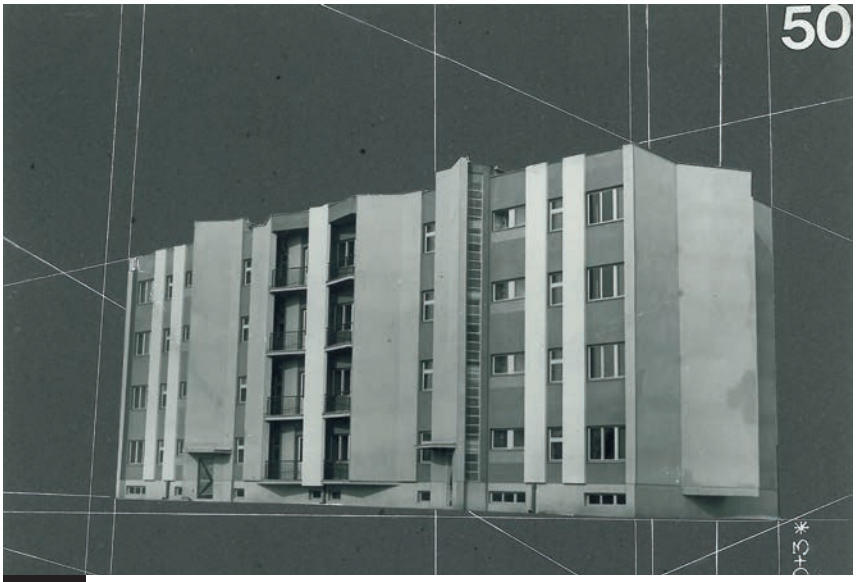

FIG. 7 The West and East façade of the collective housing building in Jola Piletić Street.

Norberg-Schulz observes that one could say that the architecture of modernism ignored the dimension of meaning, and hence the fact that the common denominator of postmodern experiments is a search for communicative, content-based architecture.[11] However, on the example of Vukajlović's architecture, the interpretation of meaning, through the symbiosis of function, form and often detail, is always present.

Hans Hollein in the sixties concludes that architecture does not meet the needs of mediocrity. It is not the environment for the small joys of the masses; architecture is a matter of elite.[12]

If in this context we observe Vukajlović's architecture, we will see that his work is actually intended for the citizen, as a representative of the elite. Citizen as a user of the space should be conscious of the significance of the city, its morphology and all the elements that make it, in which individual architectural works make up the whole and enrich it. In this respect, Vukajlović always has in mind the urban context of his buildings.

In the architectural definition, the presence of the urban context can be diversified, from virtually no representation in typical objects, to superior architecture that is unthinkable without any special sensibility to the environment. Therefore, the architect in his approach determines which

9. Sarah Ksiazek, "Architectural Culture in the Fifties: Louis I. Kahn and the National Assembly Complex in Dhaka", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, LII, no. 4 (1993): 416-435.

10. Kate Nesbitt, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: 1965-1995* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996): 12-70.

11. Christian Norberg-Schulz, "The Two Faces of Post-Modernism", *Architectural Design*, LVIII, no. 7/8 (1988): 11-15.

12. Hans Hollein, *Arts and Architecture* (California, 1963): 14.

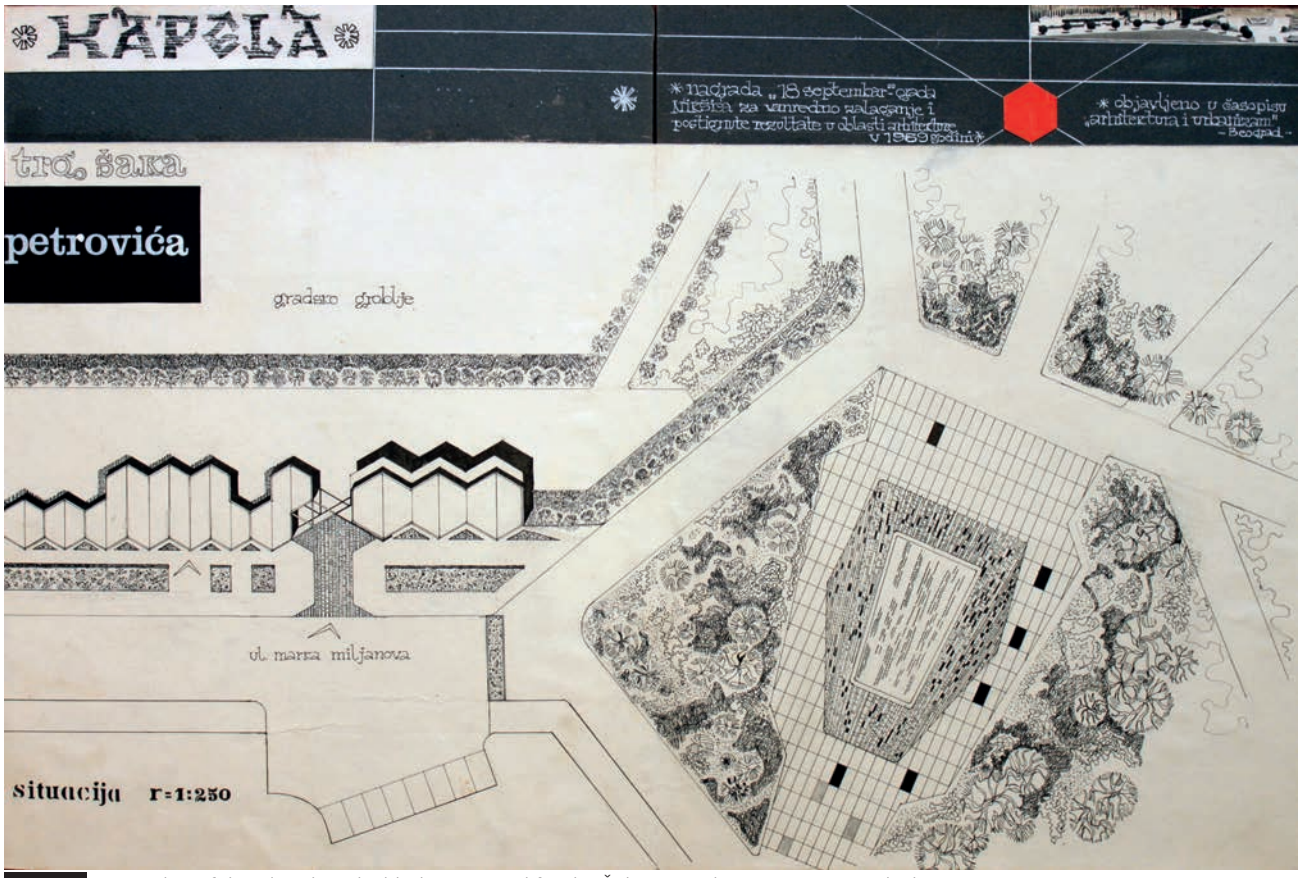

FIG. 8 Location of the City Chapel with the proposal for the Šako Petrović Square pattern design

value of the constants, that is, of the urban parameter, will be incorporated into the design process.[13] Vukajlović's architecture always contains the thoughts about context.

13. Velimir Neidhardt, *Čovjek u prostoru-Antroposocijalna teorij projektiranja* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 20.

Over time, started the crystallization of Vukajlović's design pattern. It seems that this crystallization came along with his improvement in terms of both profession and personal view. For a time, his work will function within the framework of postmodernism in the waves of brutalism, structuralism, and reinterpreted constructivism, which often defines the poetics of the object.

Vukajlovic's work is a distinct, individual work that does not reject the universal aesthetic and ethical criteria of the profession and which the spirit of time respects, but interprets it in a unique way enriching it so. [Fig. 7]

The City Chapel Project

The idea about the construction of the City Chapel came in 1967. It is interesting to note that the citizens decided the location of the future building in the referendum. They decided to build the city chapel on the northern edge of Duke Šako Petrović Square. This location has sensitive context dominated by the baroque scheme consisting of a square, the main city church and the castle of King Nicola. Funds for the construction of the chapel were collected during 1968 and the chapel was built in mid-1969. This building represents one of the first Vukajlović objects.

For this building, we can say that it represents a multilayered work, both by its spatial conception and by its meaning.

Vukajlović designed the City Chapel in the narrower city core within the urban matrix of the first regulation plan. The chapel's location is next to the northern edge of the spatial focal point, which consists of a main church on the top of a hill, a square and a monumental staircase with two side ramps connecting the plateau in front of the church and the square. This whole area is characterized by a strict geometric division and a baroque scheme dominated by the church as the center of the composition. [Fig. 8]

FIG. 9 The concept of the idea.

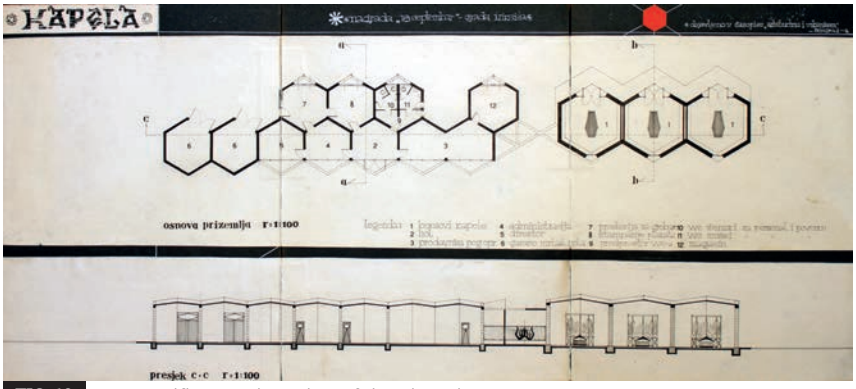

FIG. 10 Groundfloor and section of the chapel.

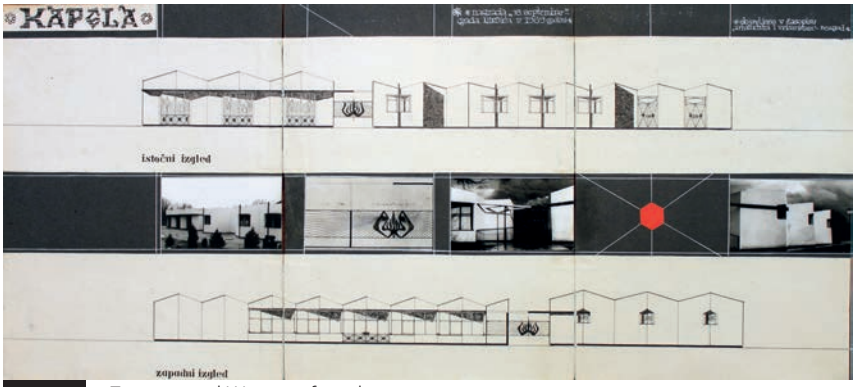

FIG. 11 Eastern and Western façade.

Vukajlović designed a chapel not to disturb the spacious composition that was present, but to upgrade it. The shape of the chapel was derived from the shape of the old Slavic medieval monuments stećci, which are still in the city cemetery today. Vukajlović, through a series of analyzes, shows how he got the shape of the chapel. [Fig. 9]

Hexagon is used as a geometric figure as a module and model for forming the base of the object by multiplying it. The volumes obtained from the hexagonal base differ in height and dimensions of the opening. [Fig. 10]

While the accompanying contents are located in thickly compact but clearly defined lower prisms, three clearly defined chapels are located in the highest altitude. In addition to their height, these three chapels with window openings located on the western facade at the site of the cross-section have a certain mysticism and spirituality that is related to the notion of death. [Fig. 11]

The lower prism openings are larger and more transparent adapted to the accompanying contents that are located in them. One of the important compositional elements on the chapel is the gate. The gate represents

and marks a precise place, a point in the space where a person passes from the outside into the inner space from the known to the unknown.[14]

FIG. 12 The principal gate/entrance, meeting the white and black beams, a symbol of the life cycle.

This gateway is a passage to the plateau that lies in front of the inner, east facade of the building. The western facade is in this regard like a wall that separates the silence of the city cemetery from street noise on the other. The gate is made of iron with a stylized omega letter, taken from the medieval name Nikšić, when the name of town was Onogošt. This letter is styled to represent eternal fire and life. The combination of black and white beams above the gate further emphasizes its symbolism and mysticism. The author seems to want to present in this way a meeting of life and death. [Fig. 12]

14. Milan P. Rakočević, *24 časa arhitekture* (Beograd: Orion Art, 2010), 95.

The pronounced form of the building, its individual elements but the whole has clearly defined shadows as an integral element of narrative. It has certain parallels and similarities, especially in the way of forming the atmosphere with the Cemetery of San Cataldo from Modena architects Aldo Rossi and Gianni Braghieri built between 1971 and 1984. Shadows mark the flow of time and the shift of seasons. However, the shadows on the empty window niches of the cemetery also evoke the melancholy of De Chirico's works; silence rules where dead is.[15] [Fig. 13]

15. Peter Gesel and Gabriele Lojthojzer, *Arhitektura u 20.veku* (Beograd: Taschen-IPS, 2007), 441.

Conclusion:

Today, if we look at Vukajlović's architecture, built in Nikšić city, we will see that it has become an inseparable part of the spatial identity of individual urban blocks as well as the city as a whole.

Vukajlović's buildings for Nikšić architecture have multiple significance.

FIG. 13 City Chapel, Nikšić.

First, many of the buildings that he designed typologically were built for the first time in the city and most of them are public buildings. This provides a key framework for the observation and analysis of buildings. As public buildings of importance for the optimal functioning and life of citizens, these objects became generators of gathering and social interaction.

In this way, the buildings eventually became part of the collective memory. Subtle reference to the past, transformation and contemporary interpretation of already present topics and motifs in the city architecture of Nikšić, are contained in Vukajlović's architecture. His opus is an example of a positive transformation of the urban and architectural identity of the city. His buildings to this day have already become part of a collective memory and identity.

This paper for the first time presents one of the numerous buildings of the architect Vukajlović with the hope that the research of his rich opus will yet to begin.

Giovanni Michelucci: Heritage of Pompeii and Post-War Reconstruction

Francesca Privitera
francesca.privitera@unifi.it
University of Florence

PhD in Architectural and Urban Design; researcher in Architectural and Urban Composition (RTDb) and lecturer at the Department of Architecture (DIDA).

ABSTRACT

In 1932 Giovanni Michelucci visited Pompeii and Ercolano. The experience of the archaeological site played a key role in the development of Michelucci as an architect. The deepest sense of that lesson learnt in his youth resurfaced after 1944. Involved as he was in the debate on reconstruction, for Michelucci the inseparable relation between society and the city revealed by the remains at Pompeii was an unavoidable inspiration. The writings and designs submitted for the reconstruction of the Ponte Vecchio area (1944-1945) converge towards a new urban vision, one where the memory of the past is distilled in its deepest components and substantiated in the present.

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KEYWORDS
cultural heritage; michelucci; pompeii; modern architecture; post-war reconstruction

Introduction

Even though history and critique books acknowledge the importance of the trips to Pompeii and Herculaneum (1932) in the cultural development of Giovanni Michelucci, no study has delved yet into the relationship between ancient architecture and his projects.

Architecture history and critique books unanimously recognise the importance this visit to Pompeian ruins had in Michelucci's pre-1944 architectural projects. Indeed, the trip gave a new perspective on the relation between the typological interpretation of the Roman domus and Michelucci's private mansion designs.[1] The heritage of Pompeii in the development of his urban vision is equally unknown even though the article "Lezione di Pompei" [A lesson from Pompeii] Michelucci wrote with the poet Roberto Papi in 1934 in *Arte Mediterranea* may be regarded as a first conceptual reasoning on the city.[2] Therefore the architectural critique lacks an organic analysis of Michelucci's position and its development around Pompeii before and after the war. Indeed, a systematic approach could let us assess the effect that a theoretical reflection of Mediterranean civilization, expressed in Michelucci through the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum, had on his post-1944 projects, thus providing a consistent vision between the city and architecture in between speculative reasoning and applied design.

This study fits precisely in this context and tries to give a comparative view of some of Michelucci's writings in which the architect traces back the experience of his trip to Pompeii with writings and designs made for the rebuilding project (never realised) of the Ponte Vecchio area in Florence between 1944 and 1945.

The assumption suggested here finds its grounds in an exhaustive analysis of archive sources, for the most part unpublished, kept at Fondazione Giovanni Michelucci in Fiesole[3] and a review of the designs kept at the Centro di Documentazione Giovanni Michelucci in Pistoia.[4]

1. As concerns the relation between Pompeii and the projects prior to the second post war, see: Amedeo Beluzzi and Claudia Conforti (eds), *Giovanni Michelucci* (Milano: Electa, 1986). Claudia Conforti, Roberto Dulio and Marzia Marandola (eds), *Giovanni Michelucci 1891-1990* (Milano: Electa, 2006).

2. Giovanni Michelucci and Roberto Papi, "Lezione di Pompei", *Arte Mediterranea* 1 (1934): 32.

3. Foudation Giovanni Michelucci (FGM) in Fiesole, Florence. The documents cited in the essay are held in the Archivio delle Lezioni Universitarie (AL) of the Foundation Giovanni Michelucci. The cited lectures are taken from the folders: *Lezioni universitarie sulla città antica*, Envelope III file A. FGM, AL, III a 20 (Bologna, n. d.); FGM, AL, III a 32 (Bologna, n. d.), and *Lezioni universitarie vari argomenti non databili*, Envelope III file B. FGM, AL, III b 60 (n. p, n. d).

4. Documentation Center Giovanni Michelucci, Pistoia (CMPt).

A hypothetical reading

The experience at the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum marked a fundamental moment in the way Michelucci's theoretical approach developed.

The key pillars of his work, space and the human being, are deeply rooted in the way he regarded the architectural arrangement of space in the two Roman cities.

The impressions conjured by the remains of the two deserted cities, immediately described in his 1934 article, accompany Michelucci in time in the form of a subtle yet relentless reasoning that will emerge after the war in the notes he used for university lectures and interviews. There, he

explained the sense of that lesson he learnt before the war and finally made clearer only through the experience of rubble and reconstruction.

The close relation between the two events is clearly reported by Michelucci during a conversation with Franco Borsi. The historian asked the architect to narrate his own urban planning experience in Florence, and Michelucci replied as follows: "By way of introduction I would like to say that the war has radically changed my mindset but most important was the discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum."[5]

FIG. 1 G. Michelucci, Pompeii, (n. d.) (FGM)

Before 1944 Michelucci's view of the ruins was purely speculative. The articles on the city published until then resonate with his experience in Pompeii and Herculaneum and delve into some themes that were mentioned in passing already in his "Lezione di Pompei" [A lesson from Pompeii]. A pivotal element among such topics is the inseparable tie between the urban form and society. The 1942 article "Elementi della Nuova Città" [Elements of the New City], published in *Lo Stile* in the same year opens by explicitly describing the relation between the urban configuration and society using an image that undoubtedly owes tribute to the famous trip: "By looking at a city destroyed to its foundation and whose architectural essence was unknown to us, it would be possible to recreate the private and collective life patterns of its inhabitant."[6]

The theoretical insight developed by Michelucci at the time did not have an equally groundbreaking effect in his architecture designs. The built work reflects a vision shared in those days by part of Italian culture, where modernity and Mediterranean tradition merge in a review of typology and form. See, for instance, Michelucci's project of Villa Contini Bonacossi at Forte dei Marmi (1939). In a note taken after the war Michelucci remembers his trip to Pompeii and writes: "I still had in mind a marvellous example: I was charmed by its truth and still I could not derive any real lesson about the relation between the work and time; I took a model to find inspiration and then my work failed. … My work failed in spite of tangible progress."[7] [Figs. 1-2]

Only after seeing the rubble, after dawn on 4 August 1944, when German mines tore apart the bridges on the Arno and the districts around Ponte Vecchio, could the Pompeii lesson turn from a purely theoretical exercise into a proactive lesson, consistently resonating in this architectural and urban designs. The memory of this trip, having settled in his mind, re-emerged in Michelucci's innovative design work. His proposals for the sections of Florence to reconstruct did not imitate Pompeii in form or

5. Franco Borsi, *Giovanni Michelucci, intervista* (Firenze: LEF, 1966), 89.

6. Giovanni Michelucci, "Elementi della Nuova Città". *Lo Stile* 23 (1942): 3.

7. FGM, AL, III b 60.

style but evoked its urban and social feel.

His post-war writings on Pompeii, his compositions about the reconstruction issues and the designs for the Ponte Vecchio area project converse in a completely new urban vision, where the memory of the past is distilled in its deepest components and substantiated by the present.

FIG. 2 G. Michelucci, Pompeii, (n. d.) (FGM)

Michelucci and antiquity: a controversial debut

Michelucci's steps towards antiquity may be divided into three crucial moments; the years of his academic development ended in 1911, his period in Rome between 1920 and 1935, and his 1932 trip to Pompeii and Herculaneum.

The first contact with the ancient world took place at the Florence Academy of Fine Arts, where a young Michelucci started his education in art and architecture. The teaching on ancient art at the Academy regarded the past as an undifferentiated element, as an extraordinary array of forms and fragments that could be reused, without any type of critical approach, in architecture. The memory of this curricular approach was described by Michelucci[8] years later, with genuine aversion and as the source of serious errors, corrected only after his first direct experience in Rome with ancient ruins.

The influence of the Roman ruins inspired Michelucci towards an independent interpretation of the heritage of ancient architecture. It should be noted that this was not a full-fledged critical reinterpretation of the models to be consciously adopted in his work. His interpretation of the architecture happened only after the fact. The memory of imperial Rome came back on very different occasions far apart in time, including during his farewell speech to the Faculty of Architecture of Florence (1948),[9] during an interview with Franco Borsi (1966) in *Brunelleschi Mago* (1974),[10] Michelucci's critical text on the work of Filippo Brunelleschi, and again during an interview with Fabrizio Brunetti (1981).

In the Twenties Michelucci moved to Rome. During his stay he often went back to Tuscany, where he finally moved back in 1935 to build the Santa Maria Novella (1935-1937) railway station. In Rome, Michelucci discovered the boldness and grandeur of this architecture which academics had seen as an example of the rhetoric of monumentality. Michelucci's said in his farewell to the Faculty of Architecture in Florence: "I have to confess that I particularly love the part of Roman architecture that is still standing, stripped of the "architectural" cladding, by now fallen to the ground, that

8. As concerns his academic training, see: Borsi, *Giovanni Michelucci, intervista*; Fabrizio Brunetti, *Intervista sulla nuova città* (Roma: Laterza, 1981).

9. Giovanni Michelucci, *La felicità dell'architetto*, (Pistoia: Libreria Editrice Tellini, 1981).

10. Giovanni Michelucci, *Brunelleschi mago*, (Pistoia: Libreria Editrice Tellini, 1974).

did not mirror, if not partially, the overall picture."[11] The lack of decoration, having dropped off over the centuries, reveals the Roman architecture's structure: "after having studied and hated Roman architecture... I saw the basilica of Maxentius, the temple of Minerva Medica, I saw the structures free from decoration for the first time."[12] The aspect of Imperial Roman architecture that interested Michelucci was its structure, which had been completely ignored in academic teaching. The memory of his experience in Rome was filtered through his Florentine culture.

Filippo Brunelleschi's architecture channelled the lesson of Roman ruins, as suggested in a few pages of *Brunelleschi Mago*. Through the biography *Vita di Brunelleschi* by Antonio Manetti, Michelucci recalls the trip to Rome made by the Renaissance master, though indirectly he also remembers his experience in the Capital in a weave of different time references. The remains of the Basilica of Maxentius and the Temple of Minerva Medica stripped of the original décor and claddings revealed to Michelucci,[13] and Brunelleschi, the structural logic behind that architecture, the forces at play among the different supporting elements, between "the bones and the organs".[14] The concept that inextricably links Roman architecture—space and structure— merges in Michelucci's later architectural works. In the sanctuary of Beata Vergine della Consolazione, San Marino (1961-1967), the memory seems to emerge of the commanding interior spaces sought by ancient Roman architecture, the structural continuity between the elevation and the roof, and the complex interplay between mass and space. The architecture that celebrated the feats of the Empire is too far removed from Michelucci's Tuscan spirit to really open a breach in his heart; conversely, the "dimmer tone"[15] of Pompeian architecture, its harmonious and humane proportions, teach Michelucci a fundamental lesson in architecture and civility.

The path to correctly interpreting the relationship between the present and the past, or the sense of tradition, goes through interpreting the space, as Michelucci explains in a note for a university lesson, remembering Herculaneum's ruins: "Space is the *measure* of a civilisation, it is the measure of human understanding or inability to understand, it is the expression of values … *tradition*, finding spaces that were and still are humanely comforting after twenty centuries."[16]

11. Michelucci, *La felicità*, 22.

12. FGM, AL, III b 60.

13. The assumption deriving from these two works is mentioned in a note by Michelucci, FGM, AL, III b 60.

14. Antonio Manetti, in Michelucci, *Brunelleschi*, 76.

15. Michelucci, Papi, "Lezione," 32.

16. FGM, AL, III a 32.

Pompeii and Herculaneum, a lesson in civility

The perspective through which Michelucci looks at the ruins at Pompeii and Herculaneum is not that of a romantic artist, nor is it that of an archaeologist or an historian. Instead, he tries to capture the relation they entertain with the contemporary human being and grasp the teachings they still reverberate after centuries. In the ruins of long abandoned cities Michelucci finds an unfading sense of the present, a masterful lesson of architecture that still stands after centuries. The lesson of Pompeii is

a lesson in civility and, consequently, architecture. At Pompeii, writes Michelucci in his 1934 article, everything is built and focused to serve the community, made to the measure of its humanity. The perfect harmony that permeates Pompeii is the product of its proportions made to suit human beings. Michelucci understands the meaning of *human measure* and discovers the *sense of humanism* regarded as a sort of chromosome that stems directly from the Pompeian civilisation, follows the history of mankind across time and space borders to reach modernity.[17] This is where one of the key pillars of Michelucci's poetics, the centrality of the human being in the project, comes from. Every creative act in Michelucci is targeted to making spaces thought for human beings and their needs, be they physical or psychological. At Pompeii, writes Michelucci, all parts of the city bear the grandeur of their psychological function, and as a whole they are humane and not rhetorical: functional."[18] A veiled invective emerges against the international functionalism of northern Europe, which Michelucci contrasts with a type of humanistic functionalism: "Pompeii is an essential lesson for today's architect who needs concrete examples to return himself and his art to a perfect function."[19] Michelucci continues, Pompeii "awakens"[20] in contemporary people the idea that civilization means, "living a beautiful life"[21] and that it belongs to civilized men: "the man who comes to know the morality of his acts,"[22] arranging what he needs following a principle of logical harmony, i.e. "governing the essential in accordance to beauty."[23] He continues in the same article: "If at the first expression of the now compromised word "rationalism", if everything that is necessary could be considered beautiful, within the limits of a mechanical beauty, now that we have moved past this dried-up god, we cannot truly call *beautiful* that which is not human."[24]

FIG. 3 G. Michelucci, Pompeii, (n. d.) (FGM)

The bond between the human measure and psychological function of architecture is clarified in the post-war period when Michelucci remembers his trip to Pompeii and Herculaneum during university classes and conferences[25]. More than twenty years later, Michelucci remembers the pergolas, porticoes, textures of the walls, and the uninterrupted views between the open and closed spaces. The view through the architecture, internal and external spaces are in a constant relationship through the openings of the *domus* on the gardens and patios[26] [Fig. 3]. Now Pompeii's measure is both human and it is the "inner measure."[27]

It was clear that his perception of the locations at Pompeii and Herculaneum occurred through movement: "I walked one afternoon in

17. This view is shared by Michelucci and his intellectual friends who in those years revolved around the Florentine review *Il Frontespizio*, directed by Piero Bargellini.

18. Michelucci, Papi, "Lezione," 32. Michelucci gets into an argument with functionalism in his article "Architettura Umanistica", *Il Frontespizio* 1, no. XI (1940): 39-43. In his article Michelucci argues in favour of a clash between the "machine civilization" and the "humanist civilization".

19. Michelucci, Papi, "Lezione," 30.

20. Michelucci, Papi, 29.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. There are not dates for the lessons and conferences referenced but they took place after Michelucci moved in 1949 from the Faculty of Architecture of Florence to Faculty of Engineering of Bologna.

26. FGM, AL, III b 60.

27. FGM, AL, III a 32.

Pompeii (an event that was, I repeat, important for my life as an architect and as a man), I walked through the streets of Pompeii: I wasn't looking for anything, I was wandering."[28] And walking the streets of the buried cities, Michelucci starts to direct his thinking on architecture towards the concept of *space* instead of *form*, but it was only though a vision of the compact medieval fabric of Florence torn apart by the bombs that the vision he had among the ruins really became clear. The theme of *man*, central to his 1934 article, is joined by his thoughts on *space* in his writings on Pompeii and Herculaneum after the war. This critical evolution determined the compositional and theoretical shift between his pre-war works and the designs he proposed for the rebuilding project. In the memory of Michelucci the image of Pompeii, made more dramatic by being in ruin, is that of a filter where nature, architecture and the human being are bound by an inseparable continuum, just like in a biologic organism. The *domus* in Michelucci's view bears the genetic code of the city, "they carry the genes of the city spirit like the cell has the form of its organism."[29] This concept is further delved into in his post-war writings, where Michelucci evokes the image of the site in which the section of the houses emerges and connects with the ground and the city in a continuum: "The home creates an exact integration, one thing brings out the others / its section connect the city and the ground."[30] [Fig. 4]

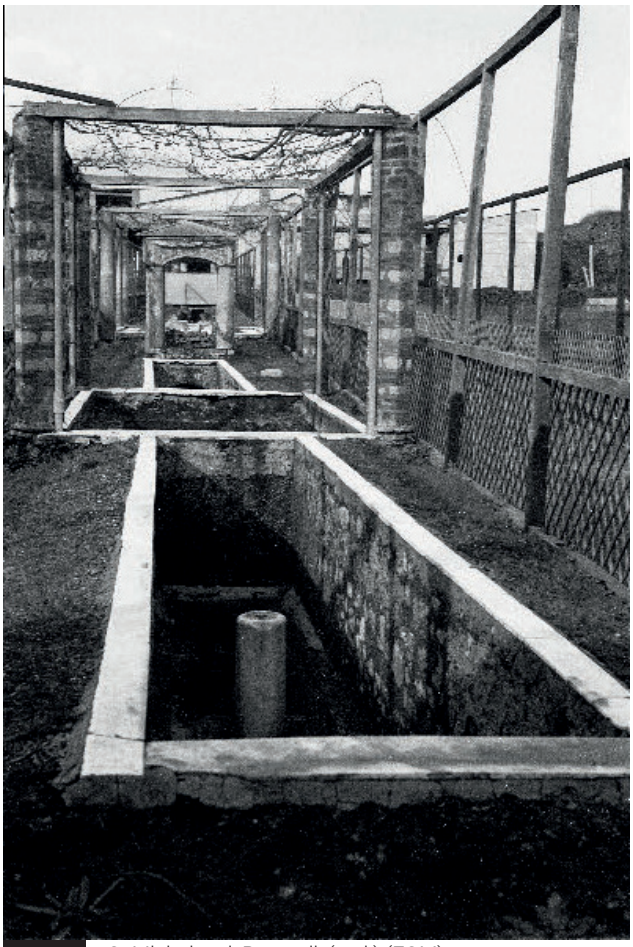


FIG. 4 G. Michelucci, Pompeii, (n. d.) (FGM)

The *domus* in ruin emphasise their open structure, permeable to a relentless exchange of spaces and relations. The issue of physical continuity as a reflection of the continuity in human and spiritual relations is quite recurrent in Michelucci's writings after his visit to Herculaneum and Pompeii. Starting from the article "Elementi di città" [Element of the City] his reflection on the symbolic meaning of the enclosure, meant both as a physical limit—a material separation between the building and the environment—and as a social divide, is ripe and will be finally clarified in his post-war writings.

The physical continuity between domus, theatres, and tombs reflect a civil society where there is no fracture between private and public interests, everything is built around the human being. In the ancient city the theatre and tombs share an "urban bond and are both Elements of the city;"[31] conversely, in modern cities—continues Michelucci—the theatre, the graveyards and the houses are all closed structures that do not open to the outside.[32] This view came to full maturity only after seeing the rubble in Florence, the facades collapsed from the buildings, which as opposed to Pompeii, reveal the human misery of those spaces hidden

28. FGM, AL, III b 60.
29. Michelucci, Papi, "Lezione", 28.
30. FGM, AL, III a 32.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.

behind the building fronts, thus making the division between public and private even more evident.

From here Michelucci starts his thorough meditation on the relation between the building and the city and the building and the environment, a feat that will take him throughout his career as an architect. "The rubble itself suggested to me infinite new ways to experience and see the spaces."[33] According to Michelucci, the new architecture should express the environmental and spiritual continuity revealed by the collapse: "That sense of liberation, the breaking of the secular barriers should emanate from every building."[34] This reflection led Michelucci to progressively overcoming the traditional typology of the building as determined by an enclosure, which after his experience among ancient ruins and war rubble is regarded as the negation of community, to finally arrive in the Sixties to a concept of a completely open building, lacking any facades. A good example is the Church of San Giovanni Battista, at Campi Bisenzio (1960-1967). The unbreakable bond between human beings, architecture and the city will soon become the embodiment of Michelucci's urban theory, which reverberates in his project with growing clarity, first in his designs for the reconstruction of the Ponte Vecchio area, and then in his urban ideas for the refurbishment of the Santa Croce district (Florence, 1966-1968) after the flood and then from the Seventies to his death in the urban visions that Michelucci himself dubbed *Elementi di città* [Elements of the City].

FIG. 5 G. Michelucci, Rubbles, Florence, (n. d.) (FGM)

33. Michelucci, *La felicità*, 38-39.
34. Michelucci, 40.

From ruins to rubble

The day after 4 August 1944 the city of Florence asked Michelucci to submit his proposal for the post-war reconstruction of the demolished areas around Ponte Vecchio. The architect did not come up with a full urban plan, though he made a sequence of sketches[35] (1944-1945) that represent his vision of the city.

35. The designs for the reconstruction of the Ponte Vecchio area are stored at the Centro di Documentazione Michelucci of Pistoia.

Michelucci made several surveys in the areas hit by the explosions. During his walks Michelucci focused his attention specifically on two images that, when juxtaposed, are the building blocks of his reconstruction project.

The first is the medieval towers slashed apart by the mines, which, writes Michelucci, display the innermost structure of the homes as though they were on a theatre stage: "abandoned homes, beds, chests of drawers, like interior scenes in a theatre. In the medieval towers, the wall opened by the bombs show what had been hidden for centuries, the innermost structure of the objects, the houses."[36] The collapsed facades

36. FGM, AL, III b 60.

FIG. 6 G. Michelucci, Rubbles at Borgo S. Jacopo seen from Lungarno Acciaiuoli, Florence, (n. d.) (FGM).

show the contradiction between the interiors that are often humble and the facades: "The walls were a deception; behind the pretence of wealth there hid undignified living conditions."[37] [Fig. 5]

The second image is the urban space brought to light by the collapsed buildings. The empty space highlights an organic city, whose structure is intimately connected with the river and the hill.[38] [Fig. 6] "The rubble gave space to the river the view of which had been interrupted by the medieval towers still standing ... The destruction of Via dei Bardi highlighted the vicinity and possible connection between Boboli gardens to and the centre."[39]

Within the dramatic situation of reconstruction, the memory of Pompeii and its filtered image seems to re-emerge with a new meaning and put together with the images of Florence's rubble. "The houses gutted by the explosions reveal a new relationship between the Arno, the houses, and the streets; behind the missing facades, a direct relationship is established showing a unit pattern, testament to a former unity."[40]

Before being about architecture and urban planning, in Michelucci's view, rebuilding Florence is a political and moral challenge. The memory of the past civilization becomes the inspiration for a better present. Michelucci neglects the form of the two Roman cities and remembers the loyalty of their space, a clay and stone reflection of the civilization that had produced it. The city in the architect's eye is reborn symbolically from the rubble and is there precisely to preserve that memory. "In my

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Michelucci, *La felicità*, 40

40. FGM, AL, IIIb, 60.

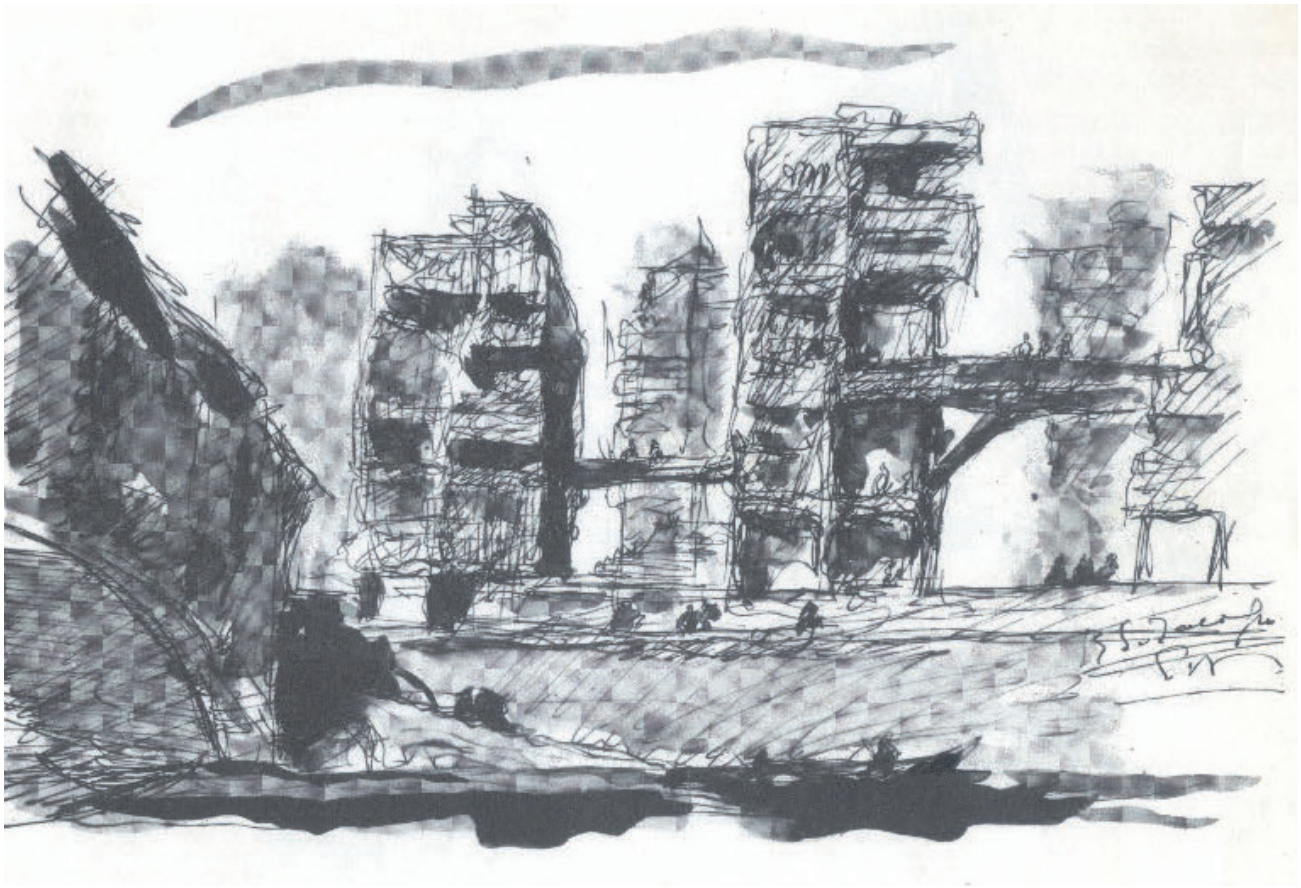


FIG. 7 G. Michelucci. Study of a view on Borgo S. Jacopo seen from Lungarno Acciaiuoli (n. d.) (n. 292 CMPt)

understanding true architecture had to be sought in that rubble … the rubble themselves suggested countless solutions … Well, those seemed to me the right time and place for a symbol of past genius—(the corner at Ponte Vecchio) ravished by the war, all of its most intimate elements now visible—to give meaning and set the example of true 'reconstruction'."[41]

41. Michelucci, La felicità, 37.

Michelucci abandons mimesis targeted at the form of an irretrievably lost past. The remains of the towers, at once the projection of a past time and a possible future, turn into a canvas on which the architect can redesign a city bustling with humanity, lacking all walls and enclosures, suspended between death and life, construction and destruction, ruins and building sites. The city designed by Michelucci is a mirror of present history, it shows without deceit its renewed physical and social structure, a reflection of such ideals and justice and liberty that had guided the people to liberate Florence.[42] His space, and the space in Pompeii and Herculaneum, is a consistent, or better, *loyal* expression of the human ideals that produced it; just like in ancient cities, space is a *measure* of the civilisation that created it, it is the expression of its values. Michelucci's intent, then, is to redesign space, rather than rebuild volumes. His perspectives and sections tell about the physical and conceptual ties among the parts of the city, they resonate with a harmonious connection between human work and nature that one perceives by observing the foundations of the *domus* in Herculaneum.[43]

42. Michelucci, *La felicità.*

43. FGM, AL, III a 32.

The rubble and the ruins emphasise the image of the city as a filter, free from all enclosures and dividing walls that, in his 1942 article "Elementi

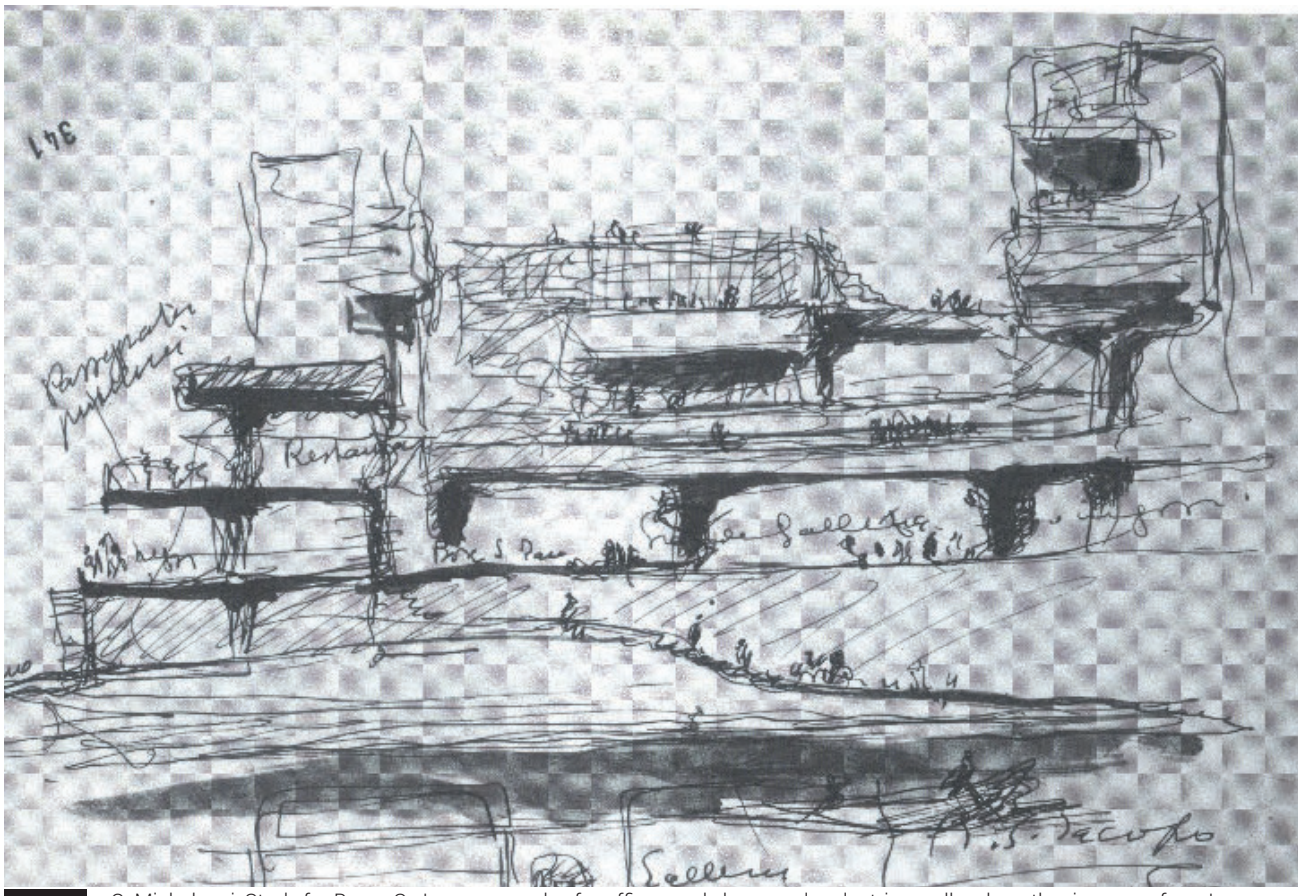


FIG. 8 G. Michelucci. Study for Borgo S. Jacopo: arcades for offices and shops and pedestrian walks along the river seen from Lungarno Acciaioli (n. d) (n. 341, CMPt)

della Nuova Città" [Elements of the New City], are regarded as a hindrance to individual liberty. [Fig. 7]

Urban locations and the landscape interact ceaselessly, the sections sketched by Michelucci outline inner and outer spaces that flow uninterruptedly one into the other, merging into never-before-seen complex organisms. Staircases and loggias connect the buildings to the river and the hill, giving a tangible application to the continuity between nature and the work of human beings seen for the first time in the streets of the cities at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. Every single building represented in Michelucci's urban visions embodies the *sense of the city*, in the lesson taught by Roman *domus*.

In the city envisaged by Michelucci, architecture, the city and landscape converge—like in Pompeii and Herculaneum—in a single vision of space, where the human being, unfailing in his designs, is the absolute protagonist, the means and the end of the New City. Michelucci's designs for the reconstruction project reflect the memory of long walks in Pompeii and Herculaneum, among houses, tombs and the theatre where the human being is sovereign, where "every space belongs to it: just like silence, shadow and the sun".[44] If the contemporary human being—writes Michelucci—was the master of the streets, squares and public areas, there would no longer be a fracture between houses and the city, enclosures would disappear and the modern city would inspire a sense of freedom and be comforting

44. FGM, AL, III a 20.

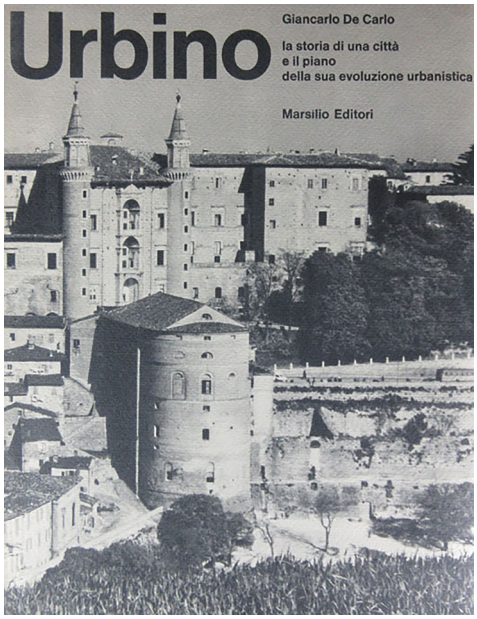
to human beings, just like Herculaneum and Pompeii.[45] [Fig. 8] Modern city walls are now regarded by Michelucci not only as material boundaries between the built-up space and the environment but also as cultural walls, as social walls, as hindrances to the natural flowing of life. The enclosure takes a symbolic, rather than physical or spiritual, value; not only does it affect the image of architecture and the city, but also to the social existence of the community: "I thought – and think – that if a *sensitive diaphragm* was to replace the façade, thus revealing the inner structure of a building, then a new relation would stem between the home and the street; the street would become an extension of the home ( ) this would imply a society where the chance for a dignified life is made clearer by this *sensitive diaphragm* where collective life is once again an extension of private life … creating a *sensitive diaphragm* means being morally bold, showing who we are, what is right and what is wrong."[46]

FIG. 9 G. Michelucci, Pompeii, (n. d.) (FGM)

Clearly, a "*sensitive diaphragm*" as a façade is first and foremost an ethical position, a choice of democracy and intellectual honesty and not an architectural intention. Therefore the image of a sensitive diaphragm seems to stem from critical thinking, whose origin must be found in the reflection of the Pompeian civilization and the impression caused by the rubble in Florence. Theoretical speculation is vigorously reflected in Michelucci's designs. The portrayal of architecture through the section emphasises the lack of enclosure, just like in the ancient ruins the buildings designed by Michelucci as an architect resonate with their relation between the inside and the outside, they display their measure, both the physical and the psychological, that is, their *inner measure*: the human being is back at the centre of the space.

With his ideas for the post-war reconstruction project Michelucci replies to the same urge with which ten years prior he closed his article "Lezione di Pompei": "Let our architecture tell that we have served this life and reveal, first and foremost, the human being."[47] [Fig. 9]

45. Ibid.
46. FGM, AL, III b 60.
47. Michelucci, Papi, "Lezione," 32.



Giancarlo De Carlo e il Primo Piano Regolatore di Urbino.

REVIEW OF

G. De Carlo, *Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica.* Padova, Marsilio, 1966.

Francesco Tosetto
Università IUAV di Venezia
francescotosetto@gmail.com

Francesco Tosetto (born 19 January 1986) is an Italian architect and teaching assistant in Architecture and Landscape at Iuav University of Venice, in the Prof.ssa Sara Marini's course. In 2007 Tosetto worked at Prof. Salvador Perez Arroy Office in Madrid, designing several public buildings. In 2008 he started collaborating whit Prof. Carlos Campos form Universidad Torcuato Di Tella of Buenos Aires, joining his research architectural and urban performaces, helping the Professor in his project for the Argentina Space at the 11° Biennale di Architettura di Venezia. In 2011 he worked for Benedetta Tagliabue at EMBT studio in Barcellona also participating at the project for the 54° Biennale di Arte di Venezia Italia Pavilion. Nowadays he is working at ASA Studio, in Vicenza as architect and interior designer.

ABSTRACT

Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica **scritto da Giancarlo De Carlo, pubblicato da Marsilio nel 1966, è il testo che raccoglie lo studio preliminare e la campagna di sperimentazione teorica che precedono la stesura del Piano urbanistico per la città di Urbino. Il volume si presenta come un apparato rappresentativo complesso, il quale permette di avere un'ampia visione d'insieme sulla metodologia analitica messa a punto dal maestro al fine di rapportarsi in maniera contemporanea alla Città Storica italiana.**

Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica **written by Giancarlo De Carlo, published by Marsilio in 1966, is a text that collects the preliminary study and the theoretical experimental campaign which precede the layout of the city plan for the city of Urbino. This tome is a complex demonstrative apparatus, that grants a wide, comprehensive vision on the master's analytical methodology, developed to relate, in a contemporary style, to the Historic Italian city.**

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KEYWORDS
Urbino, De Carlo, Centro Storico, Italia, Heritage

Premessa

Al fine di predisporre un'accurata analisi di *Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica*, testo che Giancarlo De Carlo redasse per divulgare tutto l'apparato *grafico-progettuale* sotteso allo sviluppo del Primo Piano Urbanistico di Urbino del 1964, è necessario stabilire l'ambito *politico-culturale*, nonché quello *teorico*, nel quale l'architetto operò.

Il clima che pervadeva l'Italia della *ricostruzione* postbellica, disegnava un panorama architettonico urbanistico segnato da una corrente dominante, la quale vedeva in una progettazione fondata sul *funzionalismo* la principale risposta alla crescente richiesta di adeguamento degli standard abitativi. Da un lato De Carlo contesta apertamente, in diversi scritti, il *funzionalismo*, dimostrandone l'insufficienza programmatica nel rispondere ad una richiesta di qualità esperienziale stereoscopica dello spazio. In uno dei saggi raccolti in *Architettura per la partecipazione*[1] osserva ironicamente come l'insieme delle volontà di chi vive lo spazio non possano ridursi alla mera ottimizzazione dell'atto preposto ad un determinato ambiente; questo ridurrebbe la complessità (desideri e necessità) dell'essere umano ad "uomo-tipo", privo di storia e astratto dalla società, il quale perimetro «non va al di là della rotazione delle sue membra» e i quali comportamenti «non hanno nulla a che fare con la realtà».[2]

Dall'altro identifica la fonte del problema nell'atteggiamento politico demiurgico, imperante a cavallo tra gli anni '60 e i '70; nel momento in cui dichiara «quando mi sono occupato di politica e ho voluto ragionare su alcune questioni di fondo» indirizza chiaramente una critica mirata nei confronti del «marxismo, quanto ad alcune teorie liberali che identificavano l'economia come «fondamento della società umana». De Carlo si dichiarò, come si vedrà in seguito: «convinto piuttosto che il meglio di ciò che accade nel mondo derivi dalle passioni»[3], identificando quindi nella volontà il principio attraverso il quale declinare un progetto organico di città; al fine di realizzare un disegno sapiente nel quale le relazioni di coloro che vivono lo spazio convoglino nel principio e nell'esperienza ottimale, che definisce come "uso".

L'autore inquadrò quindi nel funzionalismo estremo una delle principali problematicità che nascono in riposta al problema dell'abitare lo spazio urbano a lui contemporaneo; questo lo portò a concentrare una altrettanto feroce critica sul principio fondante dal quale questo pensiero prende vita. Di fatti, In merito all'approccio progettuale in materia di «urbanistica e pianificazione economica», contestualizzato in questa particolare stagione storico-culturale, GDC individua dunque due principali problematiche: «la prima considera che la pianificazione italiana si sia svolta prevalentemente a livello ideologico; la seconda considera che la pianificazione italiana abbia avuto un'espressione prevalentemente spaziale».[4] Secondo l'architetto genovese tutto questo portò all'accentuazione «ideologica dell'attività urbanistica» enfatizzando

1. G. De Carlo, *L'architettura della Partecipazione*, a cura di S. Marini, Roma, Quodlibet, 2015.

2. G. De Carlo, *L'architettura della Partecipazione*, a cura di S. Marini, Roma, Quodlibet, 2015. p. 50

3. G. De Carlo, Schirollo L. (a cura di) *Gli spiriti dell'Architettura*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1992. p. 107

4. *Ibid* p. 107

la «prevalente espressione spaziale della pianificazione» come «fenomeni da porre in relazione col basso grado di sviluppo globale del nostro paese».[5] Questa carenza tecnico-culturale esaltò necessariamente «la discontinuità e l'eterogeneità delle situazioni» urbane; per le quali GDC auspica la messa a punto di «strumenti di intervento molto articolati» e allo stesso tempo estremamente difficili da concretizzare; soprattutto da parte di organi di governo territoriale che raramente riuscirono ad «esprimere una programmazione fondata su una metodologia scientifica che permetta di interpretare e controllare al momento giusto il meccanismo delle interrelazioni economiche, sociologiche e fisiche».[6]

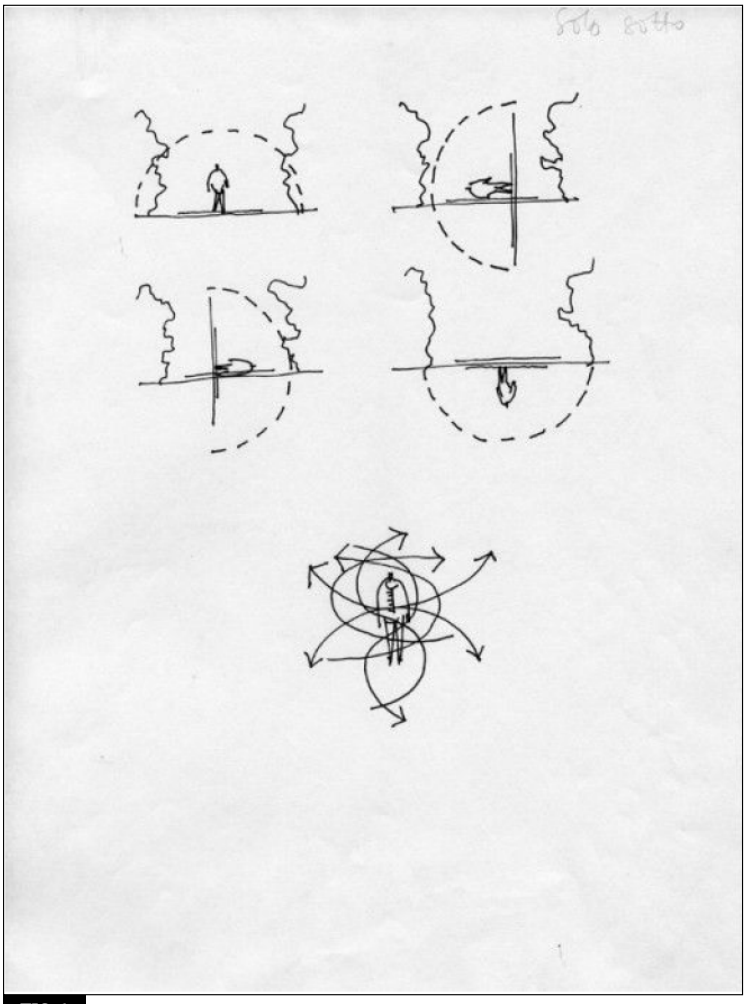

FIG. 1 Giancarlo De Carlo, Schizzo autografo. A. De Carlo, G. Polin. *Giancarlo De Carlo: schizzi inediti*. Corraini, 2014.

De Carlo si auspicò, nel caso urbinate preso in analisi, di «poter essere in grado di intervenire "caso per caso"»[7], mettendo così a punto una *metodologia* elastica, capace di un eclettismo critico-progettuale, funzionale alla salvaguardia del tessuto urbano caratteristico dei comuni della penisola. Questa prima esperienza sul campo, alla quale ne faranno seguito molte altre[8], fu volta a dimostrare la genuinità del sopracitato approccio metodologico; e venne quindi raccolta in *Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica*, non solo a scopo testimoniale, ma anche a scopo didattico-divulgativo.

La messa appunto di un atteggiamento progettuale che si potrebbe definire come estremamente sfaccettato, è necessaria, secondo l'architetto genovese, a sviluppare «piani urbanistici» capaci di «riferire la gamma delle loro soluzioni tecniche e spaziali a giudizi di valore sulla forma (con tutte le implicazioni di ordine generale che i valori formali comportano)».[9]

GDC dimostrò infine, chiaramente, come «la storia dell'urbanistica italiana» sia stata «caratterizzata dalle infinite difficoltà incontrate nel tentativo di risolvere un problema insolubile e allo stesso tempo tipico» concretizzando «un condizione di sottosviluppo» uniformemente diffusa. La lucida analisi compiuta portò alla luce «il problema di attuare un programma di urbanizzazione dello spazio territoriale entro un'ipotesi di neutralità nei confronti degli andamenti socio-economici considerando cioè questi ultimi come variabili, indipendenti, incontrollabili».[10]

5. *Ibid* p. 108
6. *Ibid* p. 109
7. *Ibid* p. 110
8. Oltre al piano del 1964, GDC svilupperà un secondo Piano nel 1994; e nel frattempo curerà il progetto per i collegi (composti da Il Colle, Il Tridente, L'Aquilone, La Vela e la Serpentina) che costituiranno il campus universitario della città. Parallelamente svilupperà i progetti delle diverse sedi dell'Università di Urbino tra cui IL Magistero, La Sede di Economia, La sede di Giurisprudenza e La sede centrale, nonché il complesso residenziale de La Pineta, il Mercatale e la ristrutturazione del Teatro Sanzio con il conseguente recupero dalla rampa di Francesco di Giorgio Martini.
9. *Ibid* p. 117
10. *Ibid* p. 117

Di conseguenza De Carlo suggerì come «i piani urbanistici debbano riferire la gamma delle loro soluzioni tecniche e spaziali a giudizi di valore sulla forma (con tutte le implicazioni di ordine generale che i valori formali comportano)».[11]

Una volta definito il paesaggio culturale nel quale GDC sviluppa il suo primo piano di Urbino, vale la pena introdurre i presupposti teorici sottoposti alla struttura del piano: De Carlo definì «fondamentalmente l'architettura e l'urbanistica» come discipline che «sono autoritarie da sempre, perché architetti e urbanisti hanno fornito le loro prestazioni al potere e hanno quindi elaborato teorie, proposto soluzioni, studiato progetti, in linea con i committenti».[12]

Per comprendere appieno la questione si rende dunque necessario definire cosa l'architetto intenda con il termine committenti: GDC, in riferimento a *Le città invisibili* (noto romanzo di Italo Calvino), afferma che le città «sono sempre il prodotto delle gente che le abita, sono il prodotto di stratificazioni infinite»; specificando che «i fili che Calvino tesse, da una torre all'altra, sono i fili dell'uso della città, non i fili di chi l'ha ordinata, né di chi l'ha disegnata; sono i fili di quell'uso che li propone e li produce».[13]

De Carlo sottolinea dunque l'importanza di non «considerare l'ambiente, la città, i quartieri, la casa» solo ed unicamente «come manufatti, ma piuttosto di considerarli fenomeni che compongono l'esperienza umana».[14]

Questo lo portò a definire il cittadino come committente principe (dell'architetto) e conseguentemente a considerare «gran parte della città» «proprio in relazione a questo punto, cioè intorno alla partecipazione dell'esperienza» del cittadino «nella costituzione dell'evento urbano o dell'evento architettonico».[15] Di conseguenza, nel testo a seguito analizzato è raccontato lo sviluppo di un progetto architettonico a scala urbanistica, dove «la partecipazione è un fenomeno non programmabile, né sistematizzatile in una serie di canoni»; un progetto eterogenicamente eclettico, di assoluta avanguardia, ideato per rispettare «la diversità dei partecipanti» enfatizzando la particolarità «dei momenti partecipativi» che «implica la peculiarità degli stessi».[16]

De Carlo dunque pone come principio al concetto di partecipazione, sottoposto alla stesura del Primo Piano di Urbino, l'assunto secondo il quale «qualunque cosa si organizzi nello spazio deriva dai rapporti e dal corso dell'esistenza degli esseri umani è quindi inestricabile da loro».[17] Questo dimostra a distanza di anni come «l'ambiente è l'unica cosa in cui riusciamo ancora a riconoscerci, perché il resto sta diventando incorporeo, non ha più materia: solo lo spazio fisico ha materia, solo la città, solo la campagna, solo l'ambiente, solo le case hanno materia».[18]

Questa *materia*, definita da De Carlo, si concretizza in uno spazio che nasce dalla «sinergia» tra progetto e cittadino, rimarcando come

11. *Ibid* p. 117

12. *Ibid* p. 193

13. *Ibid* p. 194

14. *Ibid* p. 194

15. *Ibid* p. 194

16. *Ibid* p. 195

17. *Ibid* p. 196

18. *Ibid* p. 197

FIG. 2 «Fotografia aerea di Urbino». G. De Carlo, Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica. Padova, Marsilio, 1966. pp. 10/11

sia «interessante notare come questo rapporto sinergico sia derivato dall'uso e su questo si rifletta». Infine De Carlo impostò, quindi, la totalità del progetto di Urbino sull'Uso; inteso come «esperienza in tutte le sue accezioni: pratica, contemplativa, simbolica, ecc».[19]

19. *Ibid* p. 166

De Carlo e Urbino

De Carlo stabilì con la città di Urbino un'intima relazione, che si svilupperà contrapponendo l'architetto e la città ducale per tutta la durata della sua carriera; a partire dal 1958 ha inizio questo particolare sodalizio affettivo, che passa attraverso un'infatuazione adolescenziale per sfociare in un amore senile, un cammino che porterà l'architetto ad elaborare due Piani Urbanistici, il primo tra il 1958 e il 1964 e il secondo tra il 1989 e il 1994. Durante tutta la vita De Carlo tornerà ossessivamente ad Urbino (con cadenza più meno regolare) per seguire la progettazione dei principali edifici pubblici (di nuova edificazione) della città, tra i quali la Facoltà di Economia, il Magistero e la Facoltà di Diritto; edifici attraverso i quali espliciterà, confuterà e verificherà le proprie teorie progettuali.

Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica[20], scritto da De Carlo e pubblicato da Marsilio nel 1966, è il testo che raccoglie lo studio preliminare e la campagna di sperimentazione *teorica* che precedono la stesura del Primo Piano Urbanistico per la città di Urbino, nel quale l'autore distende la rete di relazioni teoriche esistente tra

20. G. De Carlo, *Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica*. Padova, Marsilio, 1966.

analisi urbana e progetto. L'intreccio che si realizza tra queste due azioni della pianificazione dimostra come il luogo, la storia e la progettazione si possano concretizzare in un unisono attraverso il quale la *partecipazione*, si traduce in strategie del progetto, di come l'uso diventi il mezzo attraverso il quale la città storica può tornare a rivivere.

Il volume si presenta come un apparato rappresentativo complesso, il quale permette di avere un'ampia visione d'insieme sulla *metodologia analitica* messa a punto dal maestro, al fine di rapportarsi in maniera contemporanea alla Città Storica italiana.

Come già enunciato in precedenza, la pubblicazione che raccoglie il piano dimostra in maniera lampante la coesione che De Carlo realizza tra analisi, critica e progetto che si condensano direttamente nei disegni. Le *immagini sintetiche*, sviluppate come supporto grafico al piano, mostrano come i risultati ottenuti attraverso un'indagine imperniata sui temi chiave precedentemente elencati, si traducano in strategie di progetto che conseguentemente si cristallizzano in singoli disegni, esemplari, espressione *teorica* di un approccio *critico* nei confronti della Città Storica italiana.

Il Progetto

Il processo attraverso cui De Carlo elabora il progetto non è lineare, bensì circolare, dal momento che l'attività progettuale è contestuale a quella dell'analisi della spazialità urbana. Affinché si possa portare a compimento il piano in maniera efficace, si rende necessario uno studio approfondito del contesto, che includa tutti i principali aspetti fondativi e caratterizzanti del tessuto urbano, non solo quelli direttamente relazionati con i prodotti architettonici caratteristici, ma anche dei processi formali che hanno generato la forma della città, lungo tutta la sua storia.

Si tratta dunque di un percorso *teorico* iterativo che s'incerniera su una ricerca storico-critica, volta a trovare una soluzione *sartoriale* che si adagi sui fianchi del Centro Storico, ridisegnando così un nuovo drappeggio di tessuto urbano (contemporaneo) in maniera sinergica e armonica, che si colloca a coronamento della cittadella ducale. Come sottolineato da De Carlo stesso nell'analisi storica, svolta nel IV capitolo, l'architetto si trova ad operare su un tessuto «dove ciascuna categoria spaziale era infatti supporto di differenti funzioni che si organizzavano lungo le linee di forza irradiate dai principali cardini strutturali visivi»[21] della città. Questa struttura si presenta come un brano edilizio dall'identità estremamente definita, dove «ogni categoria compenetrava le altre senza alcuna discontinuità di forma», ma allo stesso tempo fragile perché organizzata «per passaggi graduali» che disegnano «zone di equilibrio tra le opposte attrazioni».[22] In tale contesto, risulta quindi evidente come le operazioni tradizionali (di *zooning*) non possano essere applicate; questo induce

21. *Ibid*, p. 78

22. *Ibid*, p. 78

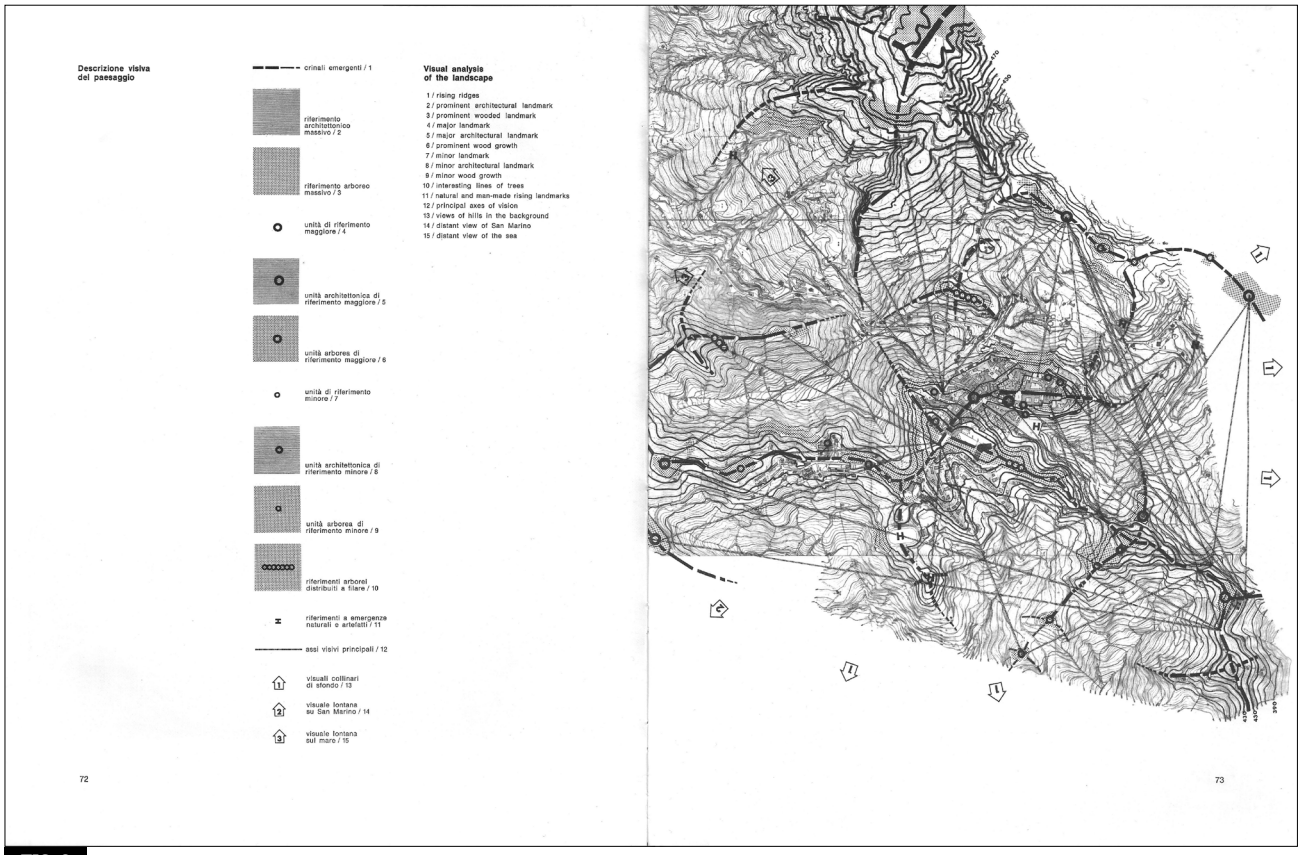

FIG. 3 Tavola di «Descrizione visiva del paesaggio». G. De Carlo, Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica. Padova, Marsilio, 1966. pp. 72/73

di fatto l'architetto genovese a mettere a punto dei dispositivi grafici sintetici che saranno testé elencati. De Carlo non guarda alla storia con nostalgica malinconia, ma anzi la considera strumento principe per capire e interiorizzare il contesto: nel piano l'analisi storica diventa una lettura critica direttamente proiettata verso il progetto.

Il testo propone degli elaborati grafici unici nel loro genere, per efficacia comunicativa e contenuto teorico: i disegni diventano il mezzo attraverso il quale viene misurato ed analizzato il territorio, nei quali la volontaria privazione del colore esprime una ricerca semiotico-formale precisa, volta a ricercare una vera profondità nelle immagini. Questa profondità rappresentativa, che De Carlo ricerca, è in grado di coagulare la sintesi del «progetto di città futura»[23] in singoli disegni. Il desiderio, che questo tipo di atteggiamento programmatico è in grado di esprimere, è quello di elaborare un prodotto grafico capace di sintetizzare l'estrema complessità del progetto a scala territoriale in maniera diretta e semplice, senza però perderne la moltitudine di sfaccettature che lo caratterizzano.

23. *Ibid*, p. 100/101

Da oltreoceano

L'architetto genovese intuisce il potenziale rappresentativo che risiede nell'uso misurato del bianco e nero e della scala di grigio, e lo arricchisce

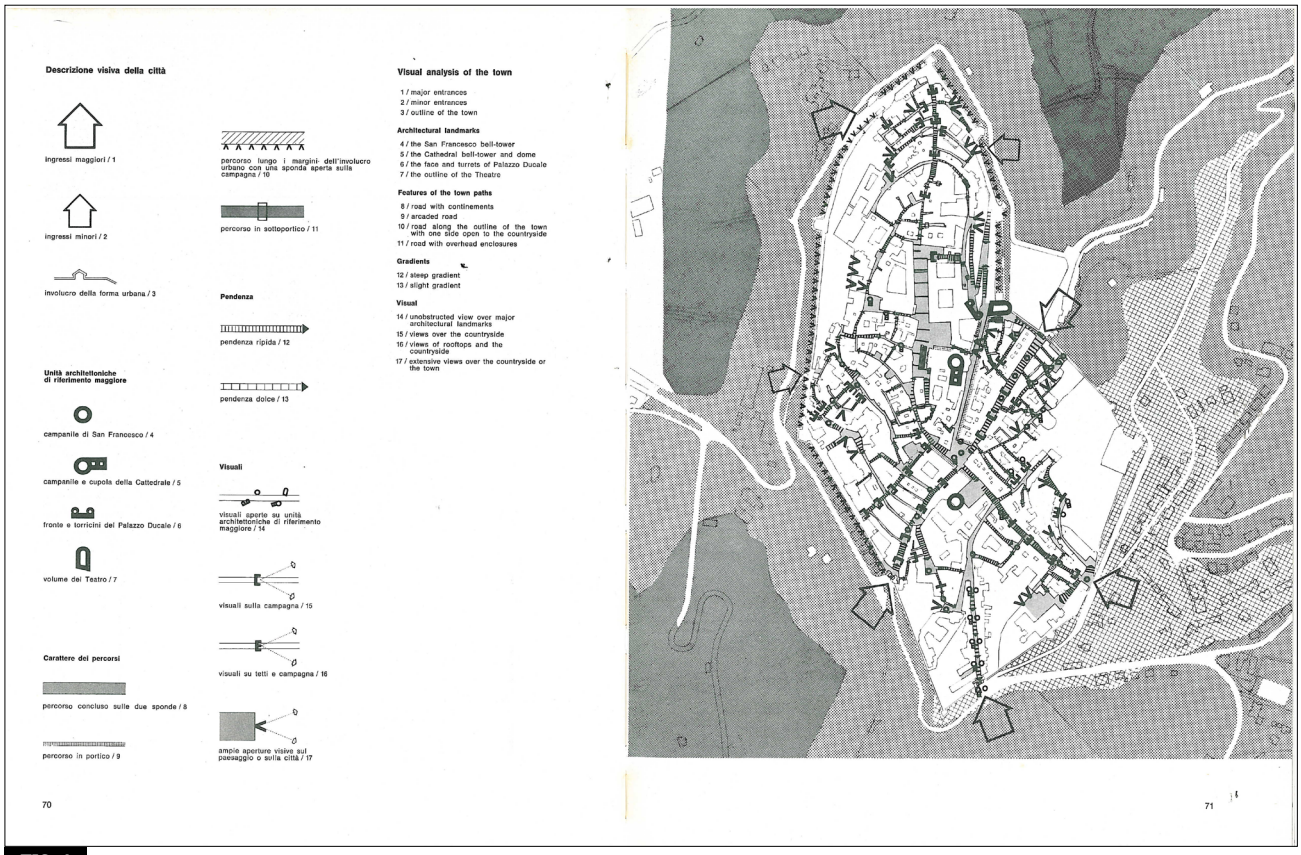

FIG. 4 Tavola di «Descrizione visiva della Città». G. De Carlo, Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica. Padova, Marsilio, 1966. pp. 70/71

con legende, derivanti dalla ricerca che Kevin Lynch stava divulgando negli stessi anni, riguardanti le città americane; così facendo genera un nuovo metodo di composizione del disegno urbano. Gli elaborati che derivano da questo connubio *grafico-progettuale* risultano carichi di un potenziale e di un'estetica rappresentativa unica, non solo sono strumento di analisi della città, ma concretizzano l'espressione di una raffinata sintesi *diagrammatica* del progetto di città. La profondità *semantico-rappresentativa* che le tavole per il piano urbanistico di Urbino riescono ad esprimere, dimostra la concreta possibilità che analisi, progetto e comunicazione del territorio siano cristallizzabili in un singolo disegno: la sintesi del progetto diventa la forma della Città Futura.

De Carlo fa riferimento diretto ai testi americani (di Lynch e Venturi Scott Brown, come vedremo in seguito) affermando che «forse anche Vitruvio, quando andava a visitare una città, si stancava presto di ammirare le grandi *avenues* dell'ordine e perciò scantonava nei vicoli del disordine.»[24]

La ricerca metodologia è posta parallelamente ai coevi *Learning from Las Vegas*[25] di Robert Venturi e Denise Scott Brown, *The Image of the City*[26] di Kevin Lynch e mutuandone gli strumenti dimostra come questo tipo di approccio grafico-progettuale possa essere applicato analogamente e indistintamente a brani di territorio quasi estranei, a città completamente differenti: quella storica italiana e quella di nuova fondazione americana.

24. G. De Carlo, *L'architettura della Partecipazione*, a cura di S. Marini, Roma, Quodlibet, 2015. p. 72

25. 25 R. Venturi, D. Scott Brown, *Learing from Las Vegas*. MIT Press, 1977.

26. 26 K. Lynch, *The Image of the City*. MIT Press, Cambridge, 1960.

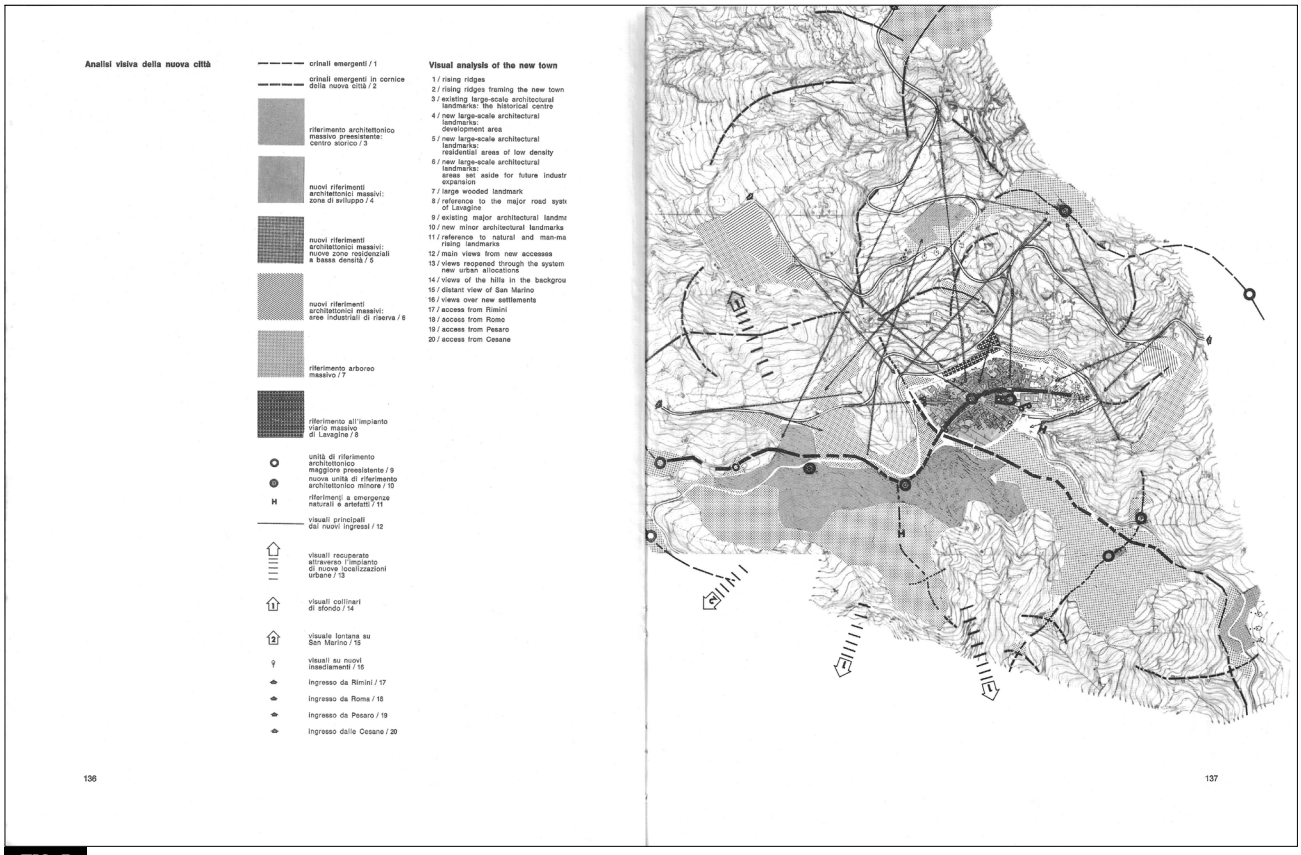

FIG. 5 Tavola di «Analisi visiva della Città». G. De Carlo, Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica. Padova, Marsilio, 1966. pp. 136/137.

L'ipotesi è quindi dimostrare che De Carlo in *Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica* propone un metodo universale di analisi *grafico-rappresentativa* in grado di progettare l'evoluzione futura della città.

Il *corpus* investigativo raccolto nella pubblicazione sintetizza quindi la storia di una città e del suo piano, tracciandone l'evoluzione urbanistica futura; De Carlo esplicita tutti gli aspetti presi in considerazione, condensandoli graficamente nell'analisi *critica* della città, che altro non è che il progetto vero e proprio. A discapito della suddivisione del testo in due parti, di cui una dedicata all'analisi e l'altra al progetto, si concretizza una sorta di *stream of consciousness* teorico-progettuale che lega le due parti attraverso un processo circolare, che vede nell'analisi urbana già presente il germe del progetto, attraverso il quale si sviluppa l'attività *critica* attiva dell'architetto.

La conoscenza del luogo, saldata al fermo convincimento dell'indispensabilità della *partecipazione* nel progetto pubblico, offre a De Carlo gli strumenti di lettura che gli permetteranno di svelare le trame e le connessioni sottese all'utilizzo (che deriva dal concetto di uso precedentemente enunciato) del costrutto urbano. Attraverso questo processo De Carlo dimostra come il territorio è l'origine e la matrice primaria di tutto ciò che in esso è contenuto; «De Carlo usa il passato, lo manipola per metterlo in comunicazione con il proprio tempo per farne democraticamente un corpo vivo della città».[27]

27. G. De Carlo, Marini S. (a cura di) *L'architettura della Partecipazione*. Roma, Quodlibet, 2015. p. 23

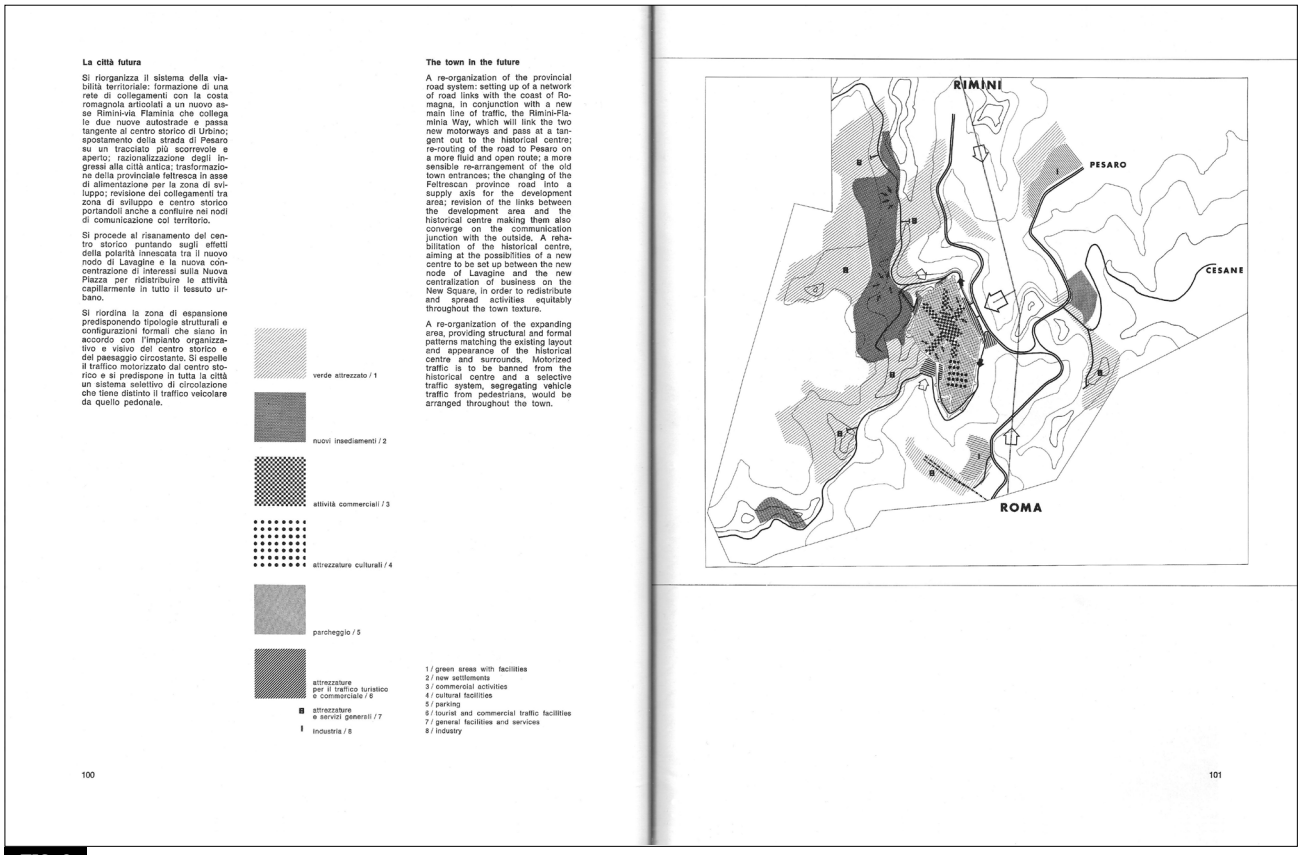

FIG. 6 Tavola de «La Città Futura». G. De Carlo, Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica. Padova, Marsilio, 1966. pp. 100/101

L'analisi

L'analisi svolta in fase preliminare gli permise di comprendere a fondo i processi che hanno generato la morfologia antropica del luogo, e i legami che ognuna delle sue parti ha tessuto con il resto, e così facendo di disvelare le *tensioni* che Urbino stabilisce al proprio interno. «Urbino me la sono trovata, me l'hanno offerta, me la sono cercata, l'ho inventata... capitano qualche volta queste coincidenze. Urbino corrispondeva con la mia ricerca: era una città vera con tutte le sue regole, di dimensione minuta. E allo stesso tempo era una grande architettura. Lì era il segreto: architettura grande in un centro storico minuto ed equilibrato voleva dire urbanistica.»[28] Questo inciso dimostra come l'architetto stabilisca con la città di Urbino un rapporto quasi intimo, e ne esplicita la necessità di riconnetterne la sua forma al paesaggio. Questo atteggiamento assegna all'intorno un ruolo da protagonista, a differenza di quello che gli aveva assegnato il Movimento Moderno ponendolo alla fine della sequenza casa-edificio-quartiere-città-territorio; che al contrario riacquisisce il suo ruolo e torna ad essere considerato il primo elemento che origina tutto il resto. L'analisi di Urbino che De Carlo svolge ha inizio con lo studio e la mappatura delle relazioni tra la *città* e il *territorio* e tra la *città* e le *città*; questa tensione è esplicitata nel sistema viario di comunicazione a scala territoriale, dimostrando ad esempio che le arterie asfaltate, così concepite, non rendevano agevoli le comunicazioni e relegavano Urbino in una posizione

28. http://www.maxxi.art/sezioni_web/de_carlo/urbino.htm

svantaggiosa rispetto alle città vicine, soprattutto rispetto a Pesaro, che ebbe molti vantaggi quando fu istituita la Provincia Pesaro-Urbino. La presa di conoscenza del luogo a partire dal *territorio* permette di radicare il progetto nel viscere storiche della città, anziché calarlo dall'alto; in questo modo l'architetto non è più considerato come un *inventore*, ma come una sorta di scopritore, di *disvelatore* di trame e relazioni. Un interprete di uno spartito sotteso che lo guida nell'elaborazione di un progetto che sia una conseguenza di ciò che è già presente nel luogo. Per un certo verso De Carlo cerca di dimostrare come il progetto sia insito nel luogo; una tramatura preesistente che ha bisogno solo che l'architetto lo scopra e lo porti a compimento; un processo di archeologia analitica dove il progetto «costituisce soltanto un delineamento critico, costruito empiricamente per un uso empirico.»[29]

29. G. De Carlo, *Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica*. Padova, Marsilio, 1966. p. 103

Nel caso di Urbino, De Carlo prese in analisi le vicende storiche della città, partendo dalla fondazione in epoca romana del 238 a.C. fino a giungere al «Piano regolatore generale di risanamento igienico della città» degli anni '30; GDC concentrò maggiormente la ricerca su due eventi cardine nella storia cittadina: le trasformazioni d'embellissement urbano attuate da Federico di Montefeltro, e le corruzioni della *forma urbis* rinascimentale realizzate attraverso le modifiche neoclassiche dell'800. Se le prime, sotto la regia illuminata di Federico, arricchirono la città rispettandone le trame e le relazioni a lei intrinseche; le seconde, di cui la costruzione del Teatro rappresenta il manifesto, si concretizzarono attraverso un'operazione urbanistica che, discostandosi programmaticamente dalla preesistenza, portò ad uno sbilanciamento delle polarità caratteristiche della città ducale. Dalla prima analisi compiuta, De Carlo fece emergere come alcuni edifici neoclassici si integrino in maniera coerente con il sistema morfologico della città e del paesaggio, e come il nuovo asse teatro-nuova piazza si adattasse meglio alle tecnologie e ai nuovi usi e costumi dell'epoca. L'intervento ottocentesco rese «agevole l'accesso urbano ai mezzi trainati pubblici e privati» e parallelamente consentì «l'incontro e il passaggio delle carrozze e dei pedoni» facilitandone «la riunione e lo scambio» che «nelle strade e nelle piazze antiche» era particolarmente difficoltoso «per ragioni altimetriche e ambientali».[30]

30. *Ibid*, p. 85

L'analisi la succesiva e più approfondita analisi, di questo radicale intervento sulla *forma urbis*, lo portò ad osservare come questa sequenza d'interventi di fatto ruppe violentemente l'equilibrio funzionale, strutturale e visuale preesistente; minando l'integrità e la continuità spaziale *caratteristica*, che armonizzava il Centro Storico urbinate. L'assialità tra la porta di Lavagine e il Mercatale, messa a sistema con l'asse teso tra il Palazzo Ducale e il Mercatale, aveva intessuto una ragnatela di relazioni *polari* che aveva funto da ossatura portante allo sviluppo della città entro le mura. Questo sistema, coadiuvato sapientemente dagli interventi promossi da Federico, fu soverchiato da un programma funzionale (ottocentesco) che privilegiava in maniera sconsiderata

il nuovo asse disegnato tra il Teatro e la uova piazza, gettando in uno stato di «decadenza» «le zone meridionali lontane dal nuovo semiasse del teatro».[31]

31. *Ibid*, p. 87

De Carlo in fase di analisi evidenziò come le cronache dell'epoca raccontino, «come dopo la creazione della strada porticata e della piazza, dopo l'edificazione del Teatro e dei primi nuovi edifici, le attività artigianali cominciarono spostarsi».[32]

32. *Ibid*, p. 85

Questo rimarca come le zone che prima erano state molto attive iniziarono a mostrare i primi segni di decadenza; dal momento in cui il nuovo assetto «polarizzava verso la direzione nord, bilanciando così l'attrazione del semiasse meridionale del teatro con la tensione della nuova direttrice punta verso l'esterno, lungo la quale un secolo dopo sarebbe iniziata l'espansione al di là delle mura».[33]

Proseguendo nell'analisi De Carlo certificò dunque come «la piccola occasione architettonica del Teatro si era dunque trasformata in una importante operazione urbanistica, destinata a sovvertire l'impianto rinascimentale».[34] Questo dimostrò come «l'equilibrio isodinamico della città aveva ceduto alla forza attrattiva del nuovo centro, che pero non aveva abbastanza energia per diffondere vitalità in tutti i tessuti circostanti».[35] GDC notò come in questo modo «lo spazio urbano perdeva la propria unità e si selezionava in una stretta corona di zone periferiche destinate a decadere, con rapidità tanto maggiore quanto più diretto era stato il loro ruolo nella struttura originale».[36] L'autore descrisse quindi lucidamente il processo che portò alla decadenza delle «zone meridionali lontane dal nuovo semiasse del Teatro» generando «l'esautoramento del Mercatale, e soprattutto della Contrada di Lavagine, che con la deviazione del traffico commerciale aveva perso il principale sostengo delle sue attività tradizionali».[37]

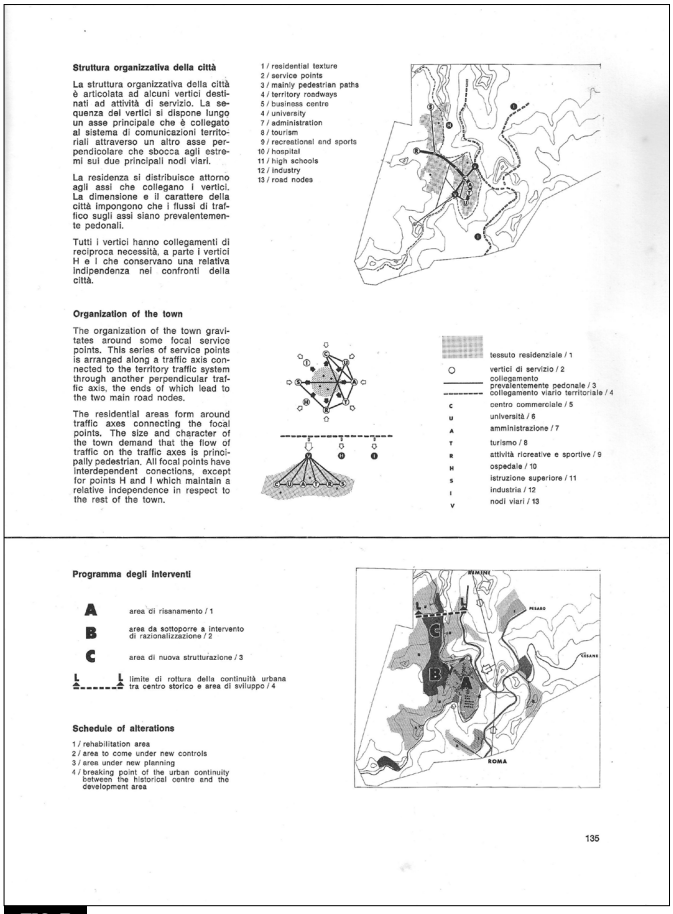

FIG. 7 Tavola della «Struttura organizzativa della Città». G. De Carlo, Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica. Padova, Marsilio, 1966. p. 135

33. *Ibid*. p. 87
34. *Ibid*. p. 85
35. *Ibid*. p. 85
36. *Ibid*. p. 87
37. *Ibid*. p. 87

Attraverso quest'analisi De Carlo individuò dunque, come elemento cardine di questo processo di sbilanciamento dell'equilibrio polare urbano, il borgo lambente la porta di Lavagine; che conseguentemente assumerà il ruolo di protagonista all'interno del progetto di riabilitazione del Centro Storico. L'area circostante la Porta venne quindi analizzata con minuziosa cura, con lo «scopo di far riemergere le strutture e forme tanto appropriate da poter assicurare la continuità tra gli assetti preesistenti e i nuovi».[38]

38. *Ibid*, p. 119

Questo nodo, nel Piano, si configurerà come «la conclusione e l'origine delle comunicazioni del territorio e della città e ed il territorio»

rappresentando contemporaneamente «l'origine e la conclusione del risanamento del Centro Storico».[39] L'intento venne messo in pratica convertendo il «nodo di Lavagine» nel punto «sbocco delle comunicazioni territoriali a lungo raggio» e concentrandovi «tutte le attrezzature più moderne destinate ad accoglierle»; nel progetto messo a punto da De Carlo «il Piano restituisce alla zona un ruolo di grande rilievo, mentre alla città, in quel punto, offre le condizioni più favorevoli per iniziare l'opera di ristrutturazione».[40]

39. *Ibid*, p. 119

40. *Ibid*. p. 119

Il Piano Regolatore generale di Risanamento Igienico della Città

L'altro Piano urbanistico di cui De Carlo sottolinea l'importanza in fase analitica è il «Piano regolatore generale di risanamento igienico della città»[41]: stilato negli anni '30, promosso dell'amministrazione per cercare di colmare le aspettative che il «Piano accademico»[42] aveva alimentato nella cittadinanza, lasciò un profondo segno nella città e nel territorio urbinate.

41. *Ibid*. p. 90

42. *Ibid*. p. 87

Se nel primo si paventava «l'idea che le antiche glorie della città potessero essere utilmente impiegate per l'edificazione della grande retorica nazionale»[43], caratteristica del ventennio; nel secondo l'amministrazione, «ridimensionati i problemi e le speranze», previse l'espansione della città al di fuori delle mura, a ridosso di alcuni edifici preesistenti «costruiti con sussidi statali», in sinergia con la messa in salubrità delle «zone più depresse e bisognose di rinnovamenti salutari ed edilizi».[44]

43. *Ibid*. p. 87

44. *Ibid*. p. 90

Nel testo De Carlo nota come «l'espansione avvenne in modo disordinato e scadente, secondo modelli urbanistici ed edilizi privi di consonanze strutturali e formali con la città antica»; questo tipo di atteggiamento generò «configurazioni simili a quelle delle piccole città provinciali della costa adriatica»[45], nelle quali non erano così evidenti le problematiche ambientali tipiche del capoluogo del Montefeltro.

45. *Ibid*. p. 90

Questo tipo di atteggiamento progettuale, frammentario e senza una vera e propria visione d'insieme, ebbe come risultato «la formazione di un quartiere residenziale esterno incolto, caotico e sprovvisto delle più elementari attrezzature»; una sorta di conglomerato edilizio che da un lato «ha evitato l'esaurimento del Centro Storico», ma dall'altro "ne ha accentuato il deterioramento potenziando le influenze selettive e disgregatrici che erano già state introdotte dall'intervento neoclassico».[46]

46. *Ibid*. p. 94

L'azione scoordinata sulla città concentrò «la gravitazione dei nuovi insediamenti sulla piazza centrale», spostando «ulteriormente il baricentro degli interventi verso nord e di conseguenza» esaltando «l'isolamento delle zone sud orientali».[47]

47. *Ibid*. p. 94

Il risultato di questa concomitanza di scelte errate nel governo del territorio, costrinse «l'Amministrazione Comunale» a dilatare la rete di servizi primari costruendo «strade e condotte di energia» che garantissero

«un minimo livello civile ad ogni insediamento, dovunque fosse ubicato».[48] Questo tentativo estremo di rispondere positivamente ad un bisogno reale della popolazione finì col diffondere tra i cittadini «l'opinione che ogni area in qualsiasi luogo potesse essere edificata; anche senza rispetto del paesaggio e dell'ambiente urbano», dando la percezione di avere il diritto incondizionato «al contributo della collettività elargito in attrezzature e in servizi».[49]

48. *Ibid*. p. 95

49. *Ibid*. p. 95

Il Metodo

GDC mise quindi a punto una metodologia *ad hoc* per risolvere le problematiche evidenziate durante la fase di analisi preliminare, la quale si basa su di un ventaglio di strumenti specificatamente studiati sul particolare caso di Urbino; come egli stesso ammette: «non era possibile di fare diverso in una situazione così profondamente dominata dalla presenza di fattori formali di eccezionale carattere, che proprio per la loro eccezionalità sfuggono da ogni tentativo di normalizzazione e continuano a colorare ogni altro fattore del loro singolare riflesso».[50]

50. *Ibid*. p. 103

Questo atteggiamento progettuale riconosce dunque come «la finezza dei caratteri della città e del territorio, hanno richiesto l'uso di strumenti di analisi così minuziosi da fare risultare più immediata la definizione di una immagine particolareggiata della realtà che una sua sintetica connotazione». La specificità caratteristica di Urbino, e più in generale di tutti i Centri Storici della penisola italica, richiede la messa a punto di una metodologia camaleontica che sfugge ineffabilmente alla «riduzione ad un principio di schematizzazione», il quale per forza di causa avrebbe portato «a restringere la gamma di strumenti d'intervento».[51]

51. *Ibid*. p. 103

Anche se l'architetto sottolinei come «la gamma di strumenti di intervento» debbano « essere vari e differenziati per assicurare la precisione più appropriata alla sottigliezza delle situazioni»; di fatto fa emergere un atteggiamento «critico descrittivo» che si riassume in una metodologia flessibile, volta a comprendere per quanto più possibile le esigenze di un «territorio riverberato da eccezionali presenze storiche ed ambientali».[52]

52. *Ibid*. p. 104

L'immagine Urbana

De Carlo identificò in quelli che definisce come: «capisaldi visivi»[53], la chiave di volta in una lettura *critico organica* del Centro Storico urbinate; va nuovamente sottolineata la simultaneità dell'utilizzo con le esperienze americane citate precedentemente nel testo, perché anche se ovviamente ne differisce per specificità territoriale e scala, ne andrebbe indagata maggiormente l'influenza metodologico analitica.

53. *Ibid*. p. 104

Identificare gli eventi spaziali, i corpi, le parti ed i livelli che più avevano

caratterizzato l'immagine della città permise a GDC di capire a fondo gli *elementi fondativi* sui quali era stato «ordito l'impianto urbanistico del rinascimento»; ai quali si era successivamente affiancata «la sola eccezione del volume del Teatro neoclassico» che aggiunse «al sistema un nuovo vertice, riconoscibile anche a grande distanza».[54] Dall'analisi di queste emergenze l'autore fu in grado di dedurre come «nella percezione della collettività questi cardini però galleggino, senza connessioni con la trama del tessuto circostante, che ha perso forza di immagine anche dove si è conservato intatto»; questo fece slittare l'impianto originale della attività «fuori dal suo calco morfologico» dissolvendo «quello stato di appropriatezza che conserva presenti e chiare le forme urbane alla coscienza collettiva».[55]

54. *Ibid*. p. 104

55. *Ibid*. p. 104

La perdita della «forza di immagine delle Porte dell'arco orientale» aveva dettato l'annacquamento delle «complesse concatenazioni di piccoli spazi della cinta che risalgono a Palazzo Ducale», portando ad accrescere il potere di «offuscamento delle più tenui immagini periferiche»; questo di fatto generò un più generalizzato «offuscamento dell'immagine urbana». Quindi, il risultato dell'analisi che De Carlo condusse, lo portò a poter affermare come la percezione del «sistema urbano» si ancorasse sostanzialmente su «grandi caposaldi visivi e assai poco» sulle immagini ad essi «complementari»[56]; un atteggiamento assimilabile molto più ad un'idea corbuserianamente modernista che al complesso sistema di relazioni tipico del Centro Storico italiano, come ampiamente descritto da GDC precedentemente.

56. *Ibid*. p. 104

Il Paesaggio e il Territorio

L'immagine da ripristinare e conservare, che De Carlo fece emergere dall'individuazione dei «capisaldi visivi» e dalla restituzione dell'«immagine urbana» esistente, è un unicum *immaginifico* che si riverbera simmetricamente sulla «riserva di valori formali che è nel paesaggio attorno alla città»; va però immediatamente precisato che «si tratta di un paesaggio di natura, costruito in ogni suo punto in perfetta consonanza con i moduli compositivi che governano le forme architettoniche del Centro Storico».[57] GDC specifica inoltre come «in questo paesaggio tutto» appaia «calcolato per un equilibrio di caratteri e di immagini che non ammette inserimenti eterogeni»; legando programmaticamente «la consapevolezza dei valori formali del paesaggio» alla «loro necessaria correlazione con la struttura e con la forma della città».[58]

57. *Ibid*. p. 105

58. *Ibid*. p. 105

Le deduzioni esplicitate in precedenza portarono l'autore a confermare «che i più alti livelli qualitativi si conservano nelle aree direttamente influenzate dai principali caposaldi visivi» attorno ai quali si concentrano le principali «attività amministrative e commerciali».[59]

59. *Ibid*. p. 107

Questo fatto sottolinea come l'«attrazione puramente gravitazionale che

il Centro Storico ancora esercita» fu un fattore cruciale in una pianificazione di sviluppo urbano ragionato; in contrasto con le «tendenze centrifughe delle zone esterne».[60] De Carlo notò come se questo magnetismo fosse cresciuto in maniera incontrollata avrebbe alimentato inesorabilmente «le tendenze centrifughe delle zone esterne» che in un determinato momento avrebbero assunto una potenza tale da poter «competere con quelle del Centro Storico» finendo per «attirare la popolazione saltuaria e la popolazione stabile».[61]

60. *Ibid*. p. 108

61. *Ibid*. p. 108

Secondo De Carlo il Piano Regolatore di Urbino avrebbe dovuto «prevedere una serie concatenata di interventi sulla struttura fisica del territorio» per fornire una soluzione organica alle problematiche emerse nelle analisi sopracitate, specificando «i limiti del campo di possibilità entro il quale» l'azione progettuale deve essere compiuta. A questo proposito indicò la direzione verso cui «la scelta» progettuale «deve essere compiuta: in rapporto alle vocazioni del territorio, alle tendenze di sviluppo, ai comportamenti prevedibili, alle attitudini e alle aspirazioni dei gruppi sociali».[62] Questo per delineare le «conseguenze che la scelta comporta», definendo l'esercizio «sistematico del programma di controllo e di azione» dal quale scaturirà «la nuova struttura territoriale, come un telaio organizzativo che renderà attuali le funzioni e le porrà in relazione tra loro riconducendole ad un principio di generale coerenza».[63]

62. *Ibid*. p. 111

63. *Ibid*. p. 111

Al fine di attuare i principi sopra citati GDC previse di riorganizzare «l'area attorno alla città» sezionandola «in una serie di zone sottoposte a diversi livelli di controllo», questo gli permise di mettere un punto di arresto alla «disseminazione edilizia» che «tende a corrompere il paesaggio in tutte le direzioni». Sinergicamente al riassetto del territorio esterno alle mura, De Carlo intervenne nei confronti del «Centro Storico» e dei «suoi immediati dintorni» ponendovi a tutela quello che definì come: «perimetro di salvaguardia»; questo «comprende le zone giù tutelate dalle leggi per la protezione dell'ambiente storico e paesistico, e altre zone – situate in tutte le direzioni – che il Piano vincola alla destinazione agricola e al rigoroso controllo di quel poco che questo vincolo concede».[64]

64. *Ibid*. p. 117

Il Perimetro di Salvaguardia

Nel Piano che GDC stilò, l'espansione «oltre al perimetro di salvaguardia» era «ammessa entro i limiti precisamente calcolati in relazione al paesaggio e ai tessuti architettonici antichi»; furono programmati «due piccoli nuclei di completamento delle iniziative preesistenti», «previsti a oriente e a sud del Centro Storico, isolati dalla città», tuttavia «il grosso dello sviluppo» fu indirizzato «al di là del Monte dove per tendenza naturale tende già a orientarsi».[65] Nel Piano fu prevista la divisione di quest'area in «due zone: una nord occidentale, dove con criteri di razionalizzazione deve compiersi la saturazione delle sgretolate trame edilizie che sono state apprestate» in precedenza; «l'altra, settentrionale, dove a parte alcune pessime recenti

65. *Ibid*. p. 117

costruzioni realizzate dagli Enti per l'edilizia sovvenzionata dai privati, è ancora impossibile intervenire correttamente per costituire una struttura residenziale efficiente e decorosa».[66]

66. *Ibid*. p. 117

Se nel progetto «la prima zona, a parte alcune lievi rettifiche, conserverà l'impianto viario attuale; la seconda invece verrà organizzata su un sistema di deviazioni innestate alla provinciale Feltresca, ricondotta al ruolo di asse di alimentazione residenziale», delegando di fatto «la sua originale funzione di scorrimento» alla nuova «arteria di Rimini» che «sfiora il Centro Storico in corrispondenza di Porta Lavigine».[67]

67. *Ibid*. p. 118

Il ridisegno del *territorio* che De Carlo compì, esplicita chiaramente i presupposti progettuali sopraelencati, prevedendo «il punto di tangenza dell'asse Rimini-Roma col centro storico» in corrispondenza della «rampa di Lavagine» permise di perseguire in maniera efficace il ribilanciamento del Centro Storico «attraverso la formazione di confluenze sui vertici funzionali più importanti», eleggendo la dimessa porta di Lavagine a «cardine delle comunicazione con il territorio».[68] Proprio in questo nodo GDC «concentra strutture capaci di assicurare massima efficienza alle diverse funzioni» che declinano attraverso la propria configurazione i «caratteri del paesaggio»; concretizzandosi in «forme» riferite e condizionate «alle articolazioni dell'impianto organizzativo e visivo del Centro Storico» al fine di «ottenere una reale unità tra del due parti».[69]

68. *Ibid*. p. 118

69. *Ibid*. p. 118

Il ribilanciamento a scala territoriale delle strutture viarie, delle funzioni e delle destinazioni d'uso, era destinato a crogiolare nella parte del Piano che faceva capo al «risanamento del Centro Storico»; progettato quindi in derivazione agli «interventi proposti per il territorio, allo stesso modo che questi derivano da quelli essendo coordinati ad un unico campo di obiettivi interdipendenti».[70] Nell'idea di De Carlo, «la zona» «più depressa della città», «rappresenta la conclusione e l'origine del sistema delle comunicazioni del territorio e della città» destinata a diventare quindi «contemporaneamente la conclusione e l'origine del risanamento del Centro Storico».[71]

70. *Ibid*. p. 119

71. *Ibid*. p. 119

La riorganizzazione delle «attività urbane» era prevista svilupparsi dunque tra due poli: «l'area Lavagine», «dove avvengono contatti con le strutture commerciali» e il «Mercatale dove sono dislocati i principali servizi turistici»; questi tracciano un'asse che taglia trasversalmente il Centro Storico ripristinandone «una elevata capacità di attrazione».[72] Parallelamente al bilanciamento delle polarità e degli assi, caratteristici del Centro Storico, GDC previse di sottoporlo ad un «programma di risanamento che stabilisce per ogni edificio i limiti entro i quali è ammessa la sua trasformazione: da un livello massimo, corrispondente al restauro assoluto inteso come condizione di inalterabilità totale, a un livello minimo corrispondente alla demolizione senza ricostruzione».[73] L'applicazione del programma fu equamente suddivisa tra promotori pubblici e privati per evitare di gravare unicamente «sulle scarse risorse

72. *Ibid*. p. 120

73. *Ibid*. p. 121

locali o sulla probabilità che gli Enti governativi cui è affidata l'edilizia pubblica» arrivassero «rapidamente a trasformare in concrete azioni la loro conclamata inclinazione per i Centri Storici».[74] Infine per offrire un esempio tangibile «del modo in cui il metodo di intervento deve essere applicato e per dare una soluzione immediata ad alcuni casi più influenti sull'attuazione del programma», due comparti del Piano furono «riservati all'intervento comunale».[75] Minuziosamente descritti nell'ultima del testo i due interventi erano così suddivisi: il primo prevedeva un «Piano Particolareggiato» per il «risanamento di Lavagine», il secondo si concentrò su una delle «zone destinate all'edilizia sovvenzionata PEEP»; al fine di illustrare «in concreto come le prescrizioni organizzative del Piano Regolatore possano trasformarsi in forme appropriate al contesto complesso e raffinato che debbono risolvere».[76]

74. *Ibid*. p. 121

75. *Ibid*. p. 121

76. *Ibid*. p. 121

Conclusione

In conclusione tutto il *corpus* che De Carlo elaborò per il Piano, si muove sì, dall'analisi *critica* del tessuto urbano, nonché dall'elaborazione di un *progetto culturale* finalizzato al recupero e la salvaguardia dei monumenti di Urbino, ma esprime l'apice della sua *esemplarità* nel non ritirarsi unicamente nell'attività *teorico-progettuale*; evitando di demandarne quindi l'esplicitazione e la costruzione a figure terze (come si suole fare). GDC pretese di declinare in prima persona i *principi* teorizzati nel Piano; nella ferma convinzione che il ruolo dell'*architetto* non sia solamente quello di articolare un pensiero raffinato e avanguardistico sulla Citta Storica, ma anche quello di essere artefice primario delle *teorie* e dei *principi* espressi. Se non c'è bisogno di sottolineare quanto questa tematica risulti ad oggi estremamente attuale (forse più che in passato), vale piuttosto la pena rimarcare come De Carlo si prodighi al fine di mettersi in gioco in prima persona: come *teorico*, come *architetto*, come *costruttore*, e solo di conseguenza come *autore*; questo con l'intento di affermare proprie *idee*, rendendole inconfutabili. GDC diversamente alla maggior parte di coloro che provano, e provarono a produrre un pensiero teorico sulla Città Storica, non si rifugiò nelle *bianche cattedrali* della *teoria*, bensì perseguì con forza l'applicazione e la verifica del proprio pensiero. De Carlo dimostrò come la vera *autorialità* si possa raggiungere solo ed unicamente attraverso il rischio reale della compromissione delle *idee* stesse; declinando pedissequamente il principio del *verum ipsum factum*, che troppe volte è stato dimenticato da coloro che della *teoria* hanno riflesso solo l'intangibilità del pensiero.

Postilla: la partecipazione

In questa postilla conclusiva vale la pena sottolineare un ultimo tema, che viaggia nascosto sotto tutta la trama del Piano, e in maniera più esplicita

nella carriera di De Carlo: la *partecipazione*. Intesa dall'*autore* come sinonimo d'inclusione dei cittadini nel processo *critico-progettuale* e non come componente per addomesticare l'opinione pubblica; la partecipazione deve essere declinata al fine di esplicitare i substrati più profondi della *coscienza* pubblica nel progetto, al fine di riconnettere i legami nascosti della città interrotti dal *pensiero funzionalista* espresso dal movimento moderno. Per De Carlo la partecipazione non è solo una *metodologia* di acquisizione statistica, finalizzata ad immagazzinare informazioni e dati utili alla progettazione, deve invece diventare *strumento* d'interpretazione delle vere necessità sociali. In questo paradigma i processi partecipativi sono quindi considerabili come la concretizzazione tridimensionale della sovrapposizione storica degli strati culturali e identitari più profondi; di conseguenza definibili come vera essenza dell'*architettura*, esplicitazione delle reali necessità (d'*uso*) che occorre soddisfare.

De Carlo descrive appunto l'*architettura* come forma in funzione «all'uso»[77]: una struttura in grado di adattarsi e assoggettarsi alle necessità di chi la fruisce; per De Carlo «la forma dell'architettura è la materializzazione in termini fisici tridimensionali di una struttura» sociale, quindi concretizzazione di «un sistema organizzativo attraverso il quale una o più strutture siano esse spaziali o sociali divengono attuali».[78]

77. G. De Carlo, *L'architettura della Partecipazione*, cit., p. 69

78. G. De Carlo, *Urbino: la storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica*. Padova, Marsilio, 1966. p. 123

L'uso trasforma il luogo, in questo modo le persone acquisiscono un'importanza irrinunciabile nel progetto architettonico; nell'opera di De Carlo gli esseri umani, i fruitori, sono gli unici attori nel processo progettuale capaci di trasformare i luoghi e di far sì che questi guadagnino un'identità propria che li renda diversi gli uni dagli altri, unici.

In conclusione, la miscela teorico-critico-progettuale che De Carlo sviluppò nel piano, e nel testo in cui è raccolto, rappresenta un vero e proprio *manifesto*, nel quale viene definita chiaramente una *metodologia* per progettare efficacemente il futuro dei Centri Storici italiani; in relazione al paesaggio e più in generale al divenire della città contemporanea. Il rapporto sinergico che gli elaborati del piano raggiungono, si sintetizza in un *unicum* teorico tra analisi e azioni progettuali: il testo presenta un *modello* attraverso il quale l'*autore* si rende in grado di liberare «interamente» le «riserve di energia culturale»[79] che si sottendono alla Città Storica.

79. *Ibid*. p. 22

Il Primo Piano di Urbino non vuole essere un episodio casuale ed isolato; una volta dimostrata la sua efficacia, potrebbe oggi divenire applicabile concretamente alla maggior parte dei Centri Storici, distribuiti nella penisola italiana. De Carlo non teorizzò un modello meccanicamente mutuabile, ma piuttosto disegnò delle *linee giuda* utili a plasmare la forma mentis del progettista, chiamato a cimentarsi nel recupero di casi assimilabili a quello di Urbino.