



HPA

Histories of Postwar Architecture

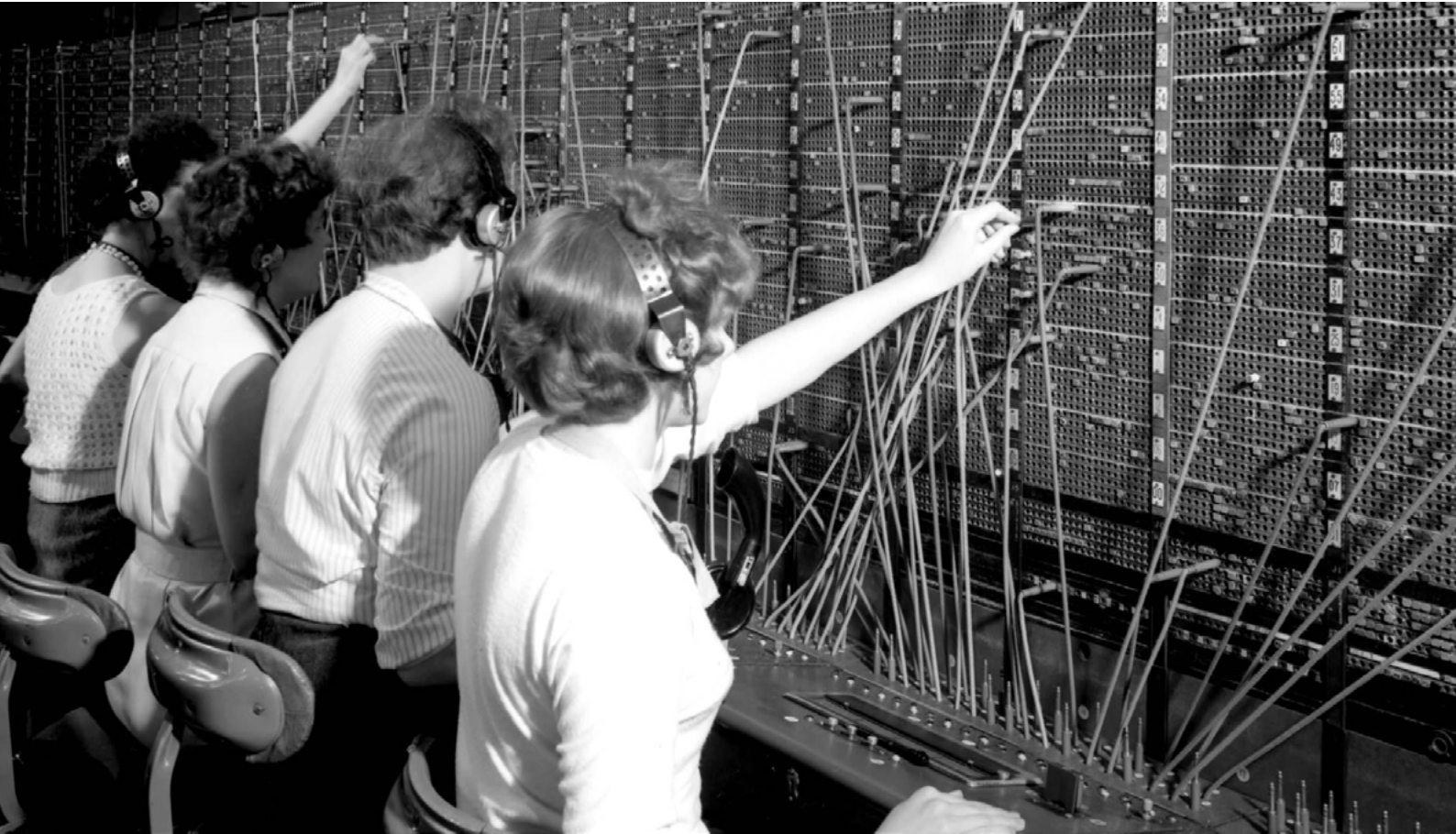
n.4 2019
vol.II

Mass Media and the International Spread of Post-War Architecture

edited by

Carolina B. García-Estévez
Marisa García Vergara
Ramon Graus
Antonio Pizza

Ana Cristina Dos Santos Tostões
Ugo Rossi
Carlo Carbone
Lina Malfona
Marta Bacuzzi
Paulo Tormenta Pinto
Alexandra Saravia
João Paulo Delgado
Carmen Rodríguez Pedret
Peter Minosh
Hunter Palmer Wright
Alejandro Valdivieso Royo
Rebeca Merino del Río
Julio Garnica González-Bárcena
Yat Shun Juliana Kei
Elena Trius
Raffaella Russo Spina
Salvador Guerrero López
Pedro Leão Neto



Histories of Postwar Architecture

ISSN 2611-0075

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/v2-n4-2019>

under the auspices of



AISU
Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana



AISTARCH
Società Italiana di Storia dell'Architettura

Scientific Committee

Nicholas Adams (Vassar College),
Ruth Baumeister (Aarhus School
of Architecture), **Francesco Benelli**
(Università di Bologna), **Eve Blau**
(Harvard University), **Federico
Bucci**, Politecnico di Milano,
Maristella Casciato (Getty
Research Institute), **Pepa Cassinello**
(Universidad Politécnica de Madrid),
Carola Hein (Delft University of
Technology), **Helene Janniere**
(Université Rennes 2), **Giovanni
Leoni** (Università di Bologna),
Thomas Leslie (Iowa State
University), **Mary Caroline McLeod**
(Columbia University), **Daniel J.
Naegele** (Iowa State University),
Joan Ockman (Penn University),
Antoine Picon (Harvard Graduate
School of Design), **Antonio
Pizza** (Escola Tècnica Superior
d'Arquitectura de Barcelona),
Dominique Rouillard (Ecole
Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture
de Paris Malaquais), **Paolo Scrivano**
(Xi'an Jiaotong University -
University of Liverpool), **Laurant
Stalder** (ETH Zurich), **Martino
Stierli** (MoMA), **Rosa Tamborrino**,
Politecnico di Torino, **André Carinha
Tavares** (Universidade do Minho),
Letizia Tedeschi, (Archivio del
Moderno, Università della Svizzera
Italiana), **Herman van Bergeijk**,
(Delft University of Technology),
Christophe van Gerrewey (EPFL).

Editorial Team

Micaela Antonucci
abstract and paper submission editor

Stefano Ascari
graphic and design editor

Matteo Cassani Simonetti
images manager

Lorenzo Ciccarelli
editorial assistant

Elena Formia
communication manager

Beatrice Lampariello
editorial assistant

Sofia Nannini
editorial assistant

Gabriele Neri
editorial assistant

Anna Rosellini
paper review and publishing editor

Matteo Sintini
journal manager

Ines Tolic
abstract and paper submission editor



n.4 2019 vol.II

Mass Media and the International Spread of Post-War Architecture

edited by
Carolina B. García-Estévez,
Marisa García Vergara,
Ramon Graus,
Antonio Pizza

/ EDITORIAL

Carolina B. García-Estévez, Marisa García Vergara,
Ramon Graus, Antonio Pizza,

**From Within / From Outside: Mass Media and the
International Spread of Post-War Architecture** 1

/ INVITED PAPERS

Ana Cristina Dos Santos Tostões,

**How Brazil's Modern Architecture Revolution
impacted Europe and Africa** 6

/ FOCUS

Ugo Rossi,

**The Best of All Possible Worlds.
USA 1949–1959: God's Own Country** 26

Carlo Carbone,

**The Kit of Parts as Medium and Message for
Developing Post-War Dwellings** 54

Lina Malfona,

**Building Silicon Valley. Corporate Architecture,
Information Technology and
Mass Culture in the Digital Age**..... 75

Marta Bacuzzi,

**A Window on the United States.
The Image of American Architecture
in West Germany's Journals: 1947-1962**..... 98

	Paulo Tormenta Pinto, Alexandra Saraiva, and João Paulo Delgado Spanish Post-War Architecture in Portuguese Magazines (1946 – 1970) – the cases of <i>A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas)</i> and <i>Arquitectura</i>.....	116
	Carmen Rodríguez Pedret, The Resurrection of Antoni Gaudí in Post-War Media. A Critical Chronology: 1945–1965	131
	Peter Minosh, Hunter Palmer Wright, Built in USA: Post-War Architecture Midcentury Architecture as a Vehicle for American Foreign Policy	163
	Alejandro Valdivieso Royo, Federico Correa in Vienna. Central Europe Avant-Garde and Post-War Architecture within the magazine <i>Arquitecturas Bis</i> (1974-1985)	184
	Rebeca Merino del Río, The Story of Another Idea: <i>Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten's</i>. Construction of Netherlander Contemporary Urban Landscape	209
	Julio Garnica González-Bárcena, “DEAR ALISON” The Diffusion of J.A. Coderch’s Work through his Participation in Team Ten	230
	Yat Shun Juliana Kei, New Brutalism and the Myth of Japan	242
/ REVIEW	Elena Trius, Gaudí in the US: New foundations in Post-War Architecture Criticism	256
	Raffaella Russo Spena, Museum Exhibitions as Mass Media spreading Architectural Ideas from Europe to USA in 20th Century	261
	Salvador Guerrero López, Architecture Magazines in Spain from 1939 through the End of Francoism: A Historiographic Overview	278
	Pedro Leão Neto, Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain	284



EDITORIAL

From within/From outside: Mass Media and the International Spread of Post-War Architecture

Carolina B. García-Estévez, Ramon Graus, Antonio Piza
Polytechnic University of Catalonia, Barcelona (Spain)

Marisa García Vergara
University of Girona, Girona (Spain)

This monographic issue of the journal HPA attempts to map the international spread of architectural culture in the mass media after the Second World War, taking the period 1945–1960 as a time frame.¹

It focuses on how certain ideas about the city and contemporary architecture were disseminated through periodical publications, exhibitions and conferences by analyzing a series of monographic case studies in an attempt to answer some essential questions:

1. How was an architectural and/or urban design project with ties to a specific context presented in the international sphere through state, professional and educational channels—whether institutional or otherwise?
2. How did this occur during a period of radical cultural reconstruction and fundamental disciplinary redefinition?
3. And vice versa: how was the same project interpreted from the point of view of the foreign establishment?
4. How did the vision “from within” and the perspectives “from outside” interact?

1. The editors of this monograph were supported by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities and by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) of the European Union. Research project: *Spanish Architecture in International Communication Media: Publications, Exhibitions, Congresses (First part: 1940-1975)*, reference number HAR2017-85205-P (MICINN / AIE / ERDF, EU).

We believe that analyzing this type of “external” perspective (specifically: how the architectural world of one country looks at the architecture of another) offers a productive path toward a historiographic renewal of studies centered on the processes affecting the international dissemination of modern architecture, beginning from the early years after the Second World War in Europe.

In fact, there is a long history of monographic analyses of the mediation of architecture: consider the special issue of *Rassegna* on “Architecture in the Avant-Garde Magazines” (edited by Jacques Gubler in 1982),² the debate held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in 2004,³ or the exhibition *Clip/Stamp/Fold*, curated by Beatriz Colomina and held at the Storefront for Art and Architecture in New York in 2006.⁴

Other research models dealing with this issue can also be found in fields more directly related to the arts in general: for example, in the volumes *Riviste d'arte fra ottocento ed Età contemporanea. Forme, modelli e funzioni*⁵ or in *Les revues d'art à Paris 1905–1940*,⁶ or, dealing more specifically with exhibitions, in *The Avant-Garde in Exhibition: New Art in the 20th Century*.⁷

However, in the cases cited above, the journals themselves are the main focus of analysis; in contrast, in the monographic issue proposed here, the focus of the research is the exchange of perspectives that takes place “through” the different media.

Of course, this comparative analysis has a long-established tradition; above all, one that has prioritized bilateral experiences between two prominent nations, and in which Jean-Louis Cohen has very often been involved: from the experience of a seminal debate at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris in 1985 (later published under the title *Américanisme et modernité: l'idéal américain dans l'architecture*),⁸ in the exhibition *Scenes of the World to Come: European Architecture and the American Challenge 1893-1960*⁹ at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in 1995; in the exhibition *Interférences / Interferenzen. Architecture Allemagne-France 1800-2000*¹⁰ in Strasbourg in 2013 (and later in Frankfurt), and finally in the recent exhibition at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, which opened in 2019: *Building a New New World: Amerikanizm in Russian Architecture*.¹¹

Another very recent example (which included the participation of several members of the research group that prepared this monographic issue of *Histories of Postwar Architecture*) focused on the relationships between Italy and Spain during the 1950s, through an exhibition and a catalogue that highlighted how influential Italian magazines (*Domus*, *Spazio*, *Comunità*) disseminated Spanish architecture of the period: *Imagining the Mediterranean House. Italy and Spain in the 50s*.¹²

2. Jacques Gubler, Isabella Pezzini, “Architettura nelle riviste d'avanguardia. La rete delle riviste,” *Rassegna: Problemi di architettura dell'ambiente* IV, no. 12 (December 1982): 44–88.

3. Hélène Jannière, Alexis Sornin, and France Vanlaethem, eds. *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: Towards a Factual, Intellectual and Material History. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Held on 6–7 May 2004 at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, CCA, in Montreal.* (Montreal: IRHA, Institut de Recherche en Histoire de l'Architecture, 2008).

4. Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines 196X-197X* (Barcelona, Princeton: Actar, Program in Media and Modernity, Princeton University, 2010).

5. Gianni Sciolla, ed., *Riviste d'arte fra ottocento ed Età contemporanea. Forme, modelli e funzioni* (Milano: Skira, 2003).

6. Yves Chevrefils Desbiolles, *Les revues d'art à Paris 1905-1940* (Paris: Ent'revues, 1993).

7. Bruce Altshuler, *The Avant-Garde in Exhibition. New Art in the 20th Century* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994).

8. Jean-Louis Cohen, Hubert Damisch, eds., *Américanisme et modernité: L'idéal américain dans l'architecture* (Paris: EHESS, Flammarion, 1993).

9. Jean-Louis Cohen, ed., *Scenes of the World to Come: European Architecture and the American Challenge: 1893–1960* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995).

10. Jean-Louis Cohen, Hartmut Frank, eds., *Interférences / Interferenzen. Architecture Allemagne-France 1800–2000* (Strasbourg: Éditions des Musées de Strasbourg, 2013).

11. Jean-Louis Cohen, *Building a New New World: Amerikanizm in Russian Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

12. Antonio Pizza, ed., *Imagining the Mediterranean House. Italy and Spain in the 50s* (Madrid: Museo ICO, ediciones asimétricas, 2019).

It should also be noted that the editors of this monographic issue are currently working on the R&D project *Spanish Architecture in International Communication Media: Publications, Exhibitions, Congresses (First Part:1940–1975)*.¹³ The project aims to document the exterior presence of Spanish architectural culture in the period between 1940 and 1975, based on a study of the international publications, exhibitions and congresses most relevant to the period.

Our opinion is that this research experience can be applied to other countries and architectural contexts, with the goal of enriching the historical approaches to post-war architecture, which has often been confined to autogenous debates, characteristic of each individual country.

At the opening, the **Ana Tostoes'** text: *How Brazil's modern architecture revolution impacted Europe and Africa*, investigates how the spread of Brazilian Modernism after the Second World War through the magazines, contributed to the diffusion of modern architecture in the colonial countries of Africa.

The "Focus" section received a large number of contributions. The selected collaborations reveal the variety of approaches to the subject in question, confirm recognized trends and, at the same time, open new avenues of research. We present them here, divided into three subsections.

North American Hegemony

To begin, in his article "The Best of All Possible Worlds. USA 1949–1959: God's Own Country", **Ugo Rossi**, an independent scholar and holder of a PhD from the Università Luav di Venezia, analyzes the American propaganda machine in Europe during the Cold War, especially through the exhibitions developed by the US government, as part of the Marshall Plan.

Then, **Carlo Carbone**, from the Montreal Design School at the University of Quebec, highlights the interconnection between architecture and industrial mass production in "The Kit of Parts as Medium and Message for Developing Post-War Dwellings", an article focused on American domestic architecture, which tracks the affiliation between military technological knowledge and its crossover into civil applications in the search for new social housing building typologies during the Cold War.

Lina Malfona, from the Dipartimento DESTeC at the Università di Pisa, with "Building Silicon Valley. Corporate Architecture, Information Technology and Mass Culture in the Digital Age", proposes a journey through the different phases of the high-tech computing hub, from its initial "militarized" phase through to the entry of the counterculture there, and finally offers a detailed analysis of the emergence of cyberculture, with ongoing references to the critical readings of Reyner Banham.

13. <http://www.spanisharchitecturenetwork.upc.edu> [Accessed November 27, 2019].

Monographic Studies on Publications and Exhibitions

In “A Window on the United States. The Image of American Architecture in West Germany’s Journals: 1947-1962”, **Marta Bacuzzi**, a PhD student in Architecture, History and Project at the Politecnico di Torino, explores how North American architecture is approached in two leading West German specialized publications: *Baukunst und Werkform* and *Baumeister*, media tools that represent two different ways of dealing with the transatlantic world without underestimating it under any circumstances.

For their part, **Paulo Tormenta Pinto** and **Alexandra Saraiva**, both from the Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), and **João Paulo Delgado**, from the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Porto (FAUP), offer an in-depth study of two Portuguese magazines in their essay: “Spanish post-war architecture in Portuguese magazines (1946-1970) - the cases of *A Arquitectura Portuguesa e Cerâmica e Edificação Reunidas* and *Arquitectura*”. Covering a historical period that goes from the postwar period until the 1970s, their study examines the extent to which Spanish “realism” may have had an impact on the evolution of Portuguese architecture at that time, pointing out correspondences and discrepancies between the respective cultures.

Carmen Rodríguez Pedret, Scientific Coordinator of the Gaudí Chair (ETSAB-Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya), with “The Resurrection of Antoni Gaudí in Postwar Media: A Critical Chronology, 1945–1965”, details the discovery and initial valuation of the figure of Gaudí during the post-war period, through his appearances in different periodicals, exhibitions, photographic features and international film productions, giving rise to a historiography that, from that moment forward, was longer subject to epistemological limits or geographical boundaries.

Peter Minosh, from the Faculty of Architecture, Landscape and Design at the University of Toronto, and **Hunter Palmer Wright**, an independent scholar, discuss in “Built in USA: Post-war Architecture”. Midcentury Architecture as a Vehicle for American Foreign Policy” the close correspondence during the post-war period between US government policy and a prominent exhibition promoted by the MOMA in 1953, upholding the utopian shaping of a shared and widespread “International Style”.

For his part, in “Federico Correa in Vienna. Central Europe in *Arquitecturas Bis* (1974-1985)” **Alejandro Valdivieso Royo** analyzes the cultural background of an outstanding Barcelona magazine from the 1970s, demonstrating ties with a series of other manifestations that offered an alternative to the obscurantism of the Francoist regime and highlighting a significant connection with the reformist culture that derived from the *Wiener Secession*.

On Team X and the “New Brutalism”

In “The Story of Another Idea: *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten’s* Construction of Netherlander Contemporary Urban Landscape”, **Rebeca Merino del Río**, a researcher at the Universidad de Sevilla, studies various issues of the journal *Forum*, demonstrating its role as one of the main platforms for disseminating the ideas of Team X, through the work – primarily – of Aldo van Eyck and Jaap Bakema, uncovering a shared critical perspective in the rejection of the contemporary city’s forms of development and the search for urban models based on a humanization of social relationships.

Julio Garnica González-Bárcena, from the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, in “‘Dear Alison’. The diffusion of J.A. Coderch’s Work through his Participation in Team Ten”, takes as the foundation for his analysis a letter to Alison Smithson written by José Antonio Coderch in 1967, in response to a Team X questionnaire. Based on this declaration written by the Spanish architect, other central figures from the group are brought into the discussion, giving rise to a dialectical field in which both correspondences and ideological contrasts become apparent.

Finally, **Juliana Kei**, from the University of Liverpool, in the article “New Brutalism and the Myth of Japan”, shows the Smithsons’ interest in Japanese architecture, mediated by the films of Teinosuke Kinugasa, and its influence on the formulation of the New Brutalism.

How Brazil's Modern Architecture Revolution impacted Europe and Africa

Ana Cristina Dos Santos Tostões

Associate Professor at Technical University of Lisbon IST,
Department of Architecture and Civil Engineering University
of Technology Lisbon
ana.tostoes@tecnico.ulisboa.pt

Ana Cristina Dos Santos Tostões was born in 1959 in Lisbon where she lives. She is an architect (ESBAL, 1982), architecture historian (UNL, 1994) and chair of DOCOMOMO International. She has been coordinating the master's degree in architecture (2007-2009) and she is the architecture focus area IST- École Polytechnique de Lausanne (EPFL) Phd program responsible.

Her research field is the history of architecture and the city of the twentieth century, in which she develops an operative view oriented towards the conservation of modern architecture, focusing especially on post-war architectural culture and relations between Iberian, African and American modernity.

On these topics she has published books and scientific articles and organised exhibitions: *Portugal: Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert* (Deutsche Architektur Museum, Frankfurt, 1997); *Keil do Amaral, o arquiteto e o humanista* (1999); *Arquitetura Moderna Portuguesa 1920-1970, um património para conhecer e salvar* (Oporto, Lisbon, Évora, Coimbra, 2001-2004); *Arquitetura e Cidadania. Atelier Nuno Teotónio Pereira* (2004); *Biblioteca Nacional.Exterior/Interior* (2004); *Gulbenkian Headquarters and Museum, The architecture of the 60s* (2006); *Lisboa 1758: The Baixa Plan Today* (2008).

She has participated in several scientific conferences and given lectures in European, American and African universities. She has formed part of juries and scientific committees and has been invited as an expert to several awards. She is a member of ICOMOS for the modern heritage, formed part of the Advisory Council for IPPAR (Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico) and was scientific assessor of IPPAR for the Inventário da Arquitectura do Movimento Moderno, on which she worked in collaboration with Iberian DOCOMOMO.

She was member of the Scientific Committee at the fifth Iberian DOCOMOMO Congress (2005), was scientific coordinator of the "IAPXX-Survey of 20th Century Architecture in Portugal" (2004-2006), has contributed as an architecture critic to the *Jornal Público*, was vice-president of the Portuguese section of AICA (the International Association of Art Critics) and is currently vice-president of the Ordem dos Arquitectos. In 2006 the President of the Portuguese Republic awarded her the honorary title of Commander of the Ordem do Infante D. Henrique in recognition of her contribution to the dissemination of knowledge about architecture.

ABSTRACT

After WWII, magazines turned to fundamental sources for the dissemination of the modern avant-garde project. In this context, the discovery of modern Brazilian architecture through the media by the younger generation of Portuguese architects had enormous consequences for architectural culture. In fact, this modern Brazilian expression became a sign of hope and of future possibilities for the Portuguese architects who used it as a reference to heroically combat the Estado Novo's regime of censorship. This essay analyses how this information was received and articulated, and how it became an anchor for modern creation in Portugal and its colonies in Angola and Mozambique.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/10594>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Ana Cristina Dos Santos Tostões



KEYWORDS:

Modern Brazilian Architecture; Portuguese; Angola and Mozambique architects

Within the framework of “*Os Verdes Anos na Arquitectura Portuguesa*”¹ the discovery of this *Brazilian energy, through the publication of Brazil Builds, Architecture New and Old: 1652-1942*² fed a media explosion, with magazines around the world publishing Brazilian architecture. It is argued here, that this influence led to the maturity of Portuguese architecture, which is to say, its ability to produce modern work with conviction and without prejudice. In other words, to build modernity without forgetting their roots, tradition and history.

After an ephemeral modernism fuelled throughout the 1920s - by the French magazines such as *L'Architecture Vivante* affirming the influence of Auguste Perret, by the German *Baumeister* or *Bauwelt*, by the Italian *Architettura* or *Casabella*, and from 1932 on by the very important *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* - from 1938 to the end of the war, Portugal went through its hardest period of the fascism. This was marked in 1941 by an exhibition at the National Society of Fine Arts entitled *Neue Deutsches Architektur*, significantly translated as “Modern German Architecture”. Presented as an official advertising initiative by Nazi Germany, it brought together models, photographs and drawings of work built and designed for the Third Reich. Honoured by the presence of Germany's General Building Inspector of the Reich, architect Albert Speer (1905-1981), the exhibition had huge repercussions and prompted Cristino da Silva (1897-1976) to distance himself from the modernism he had practiced in the previous ten years and affirm to his students “that this would be architecture in the future, and not that of the Modern Movement, which they insisted on following.” Despite the alignment of the Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos (National Union of Architects) with the Estado Novo regime, expressed through its magazine *Arquitectos*, it is essential to note the shift that occurred just the next year, following the changing winds of war. In fact, in 1942 the magazine *Arquitectos* devoted a monographic edition to architectural production in the United Kingdom, anticipating the victory of the Allies, and the initial circumstances of the postwar period, characterized by the victory of democracy and the discovery of modern Brazilian architecture. In the dissemination of this new architecture of freedom, the 1943 MOMA New York edition of the publication *Brazil Builds, Architecture New and Old: 1652-1942* was of decisive importance.

Resistance during the war and Post-War liberation

In a situation of ideological and structural resistance, a third way was developed with a different approach to tradition and the question of identity, laying the foundations for the development of a critical reflection on regionalism. Keil do Amaral (1910-1976) is the author of reference with his work and writings³ (*A arquitectura e a Vida*. 1942; *A Moderna arquitectura*

1. Ana Tostões, *Os verdes Anos na Arquitectura Portuguesa dos Anos 50* (Porto: Faculdade de Arquitectura, 1997).

2. Philip Goodwin, *Brazil Builds* (New York: MOMA, 1943). (Cf. accounts collected by the author from the architects Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Fernando Távora, also confirmed in “*Entrevista a Maurício de Vasconcelos*”, *Arquitettura*, no. 123 (September-October 1971). It is a heavily illustrated volume that first analyses the historical evolution of Brazilian architecture and, in a second part, presents a large selection of built Modern Architecture, organized by use, from collective and social housing, to schools, hospitals, libraries, airports, churches and single-family houses.)

3. Francisco Keil do Amaral, *A Arquitectura e a Vida* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1942). Published in the collection “*Universidade Aberta*”, edited by Bento de Jesus Caraça, which reflected the desire to frame various disciplines in life and daily life, a concept inspired by the neo-realist movement. It was connected to a generation of intellectuals whose theoretical manifestos were connected to Neo-Realism and the polemics by which it defined itself, and began in the mid-1930s in magazines such as *O Diabo* (1934-1940), i.g. Fernando Piteira Santos, “*A literatura e a Vida*”, *O Diabo*, 5 August 1939.

Holandesa, 1943), along with Fernando Távora (1923-2006) who in 1947 published the essay *O Problema da Casa Portuguesa* ⁴.

History was about to be rescued by modern values. In *Uma Iniciativa Necessária*⁵, 1947, Keil proposed undertaking the work that Lúcio Costa had already carried out in Brazil, a task that would be accomplished in the following decade with the militant commitment of modern architects in their search for Portuguese regional architecture. The relationship with the article "*Documentação Necessária*" written by Lúcio Costa ten years earlier is evident, as can be seen in the reference he himself made to it in the 1995 re-publication (*Lúcio Costa: registro de uma vivência*): "Professor Carlos Ramos of the University of Porto stated that the book *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* was born from this article"⁶.

In the meantime, *Brazil Builds, Architecture New and Old 1652-1942*, revealed to the world two hitherto unknown aspects: the richness of Plain Portuguese Architecture⁷ and the great vitality of modern work, built from the 1930s onwards. This excellently documented bilingual edition had huge repercussions among Portuguese architects and was considered a treasure by those who owned it. This was how Portuguese architects learned about the rich heritage of colonial Brazil and, at the same time, the flourishing of the Modern Movement the country had experienced.

Discovering buildings such as those of the Ministry of Health and Education (*Ministério da Educação e Saúde - MES*), the AIB Headquarters (*Sede da Associação Brasileira de Imprensa*), the Ouro Preto Hotel or the Pampulha complex in Belo Horizonte, created a huge sensation. Victor Palla (1922-2009) wrote: "Our Brazilian children have better interpreted the voice of this past and the world has returned to those who build examples of young and irrepressible strength and sharpness."⁸

That is why we can say that the postwar situation reflected the modern rupture. It was a time when the regime was challenged in the context of the First National Congress of Architecture (1948), when young architects began to demand the adoption of the principles of Modern Movement Architecture and the importance of a functionalist response to the housing programme. Benefiting from an atmosphere of strong democratic politicization, the ideological component, the third operative vector of the Modern Movement, was finally included in Portugal. Indeed, the developmental period that characterized the first half of the 1950s⁹ triggered the production of new work that was to justify the resurrection of the magazine *A Arquitetura portuguesa*¹⁰ that later emerged, under the direction of Vitor Palla from 1952. It became a space for the most radical avant-garde of the International Style under Brazilian influence, and was also marked by its careful graphic design, adopting the formal canons characteristic of the taste of the early 1950s. It presented the most recent projects built by the youngest architects, while emphasizing Modern Latin American archi-

4. Fernando Távora, "O Problema da Casa Portuguesa", in *Cadernos de Arquitectura*, 1 (Lisbon 1947). This was a revised and enlarged version of an article with the same title, published by the author in the Magazine *Aleo* on November 10, 1945.

5. Keil do Amaral, "*Uma Iniciativa Necessária*", *Arquitetura*, no. 14, (April 1947).

6. Ana Tostões, *A Idade Maior* (Porto: FAUP Publicações 2014).

7. Cf. George Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture, Between Spices and Diamonds* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1972).

8. Victor Palla, "*Lugar da Tradição*", *Arquitetura*, no. 28 (January 1949).

9. Considering that "o período que vai de 1949 a 1958 é a época de Ouro do Estado Novo, tão poucos problemas sérios teve de defrontar e tantos êxitos, embora relativos, conseguiu concretizar no domínio do desenvolvimento económico e social ["the period from 1949 to 1958 was the golden age of the Estado Novo, with so few serious problems to face, and so many successes, even if relative, in the area of economic and social development." cf. César de Oliveira - "*A aparente quietude dos anos 50*", in *Portugal Contemporâneo*, op.cit., p 75.

10. In March-April 1952, in the year XLV, the 4th series of the magazine "A Arquitetura Portuguesa" began, and continued for 12 important issues until October 1957.

ecture with two editions dedicated to modern Colombian architecture. The magazine *A Arquitetura*, whose ethical aspect was more sensitive to the Mexican problematic, focused on the architect's social position, and published designs and theoretical articles on the most recent and brilliant achievements of this Central American country. But, in reality, the strongest influences that manifested themselves were primarily from Brazil. Indeed, the first significant date of the new Brazilian architecture was 1942 when, following a competition in 1935, Niemeyer, Lúcio Costa and Reidy concluded the Ministry of Education Building for which Le Corbusier had been invited as a consultant.¹¹

The consolidation of modern Brazilian architecture, discovered through the book *Brazil Builds*, stimulated contestation and the struggle for modern architecture. In 1949 the Instituto Superior Técnico received an exhibition of Brazilian architecture accompanied by a conference by Wladimir Alves de Sousa. Presenting about 85 works, it was greeted with enthusiasm by the young Formozinho Sanchez (1922-), as a "lesson" on the "perfect notion of the union of structural principle with aesthetic balance".¹² Four years later the "Exhibition of Contemporary Brazilian Architecture" was hosted by the Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos (National Union of Architects), as one of the activities of the Third UIA Congress. It celebrated the teaching of Lúcio Costa, a proponent, since the 1920s, of the Bauhaus and primarily the ideas of Corbusier, and "showing the fruits on the other side of the Atlantic of the radiance of European culture as a new branch of that immense and venerable tree of Western culture. Architecture thus remains once again in the history of mankind, as the material testimony of a civilization, like a book of stone - today written in concrete and glass - which includes the institutions of a people, their spiritual and material life, their conception of the world and their ideals"¹³.

A modern lab: modern architecture in Angola and Mozambique

The Portuguese colonies in Africa, Angola and Mozambique, extensive territories in sub-Saharan Africa, witnessed significant developments between the end of World War II and the Portuguese democratic revolution of 24 April 1974, which led to the political independence of these two African countries the following year. This development took place¹⁴ against a backdrop of colonial assertion carried out by the fascist Portuguese regime.

A Modern Diaspora arose in these territories where a debate took place and the architectonic models reproduced underwent metamorphoses due to their overseas geography.

This architectonic production was affiliated to the codes of the Modern Movement, and was designed and built in the cities of Angola and Mozambique from the beginning of the 1950s. Notable for the moder-

11. José-Augusto França, *História da Arte Ocidental* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2006), 294.

12. *Arquitetura*, no. 29 (February-March 1949):17.

13. Cf. conference by Professor Wladimir Alves de Sousa held in the S.N.B.A. as part of the activities of the 1953 exhibition, in "Exposição de Arquitectura Contemporânea Brasileira", *Arquitetura*, no. 53 (November-December 1954): 22.

14. The postwar period was also a challenging time for the political regime. The *Estado Novo* survived the war politically, but the defeat of fascism meant a very different social, economic and political situation from that of the 1930s, exposing it to its first serious global crisis, in which, to a certain extent, the question of power was raised for the opposition. Cf. Tostões, *Cultura e Tecnologia na Arquitectura Moderna Portuguesa*, 368. At this turning point in the conquest of both freedom of expression for architects, and space to assert the inevitability of modern architecture, architects promoted industrialization and its use in solving the housing problem, without constraints or obligatory styles. They demanded intervention not at the scale of the isolated building, but at the scale of the city. They quoted Le Corbusier and the utopia of his *Ville Radieuse* and, recurrently, the Athens Charter as an urban dogma on which to base the urgent new urban and architectural rationality, in the sense of a manifest and orthodox attitude, cf. Tostões, *Cultura e Tecnologia na Arquitectura Moderna Portuguesa*, 369. The holding of the First National Congress of Architecture in May 1948 in Lisbon had the greatest impact on the affirmation of modern architecture in Portugal. It was an event with major implications for the understanding of architectural production in the 1950s that must be considered in the context of the cultural agitation that followed the end of the war, cf. Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos na Arquitectura Portuguesa*.

nity of its social, urban and architectural programmes, and also for its sustained formal and technological research, in the international context, it constitutes a distinctive heritage characterising the modern architecture of these young countries.

In fact, before World War II, colonial buildings in sub-Saharan Africa reflected a variety of influences. Modern Movement ideas had influenced the so called Transvaal Group in South Africa, led by Rex Martienssen (1905-1942) and his colleagues John Fassler (1910-1971), Gordon McIntosh (1864-1926) and Bernard Cooke (1910-2011). All of them were followers of Geoffrey Eastcott Pearse (1885-1968) and were influenced by the ideas of Le Corbusier (1887-1965), and by the international objectives of the Modern Movement based on purist forms and technological language, and seeking to transcend local and regional identities. Rex Martienssen became editor of the *South African Architectural Record* magazine in 1932, achieving widespread dissemination of the Modern project up to the 1940s, and producing a significant amount of work with his group. This spread of information even extended to Portugal, where the Martienssen House, in Greenside (1939-1940), was published in the magazine *Arquitectura*¹⁵.

15. "Casa na África do Sul", *Arquitectura* no. 30 (1949). Also Ana Tostões (coord.), *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian*, Lisbon, 2006.

The Modern Movement was introduced on a large scale in Portuguese-speaking Africa after the end of the World War II. This modernist cycle took place in a context of hotly-contested international politics, starting with the creation of the United Nations in 1945, strengthening with the outbreak of the Colonial War (1961-1974), and the late industrialisation of the country and its colonies. After World War II, the orientation of Portuguese colonial policy is best understood by taking into account the intense pressure placed on it by the United Nations. As Udo Kultermann (1927-2013) stated: "the events following the War and especially the foundation of the United Nations in 1945, had intense reverberations on the changing status in several parts of Africa. Among those who were advocating greater freedom were Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Leopold Sedar Senghor in Senegal and Julius Nyerere in East Africa. But it was the declaration of the United Nations and the subsequent ideology of the Cold War which had the strongest impact on the long-awaited independence of African states from their colonial rulers. Independence was achieved by Libya in 1952, Ghana in 1957, and in rapid succession several other African states, such as Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, Nigeria, Congo, Gabon, Dahomey, Niger, Mauritania and Senegal all achieved their independence in 1960, a highly significant year for Africa in general"¹⁶. Trying to assuage this criticism, in the 1950s the Portuguese dictatorship sought to create the idea of a Lusitanian identity, specifically using the term *Luso-tropicalism*, coined by Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987), the renowned Brazilian sociologist.

16. Udo Kultermann and Kenneth Frampton, *World Architecture 1900-2000: Central and Southern Africa* (Cham: Springer, 2000), 23.

In Portuguese colonies, a focus on infrastructure was accompanied by a *modern* expression, which was reinvigorated by the Brazilian influence after the publication of *Brazil Builds* (1943) and the widespread diffusion of South American work¹⁷. Throughout the 1950s, many architects who strongly believed in the transformative capacity of architecture, travelled to the African colonies where architectural expression was freer than that practiced in the Portuguese metropolis. African geographical and climatic conditions also generated different variations of the modern vocabulary, which acquired new scales and expressions¹⁸. The further away these territories were from the direct influence of central power, the more receptive they proved to be to modernisation. In a seemingly less restrictive society, architects found it was possible to build based on the universality of *modern* ideas.

This period was an extraordinary challenge to the "African generation"¹⁹, who not only had the opportunity to work according to a language based on progress, equality and universal modernity, but were also involved in large-scale commissions. Encouraged by the vastness of the African landscape, these architects were also able to believe that they were building a new place, a new world that would fulfil purposes demanded of it by the contemporary world. In the adventure of design and construction, they believed they could create a *modern utopia* in Africa.

Living in an atmosphere of architectural freedom and possibility, as John Godwin recognized, these were the years when "Africa was a paradise for architects"²⁰. In fact, the ideals of the Modern Movement spread through the media were even stronger, as if architects were working in Africa as "good missionaries"²¹, not only to support colonial welfare but, in many cases, to support the new independent nations in the name of human progress and justice.

It is important to understand this output within the African context, as part of a broader process of transformation, and analyse this desire and ability to work under sincere and progressive guidance by implementing pioneering work with strong social and urban significance, within a two-fold colonizing framework of politics and architecture. As Udo Kultermann argues, modern architecture is always a colonizing action, which may explain the scant space given to African culture in this picture of uniformity. John Lagae believes that "in the line of Eurocentrist thought that viewed Africa as a continent without history, the whole debate on building in the Belgian colony was directed by the argument that the Congo lacked a proper architectural tradition, it was seen as an architectural *terre vierge*"²².

Universal civilization versus local culture

Within the context of Europe's reconstruction after World War II, Modern Movement architecture was adopted on a global scale together with

17. Philip Godwin and Kidder Smith, *Brazil Builds, Architecture Old and New* (New York: MoMA, 1943). Then followed by monographs on the same subject: *L'architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 13-14 (September 1947); *L'architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 42-no. 43 (August 1952). In Portugal: Vítor Palla, "Lugar da tradição", *Arquitectura*, no. 28 (April 1949); "Arquitectura Moderna Brasileira (Exposição no IST)", *Arquitectura*, no. 29 (February-March 1949); Rino Levi, "A Arquitectura é uma Arte e uma Ciência", *Arquitectura*, no. 36 (November 1950); Oscar Niemeyer, "Bloco de Habitações na Praia da Gávea", *Arquitectura*, no. 41 (March 1952); "I Bienal de S. Paulo-Exposição Internacional de Arquitectura", *Arquitectura*, no. 41 (March 1952); Lúcio Costa, "O Arquitecto e a Sociedade Contemporânea", *Arquitectura*, no. 47 (June 1953); "O pintor Burle Marx e os seus Jardins", *Arquitectura*, no. 52 (February-March 1954); "Exposição de Arquitectura Contemporânea Brasileira", *Arquitectura*, no. 53 (November-December 1954); Silvío de Vasconcelos, "Arquitectura Brasileira Contemporânea", *Arquitectura*, no. 88 (May-June 1965). Also on magazine *Técnica* by Associação de Estudantes do Instituto Superior Técnico: Aníbal S.A. Vieira, "Brasília, Cidade Modelo", *Técnica*, no. 287 (December 1958). And, later on, on several editions of *Binário*: Luís Boróbio, "Arquitectura da América entre Câncer e Capricórnio", *Binário*, no. 12 (September 1959); Lúcio Costa, "Brasília, Capital do Futuro", *Binário* (número monográfico dedicado a Brasília), no. 22 (July 1960); "50 Anos de Arquitectura Brasileira", *Binário*, no. 62 (March 1972).

18. Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos na Arquitectura Portuguesa*.

19. José Manuel Fernandes, *Geração Africana. Arquitectura e cidades em Angola e Moçambique, 1925-1975* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2002).

20. John Godwin, "Architecture and Construction Technology in West Africa", *Docomomo Journal - Modern Heritage in Africa* (2005).

21. Antoni Folkers and Belinda A. C. van Buiten, *Modern Architecture in Africa* (Cham: Springer, 2019), 163.

22. John Lagae, "Modern Architecture in Belgian Congo", *Docomomo Journal - Modern Heritage in Africa* (2005): 48.

a repeatable systemic programme linked to industrialization. With the *International Style*²³, a trivialized and uniform expression was pursued which limited it to an architecture of bureaucracy and trends, leaving little space for creative invention or to respond to the diversity of its location. At this point, Bruno Zevi defined a second moment of the Modern Movement, the post-war crisis accompanying the CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture), and championed organicism, which paved the way for Nordic empiricism, neo-liberty in Italy, and critical regionalism in Portugal and other less-industrialized southern countries.

In 1940 Alvar Aalto (1898-1976) claimed the humanization of architecture²⁴. Five years later Bruno Zevi restored the importance of Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) and the values of an organic architecture against the rationalist Bauhaus of Walter Gropius (1883-1969) and the purist formalism of Le Corbusier²⁵. The CIAM opened up the debate, giving rise to Team 10 and the sustained criticism of Ernesto Rogers (1909-1969)²⁶, who exposed this contradiction and sought to relate the content of an art form with social facts and history²⁷. In 1957, in an editorial in the Italian magazine *Casabella*, he posed the paradigmatic question for modern architecture: "Crisis or Continuity?". The derivatives of the International Style revealed the possibility of pluralism and of successfully living with tradition and history, and in this context a critical realism that resisted the perpetuation of formalist values began to be outlined.

In 1955, the *Portuguese Regional Architecture Survey* became the hinge between these two worlds in which abstract rationalism was seen realistically in the vernacular, in an attempt to overcome the dichotomy of local versus global, and so recognize the past, history and tradition from the same critical point of view that had been reached in the scholarship of that time. That is, the recovery of the Modern Movement in which, after reaching the point of confusing technical and artistic expression, would now no longer be seen as a way of characterising the contemporary world through the use of pre-built forms and materials, but as a method to achieve formal exaltation through the synthetic expression of the useful and beautiful.

In the same year Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005) critically analysed the growing phenomenon of universality, considering it as the advance and subtle destruction, not only of traditional cultures, but also the creative heart of major cultures, and questioned whether the direction of modernisation entailed abandoning the "boat" of past culture that had been a nation's *raison d'être*²⁸. According to Ricoeur, humanity had entered a single planetary civilization representing gigantic progress for everyone and an overwhelming task of survival and adaptation of cultural heritage in this new context: "We all resent, to different degrees and in varying ways, the tension between, on one hand, the need for access to this progress and, on the other hand, the need to preserve our inherited heritage [in that]

23. Henry-Russel Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *International Style: Architecture since 1922* (New York: Norton & Company, 1995).

24. Alvar Aalto, "A Humanização da Arquitectura", *Arquitectura*, no 35 (1950).

25. Bruno Zevi, *Verso un'architettura organica* (Torino: Einaudi, 1945).

26. Particularly editorials in *Casabella* magazine, reaching one of the highest peaks in the development of the Modern Movement. Ernesto Nathan Rogers, *Esperienza dell'Architettura* (Milano: Skira, 1997).

27. What justifies the plethora of Italian historians, especially the development of their capacity for an independent and unprejudiced outlook that finds its key in Bruno Zevi, especially in its initial reflection? Croatian Aesthetics opened a path to synthesis which was continued by Lionell Venturi and Edoardo Persico, reworked by Giulio Carlo Argan and Ernesto Nathan Rogers, and later by both Aldo Rossi and Manfredo Tafuri.

28. Paul Ricoeur, *Histoire et Vérité* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1955).

we suffer the pressure of the two different, but equally compelling, needs. How to characterize this universal world civilization?²⁹. Considering the contradictory character of this development, he considered that the conflict arose from the fact that this single world civilization produced, at the same time, a kind of erosion on the cultural basis that had sustained the great civilizations of the past. For him, this threat was translated into, among other disturbing effects, the diffusion of a weak civilization, the decisional counterpart of an elementary culture³⁰, as if mankind, massively accessing a mass consumer culture, were to be held at the mass culture level. Thus, formulating the crucial problem presented to developing peoples: whether joining the path of modernization necessitates leaving the old cultural past which was the reason for a people's existence?

In a colonized Africa the problem often took the form of a dilemma and a vicious cycle in that liberation struggles against colonial powers could only be conducted by claiming one particular scenario, because this fight was not only motivated by economic exploitation but moreover, by a desire to replace the colonial culture created by the colonial period.

Paul Ricoeur considered that it was necessary to rediscover this deep cultural personality rooted in the past in order to feed national demands, and that it was precisely at this point that the paradox would arise: how to modernize and simultaneously return to the source, to the origin? It is necessary to seek roots in the past to rebuild a national soul and raise this claim in the face of the spiritual and cultural personality of the colonizer, but, to enter the modern civilization, it is necessary to simultaneously adopt scientific rationality, embracing a strategy which often requires the pure and simple abandonment of an entire cultural past.

Interestingly, this same paradox is encountered by industrialised nations that long ago built their political independence around a former political power. In fact, the encounter with the other cultural traditions is a serious test, and a completely new direction for European culture. The fact that a universal civilization has been sustained for such a long time within Europe has led to the illusion that European culture was, in fact and in law, a universal culture. The advance obtained over other civilizations seemed to provide experimental verification of this postulate, the meeting of other cultural traditions was itself the result of this breakthrough, and more generally the fruit of Western science. Was it not Europe that in the 19th century invented the disciplines of history, geography, ethnography and sociology under their precisely expressed scientific forma when "sharing" Africa?³¹

In the early 1960s, Udo Kultermann signalled that Africa was beginning to develop itself under new laws, and that the world came to look at the "dark" continent with fresh eyes. If the investigations of Leo Frobenius helped to understand ancient African culture, it was now time to look for

29. Ricoeur, *Histoire et Vérité*.

30. "It is everywhere, across the world, the same bad movie, the same shilling machines, the same horrors of plastic or aluminum, the same twisting of language by propaganda, etc." cf. Ricoeur, *Histoire et Vérité*.

31. Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance" in, *La Posmodernidad*, ed. Hal Foster (Barcelona: Kairós, 1983).

a new culture being born. Africa's great year of 1960, brought not only political separation, but the following decade indicated it was able to achieve surprising results for the first time. In one work Kultermann listed the new modern *Neues Bauen* buildings spread throughout Africa, and grouped them into ordered sets³². He argued that architecture in Africa was part of a tradition of thousands of years that had entered a completely new phase. In 1963, his book was intended to prove the existence of an African architecture, an idea hitherto denied. He considered that only an architectural concept open to experimentation with constructive methods could have accomplished what African architecture had, which was slight, variable and perennial.

European and American architecture of the twentieth century followed a surprising path, with analogies to African architecture, and that the general characteristics of Africa reflect certain concepts of modern civilization, such as the overcoming of the difference between artistic creation and reproduction in works art, between the beautiful and the useful, as well as the distinction between a work of art and one that follows a strict artistic procedure³³. It is important to consider the relation between man and nature and he notes that "construct, in Africa, means to create a centre of crystallization for human relationships"³⁴. Furthermore, insisting on the local factor, he states that "when the architecture in tropical countries is analysed, several characteristics must be taken into account: extensive information on temperature, humidity, class and wind direction, and the movement of the sun and vegetation type should be carefully studied if we wish the construction to be usable." So he dared to argue that it is not always easy to properly satisfy the requirements for certain construction, from the drawing board of an architect's office in Europe. He was sure that there is no generic solution and, for each case, one must find the most appropriate answer. In developing new solutions he made sure to adopt the principle of cross-ventilation. For him the key was to balance the architectural elements based on the levels of humidity and solar radiation and protect those elements permeable to the passage of air. Thus, the architectural structure was the result of constructive components that provide shade and wall openings for air circulation. But the question it is not to mechanically align these elements, because the art of building involves space and volume, with light, movement and harmony.

When critical regionalism began to be widely discussed in the early 1980s, there was a return to thinking that had emerged soon after WWII: the search for identity and authenticity was understood as a paradigm in the evolution of post-colonial societies. This conflict and this dilemma, both common in developing nations, as Ricoeur describes, must assume a role in re-examining the architecture designed within the framework of Portuguese colonization in Africa in the three decades before the independence of Angola and Mozambique. Further work is needed on

32. Udo Kultermann, *Neues Bauen in Afrika* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1963).

33. Kultermann, *Neues Bauen in Afrika*, IX.

34. Kultermann, *Neues Bauen in Afrika*, VIII.

the question of authenticity as a criterion appropriate for establishing a national spirit and sense of identity, and on formulating the concept of tropicalism and the transcultural theme.

Tropicalism and transculturalism

Thinking on transculturality frequently arose in association with the key role of climate and its influence on ways of life, in the formation of cultural identity, and in shaping architecture. On the 1920s the Mexican writer, philosopher and politician José de Vasconcelos (1882-1959) introduced the idea of "miscegenation" bucking the dominant racist thinking of the time and valuing the tropical climate as a promoter of the interaction between different people that can lead to a "synthesized race"³⁵. In his book, *A Raça Cosmica, Missão da Raça Ibero-Americana*, Vasconcelos defends that, through the combination of human races – white (colonizers), black (slaves imported from Africa) and yellow or red skins (natives) – the two nations of Iberia (Portugal and Spain) had created in Central and South America the first synthesized human race with the power to transform the world. Eight years later, the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre identified "tropicalism" as a social theory and Brazil as the major transcultural nation³⁶. Gilberto Freyre believed that the climate factor played a decisive role in what he designated as successful colonization. He considered that the Portuguese were predisposed to conduct processes of miscegenation with blacks and Indians, and still more decisively, to develop a culture of hybridization in Brazil, thanks to specific historical and geographical conditions. Gilberto Freyre argued that the proximity of Portugal to the northern coast of Africa promoted determinant cultural exchanges with the Moors, in addition to the fact that the Portuguese had the opportunity to share a similar climate and experience living in the tropics through their travels to Africa and India even before the colonization of Brazil. In his writings, namely in *Casa Grande e Sanzala* (1933), he identifies three key themes: miscibility, mobility, climatability. In a word, Gilberto Freyre considered the extreme capability of adaptability, recognizing an analogy between the physical capacities of acclimatization, the mentality of living outside of systems or strict rules and a natural affinity the Portuguese had to cultural miscegenation.

In turn, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1902-1982), in *Raízes do Brasil* (1936), published three years after the work of Gilberto Freyre's, and later on in *Visões do Paraíso* (1959), interpreted the process of forming Brazilian society, highlighting the legacy of Portuguese colonization and the dynamics of cultural transfer. Along with the work by Gilberto Freyre and the book *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo*, by Caio Prado Jr. (1907-1990)³⁷, *Raízes do Brasil* forms part of this trilogy, and focused on the search for a national identity by applying the contrast between work and

35. José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica – Misión de la raza Iberoamericana*, Barcelona, Agência Mundial de Libreria, 1925. Cf. Octavio Paz, *El Laberinto de la Soledad*, (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), 183.

36. Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Sanzala* (Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, 1957)..

37. Caio Prado Jr., *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* (São Paulo: Ed. Brasiliense, 1996).

adventure, rationality and friendliness, private and public, and presented a thesis of the cordial man, due to interbreeding, recognizing the adaptability of the Portuguese settler and other people in this situation to develop an eminently rural, patriarchal society based on slavery. In fact, the attempt to implant European culture in an extensive territory endowed with adverse natural conditions was the predominant and highly consequential fact, which can be identified in the origins of Brazilian society³⁸. The spirit of Portuguese rule prioritised rural life, unlike most other conquering Western nations, which chose the construction of cities as the most decisive instrument of domination. This aspect is important in understanding late African colonization. In Africa, according to Udo Kultermann, the challenge was how the tradition could be accepted as a more natural heritage than a previous one, and how it could be activated by Western, European or American models". Udo Kultermann advocates the "creative continuity of tradition", which at any time is only possible when seen in relation to contemporary needs³⁹. In 1961, regarding the work of Pancho Guedes, Tristan Tzara (1896-1963), said: "one has indeed to come to the end of the world. And for me at least to Africa, to find the most ancient, the most archaic things and also – surprising though it may seem – the most up-to-date, the most extraordinary things – things which were dreamt of 30 or 40 years ago and are now becoming reality on this soil of Africa"⁴⁰.

Modern architectural production in the Portuguese colonies was actually a natural starting point which arose from the assumption of the late architecture of the Modern Movement in all its full⁴¹, metropolitan status, by linking two references that differentiate Portuguese production and clarify the understanding of its distinctive modern process: the almost simultaneous discovery of vernacular architecture when classifying its roots; and the architecture of the Modern Movement as a contrasting process, both discovered on the basis of Brazilian architecture revealed in the book *Brazil Builds*⁴² and the contact of Lucio Costa with Carlos Ramos (1897-1969) and Keil do Amaral (1910-1975).

Towards critic tropicalism: Brazil and the MESP experience

Lefavre and Tzonis argue that tropical architecture was traditionally regarded as the expression of an architecture adapted to the tropical climate⁴³. This school of thought includes the work on colonial and immediate post-colonial period by Otto Koenigsberg (1908-1999), Victor Olgyay (1910-1970), Jane Drew (1911-1996) and Maxwell Fry (1899-1987)⁴⁴. They considered a limited model of narrow spectrum, in which architecture was only seen in technical terms of solar shading and ventilation systems, without looking for broader issues such as the expression of specific values as a consequence of the culture, the place and the

38. Sérgio Buraque de Holanda, "Fronteiras da Europa", in *Raízes do Brasil* (Lisbon: Gradiva, 2000).

39. Udo Kultermann, *New Directions in African Architecture*, (New York: George Braziller, 1969).

40. Tristan Tzara, introduction to Pancho Guedes, "As Coisas Não São o Que Parecem Ser – A Hora Autobiográfica", in *Manifestos, Ensaios, Falas* (Lisbon: Publicações, , AO, 2007), 20.

41. Tostões, *Cultura e Tecnologia na Arquitectura Moderna Portuguesa*.

42. Goodwin and Smith, *Brazil Builds*.

43. Alexander Tzonis, Liane Lefavre and Bruno Stagno, *Tropical Architecture: Critical Regionalism in the Age of Globalization* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2001), 14.

44. Kultermann and Frampton, *World Architecture 1900-2000*.

people. If tropical architecture emerged to respond to the challenge of colonialism and globalization, the truth is that its architects faced a task of sustaining the sense of place and questioning strategies beyond the issue of climate, and embracing wider themes such as tradition, memory, community, technology and sustainability.

The construction of new Brazilian architecture was a distinct moment in the modernization process because, by trying to understand its roots, it exerted a major influence on the production of Portuguese architects in the post-war period in Portugal, and especially in the colonial territories of Angola and Mozambique.

With its definition in the late 1930s and dissemination during the following decade, following the exhibition at MoMA in New York in 1942, and the worldwide reach of its catalogue the next year, Brazilian modern architecture became part of a national strategy of modernization. The affirmation of Brazilian culture was made not only through the thoughts of Gilberto Freyre, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and Caio Prado Jr., but also in a more visible and recognizable manner through its new architecture, ideologically constructed between the old and new, thus becoming a symbol of national identity.

Lucio Costa (1902-1998) was the leading architect, an opinion-maker and man of action committed to this process, who developed a comprehensive strategy. Lucio Costa wanted to lay the foundations for the creation of a modern Brazilian architecture rooted in its traditional architecture, what he called "colonial architecture" which was no more than "plain Portuguese architecture" as later identified by George Kubler: "Plain Portuguese architecture resists and escapes the usual categories [...] by being freed from the academic rules and Italian forms. The Portuguese plain style is like a vernacular architecture, more related to the dialect of vital traditions than with the great authors of the remote past [...] In Portugal exist unknown elements of a different geography where architectural clarity, order, proportion, are simple and striking, the contours of another aesthetic"⁴⁵. This aesthetic of scarcity referred to by George Kubler is critically understood by Lucio Costa, in recovering memory and history, when he realized that the statement establishing modern Brazilian architecture involved a connection with the constructivist tradition. The creation of a Heritage Institute (SPHAN) in 1937, in which Lucio Costa was the director of the architecture department, arose precisely at the moment when the strategic statement of modern Brazilian architecture emerged⁴⁶. Lucio Costa denounced the dichotomy between past and future as false, and announced a line of investigation focused on researching a history of architecture that was capable of articulating erudite and vernacular solutions in order to unravel the nature of colonial architecture. Part of this research was conducted in Portugal between 1949 and 1954 in a search for the roots of Brazil's architecture, and the observations made with

45. George Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture: Between Spices and Diamonds, 1521-1706* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1972).

46. Lauro Cavalcanti, "The role of Modernists in the Establishment of Brazilian Cultural Heritage", *Future Anterior*, no. 2, Columbia University, (2009).

Carlos Ramos and Francisco Keil do Amaral, ultimately stimulated the aforementioned survey on Regional Architecture in Portugal⁴⁷.

In “*Documentação Necessária*” (1937) a research programme was presented containing an explicit assumption: to demonstrate the possibility of building a genealogical line between the architecture of the colonial period and modern architecture. The study required that documentation consisted of a systematic analysis of spatial devices in the organization of housing, including its regional variations, systems and processes of construction and forms of occupation⁴⁸. The aim of taking this up to the present, was “to determine” the reasons for the abandonment of such good standards and the origin of [current] clutter⁴⁹.

The plan to restore dignity to the present through the rediscovery and interpretation of a colonial past was no more than this plain lesson of architecture, this functional scholarship, and this “architecture more made to serve than to please”⁵⁰. As he argued, “our old architecture has still not been adequately studied ... popular architecture reveals in Portugal, in our view, more than scholarly interest”⁵¹.

Lucio Costa was a true admirer of modern architecture and particularly Le Corbusier. After briefly being director of the school of architecture of Rio de Janeiro, in 1935 he managed to convince the Minister of Education and Health, Gustavo Campanema (1900-1985) to cancel a competition for the ministry headquarters and to invite Le Corbusier to work on the new project with a group of architects of the new modern generation. The ideas of Le Corbusier had enormous resonance not only among architects, but also with Brazilian intellectuals. In fact, there was a clear affinity between the message of Le Corbusier and the ambitions of intellectuals linked to the Brazilian *New State*⁵². The political and civic strategy of a state of fascist and modernist resonance was to “build the new man,” while the message conveyed by Le Corbusier was embodied in *L'Esprit Nouveau*, and in the modern *Vers une Architecture*⁵³. Regarding the construction of the headquarters of the Ministry of Education and Public Health (MESP), the political and cultural diversity addressed Brazilian concerns for a “high” quality of life identified by health, culture and education⁵⁴.

The MESP building designed and built between 1936 and 1942, under the supervision of Le Corbusier by Lucio Costa's team⁵⁵, was the vehicle used in this revolution to construct a Brazilian nation, and in the desire to find its own cultural and artistic expression, in a framework combining the wish to achieve a national identity through the ambition of progress and modernization. For the Swiss master who envisioned “the world as a work in progress”⁵⁶, it provided an opportunity to fulfil the desire to build: “It is indispensable to create architectural works, large or small, but significant”⁵⁷.

47. SNA, *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (Lisbon: Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, 1961).

48. Lucio Costa, “*Documentação Necessária*”, in *Lucio Costa: sobre Arquitectura*, ed. Alberto Xavier, (Porto Alegre: Centro de Estudantes Universitários de Arquitectura, 1962), 86-94.

49. André Tavares, *Novela Bufa do Ufanismo em Concreto* (Porto: Dafne, 2009).

50. Francisco Keil do Amaral, “*Uma Iniciativa Necessária*”, *Arquitetura*, no. 14 (April 1947).

51. Adding that, “it is in their villages, in the aspect of their mainly rural buildings at once rude and cosy, that the qualities of the breed show up better. Without the sometimes pedantic view, when unimpeded and relaxed, it then develops naturally, with balanced proportions and, in the absence of “make up”, a perfect soundness of form”.

52. Lauro Cavalcanti, “*Le Corbusier, o Estado Novo e a Formação da Arquitectura Moderna Brasileira*”, in Abílio Guerra, *Sobre História da Arquitectura Moderna Brasileira* (São Paulo: Romano Guerra, 2010), 109.

53. Le Corbusier, *Vers une Architecture* (Paris: Éditions Vincent Frel, 1958).

54. This refers to the educational aspect of Le Corbusier's crusade focused on learning from the experience of modern life and his desire to educate on dwelling. These coincidences are very important to ideologically support the legitimization the Brazilian Estado Novo offered to modern architects and modern architecture, converting the axis of recognition, formerly located in the old Academy of Fine Arts, in view of Le Corbusier's participation in this situation.

55. “*Le projet de l'édifice du Ministère de l'Éducation et Culture a été objet d'une étude long et attentif. Face à l'importance de l'œuvre, divers études préliminaires ont été développés, dont il faut souligner ceux qui ont été réalisés par le Corbusier*” cf. “*Memória Descritiva do Trabalho Elaborado com Oscar Niemeyer, Affonso Eduardo Reidy, Carlos Leão, Jorge Moreira e Ernani Vasconcellos, tendo Le Corbusier como Consultor*”, *Arquitetura e Urbanismo* (July-August 1939), in Alberto Xavier, *Lucio Costa: Sobre Arquitectura* (Porto Alegre: Uni Ritter, 2007), 57.

56. See: Jean Louis Cohen, *Le Corbusier, La Planète Comme Chantier* (Paris: Textuel, 2005).

57. Le Corbusier, “*Lettre à Gustavo Capanema de 5.5.1936*”. [Archive Capanema] in Mauricio Lissovsky and Paulo Sérgio Moraes de Sá, *Colunas da Educação* (Rio de Janeiro: MC-IPHAN, Edições do Patrimônio, 1996).

The MESP answered the need for a symbolic modern building simultaneously made “landmark and symbolic landmark. Historic, because it was on it that a monumental scale continuous glass façade was first applied; symbolic because, in a socially and technically underdeveloped country, it was built with a vision of the future”⁵⁸. In the Anglo-Saxon world and in North America the new MESP was widely used as the prototype for modern office buildings suitable for tropical climates. The building was completed in 1942, in time to be photographed by Kidder Smith (1913-1997) and published in *Brazil Builds*, and then, achieve even wide circulation, in the *Architectural Forum* of February 1943. The new building was classified by SPHAN five years later, in 1948, as national heritage, revealing this wonderful ambiguity between past and future, and attesting to the power of the architects in the creation of heritage understood as inheritance in construction. The modern architecture of the future attained the paradoxical status of heritage legacy.

With regard to the originality of its programme and form, construction and functional space, totally different typologies were used to solve the problems of public buildings, most notably the three terraces, developed at various levels, scenically created by Burle Marx, and the innovative use of *brise-soleil* that Le Corbusier had proposed in his studies for Alger and Barcelona in 1933⁵⁹. It became an icon of modernity, a worldwide symbol of progress and the universal scale that the architecture of the Modern Movement could attain: as an ideological symbol of progress, efficiency, modern adventure, challenge and hope for a fantastic future. Form and space performed to emphasize a continuum of visual space developed from different platforms, stairs and ramps, magnificently working architectural promenades. The structural technique of independent building façades, ensured the free plan, with curtain walls employing sun protection systems to control light, while the floor was suspended from the two robust volumes that intertwined so gracefully. The influence of this work on Portuguese architects was huge and had clear consequences for architectural production following World War II in the colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

Design with climate

Although one could argue that what moved the Portuguese architects who worked in the African colonies was the great ideal of the Modern Movement, the truth is that these ideas were certainly tempered by the experience of built modern architecture in Brazil and generally referenced Latin American production that was admired and published in magazines, featuring work from Colombia to Mexico. In fact, the means needed to control the adverse conditions of warm climates were already present in many different types of architectural structures, services buildings, and

58. Le Corbusier, “Lettre à Gustavo Capanema”.

59. Le Corbusier, *Le Corbusier: Oeuvre Complete* (Zurich: Les Éditions d'Architecture, 1995), 108. “Il nous restait une seule solution: le brise-soleil proposé par Le Corbusier pour Algérie. Ce système consiste en un système de plaques adaptés aux façades avec le but de les protéger du soleil...Il devenait donc indispensable, une fois que ce moyen de protection n'avait pas encore été utilisé encore, qu'on élabore un étude avec attention du type à être employé.” cf. “Memória Descritiva do Trabalho Elaborado com Oscar Niemeyer, Affonso Eduardo Reidy, Carlos Leão, Jorge Moreira e Ernani Vasconcellos, tendo Le Corbusier como Consultor”, *Arquitetura e Urbanismo*, 59-60.

social housing blocks, from the time these modern architects had come to Angola and Mozambique.

The application of innovative climate adaptation systems was common, with examples in villas and collective housing erected in Angola and Mozambique. With the new wave of architects operating in the African territories, far from the censorship of the political regime centred in Lisbon, the principles of the Modern Movement were applied without reference to the colonial past, or any concession to nationalist official taste imported from the metropolis. Rather, the place and the weather proved to be sources of inspiration for the creation of imaginative and well-regulating devices, and simultaneously constituted a stimulus and alibi for the foundation and development of a formally exuberant modern language, full of plasticity, volumes and effects of light and shade.

The programmes of climate adaptation relied on architectural solutions designed to enhance the use of "outdoor" spaces, for example the use of access galleries and circulation, and the introduction of sunlight control devices such as *brise-soleil*, using fixed or removable, vertical or horizontal flaps, but also prefabricated grids in concrete or ceramics, as in the Brazilian "combogó".

The *brise-soleil* made of removable flaps were firstly used on the northern façade of MESP, and, was subsequently exhaustively applied on public buildings in Chandigarh and Brasilia, along with other shading solutions. As demonstrated by João Vieira Caldas⁶⁰, the Angolan architect Vasco Vieira da Costa (1911-1982) took this concept further, as Le Corbusier did in the Palace of Justice, in Chandigarh, by associating the concept of grid with the concept of visor, designing numerous variations of large grids coordinated with fixed shading concrete flaps, thereby combining solar protection and ventilation.

The term "tropical architecture" is often associated with Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, due to the international dissemination of the publication *Architecture in Tropical Humid Zones* (1956) followed by *Tropical Architecture in the Dry and Humid Zones* (1964). Their modern architecture was developed in Nigeria during the Second World War, when Fry and Drew settled as advisors for the development of the territory under the British colonial office. Involved in the theories of the Modern Movement, they participated in CIAM, founded the MARS group (1933) and sponsored a visit by Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer to the UK. In Nigeria they designed Ibadan University (1949-1960) and in Ghana, St. Francis College (1950) and Adisadel College (1951). Far from European production in African colonies, they designed a new architecture and gave shape to a brand: tropical architecture; *Architecture in the Humid Tropics* was a collaboration with nature "to fill a gap in general information for architects and town planners... to understand how to deal with the circumstances by which they were

60. João Caldas, "Design with Climate in Africa. The World of Galleries, Brise-Soleil and Beta Windows", *DOCOMOMO International Journal*, no. 44 - (2011).

surrounded and invent what was necessary". Recognizing "how invigorating it has been for us architects working in England to shake free from the crippling mental state brought about by too great a reverence for habits and customs which have outlasted their time"⁶¹. Later on, in the early 1950s, the couple also worked in Punjab on the construction of Chandigarh, with Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret (1896-1967). The couple Fry and Drew played a key role in the development of the issue of designing with climate. Their greatest contribution was to reveal, through widely circulated publications, what was behind Brazilian modern architecture and its formal response. In the spirit of Anglo-Saxon precision, the proposal was based on an efficient approach, articulating technical and systematic design tools with sanitary requirements, thus establishing a pedagogical and methodological approach that would have a huge echo. This became associated with the creation of the course "Tropical Architecture" at the Architectural Association (AA) organised with Otto Koenigsberg in 1955, on the completion of a conference with the same name⁶² (1954). The AA curriculum consisted of climatology, building materials, responsible climate design, health and hygiene.

Otto Koenigsberger was one of the pioneers in this process. Trained in the principles of modern architecture, he studied between 1927 and 1931 with Hans Poelzig (1869-1936) and Bruno Taut (1880-1938). His architectural thought and practice changed with his exile in 1933 to Mysore, India, where he was chief architect of the state of Mysore (1939-1948), and later became director of housing (1948 to 1951) of the Ministry of Health of Nehru's government. In 1951 he emigrated to London, joining the department of Tropical Architecture (1954-1971) at the AA School of Architecture, and directing the department from 1957 until it closed in 1971. He worked for the United Nations Housing Missions and, in 1970; he organized the Development Planning Unit (DPU) at University College of London (UCL). In 1974 he published a treatise entitled *Manual of Tropical Housing and Building*⁶³. Recently, this topic has been studied by Vandana Baweja. Studying the limits of resources and energy, theorizing on tropical architecture as a responsible debate on climate, aware of energy awareness and building with local resources, Baweja establishes continuity between architecture and tropical ecology⁶⁴. The beginning of an architecture designed with environmental awareness had followers interested in the climatically responsible design and development of passive climate control technologies, notably in the work of Hungarian twins Victor and Aladar Olgyay who produced an important body of knowledge gathered in the book *Design with Climate: bioclimatic Approach to Architectural Regionalism*⁶⁵ that had enormous transcontinental repercussions from 1963 onwards. The term tropical architecture is seen as a link between colonial planning and modern architecture. The conferences that took place after 1950 paradigmatically defined tropical architecture as a set

61. Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, *Tropical Architecture in the Dry and Humid Zones* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1964).

62. Kulterman and Frampton, *World Architecture 1900-2000*, 54.

63. Otto Koenigsberger, T.G. Ingersoll, A. Mayhew, S.V. Szokolay, *Manual of Tropical Housing and Building* (London: Longman, 1974).

64. Vandana Baweja and Diana Dunn Morris *A Pre-History of Green Architecture: Otto Koenigsberger and Tropical Architecture, from Princely Mysore to Post-colonial London* (Charleston: BiblioBazaar, 2011) and Ann Arbor (PHD diss. in Philosophy of Architecture, University of Michigan, 2008).

65. Victor Olgyay, *Design with Climate: Bioclimatic Approach to Architectural Regionalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

of design practices on being *climate responsive*, so Vandana Baweja considers that, over the last 50 years, the concept of tropical architecture has migrated from a hygiene discipline to a discipline of architectural hygiene⁶⁶. Work has also been done in Portugal on the topic of adapting construction and buildings to the tropical climate, notably by authors such as Ruy Gomes⁶⁷ and Jose Pacheco⁶⁸.

Kultermann, the search for a new African architecture

Up to the beginning of the 1950s, critical essays on African architecture published by certain newspapers and magazines only showed French and British architectural output in African colonies⁶⁹. This situation changed in 1956 when the couple Fry and Drew presented a cross-section of research work by other architects facing the modern African experience. They then concentrated on design experience focused on specific tools, creating a sort of case study manual. From the start of the 1960s, the art historian Udo Kultermann became a seminal reference in the analysis of modern architecture in Africa, thanks to his pioneering work *Neues Bauen in Afrika*⁷⁰ (1963) which analysed an area never previously studied by scholars. "For Kultermann the new African architecture could not just be the expression of a response to the climate factor, he called for a wider cultural approach"⁷¹. As already acknowledged, 1960 seemed to be the "Year of Africa", coinciding with the peak of the beginning of the process of decolonizing Africa. This followed the post-war situation and the creation of the United Nations in 1945 (which represented a huge change in the statutes of various parts of Africa that had been "shared" by the European states at the Berlin Conference of 1884), with the independence of 17 countries and the beginning of rebellions leading to independence all over the continent.

Kultermann's approach, questioning the link between tradition and innovation in African architectural production, was unprecedented. Moved by the optimism of the early 1960s, he demonstrated the existence of an African architecture, believing that the new task was to build the new nations and that this implied a new evolution in African architecture.

Six years later, in *New Directions in African Architecture* (1969)⁷², he recognized the existence of an African architecture, pointing towards a future and a path through the analysis of typologies, in order to show trends and draw conclusions. He argued for the importance and value of the school building typology, including universities. In the volume published in 2000, *World Architecture 1900-2000: A Critical Mosaic*⁷³, he used the chronological resume of 1963 and chose to illustrate 100 twentieth-century buildings in sub-Saharan Africa, assuming a border line in the Sahara, and defining Sub-Saharan cultural unity to build the idea of the continent of hope. As Margarida Quintã recognizes, Kultermann's progression emerges from

66. Baweja and Dunn Morris, a *Pre-History of Green Architecture*, 133.

67. Ruy Gomes, *O Problema do Conforto Térmico em Climas Tropicais e Subtropicais* (Lisbon: LNEC, 1967).

68. José Pacheco, *Características da Arquitectura em Regiões Tropicais Húmidas* (Lisbon: Ministério do Exército, Direção do Serviço de Fortificações e Obras Militares, Divisão de Obras Ultramarinas e das Ilhas Adjacentes, 1963).

69. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*: "France d'Outre-Mer", no. 3 (1945); "Tunisie", no. 20 (1948); "Maroc", no. 35 (1950); "Afrique du Nord", no. 6 (1955); "Afrique Noir", no. 7 (1957). "Commonwealth 1", *Architectural Review*, no. 752 (1959); "Commonwealth 2", no. 761 (1960).

70. Udo Kultermann, *Neues Bauen in Afrika* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1963). Udo Kultermann, *Architecture Nouvelle en Afrique* (Paris: Morancé, 1963) (French translation); *Arquitectura Moderna em África* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1963) (Spanish translation).

71. Margarida Quintã, "Une Introduction à La recherche 2", EDAR, EPFL, 2013, 5.

72. Kultermann, *New Directions in African Architecture*.

73. Kultermann and Frampton, *World Architecture 1900-2000*.

the optimism to have room for doubt in 1969, and then to hope on the threshold of the 20th century⁷⁴.

His work was followed in 1996 by Eelleh Nmandi⁷⁵, in *African Architecture, Evolution and Transformation*, reinterpreting the concept of triple inheritance, the result of the indigenous cultures, Islamic and Western, as the intersection of influences exerted on modern African architecture. Kultermann assumed the demand for a new modernity would rescue the African tradition, taking on a cultural uniqueness while directing attention to buildings with educational functions as “the most significant architectural achievements in Africa”⁷⁶. As we shall see, in the case of the Portuguese colonies, the development of school architecture had a huge influence, confirming its connection to colonial strategy⁷⁷. The truth is that, during the postwar period, together with the development of the liberation processes, school architecture developed adopting the expression of modern production. In Mozambique, as we shall see, this typology was to be extensively developed by a group of architects, notably the work of Fernando Mesquita. Kultermann argues that the evolution of African architecture from colonialism till the maturity of the first strands of an African identity took place in a short period of time,⁷⁸ promoting the introduction of Western contributions in the development of construction techniques and technology. At the same time, these rapid changes favoured the awakening of a return to tradition. Of architects active in Portuguese-speaking Africa, Pancho Guedes (1925-2015)⁷⁹ is the only one recurrently referred to and analysed by Kultermann, drawing a parallel between regional and global context⁸⁰.

Ulli Beier (1922-2011), who Kultermann met in 1962 at the 1st International Congress of African Culture, organized by Frank McEwen (1907-1994), considered it necessary to find a shortcut between traditional African arts and modern forms of expression. In the group of Pancho Guedes, Ulli Beier states that they could “deliberately create a set of circumstances, an atmosphere in which such a development” outside the academic formation could occur. He adds: “The most successful were Pancho Guedes in Maputo and Frank McEwen in Salisbury” and portrays Pancho Guedes as an architect and painter interested in the activities of local young artists: “Visiting his home is like a visit to a workshop: painters, carvers and embroiderers are working everywhere. Pancho Guedes gives no formal courses but encourages criticism, buying works and sometimes providing a monthly allowance that allows the artists to work full time without financial problems”⁸¹.

Regarding the more radical influence of the CIAM, only in the 1940s after the completion of the First National Congress of Architecture (1948), did references in Le Corbusier's Radiant City to its Ville and the Charter of Athens begin to be noticed⁸². The ideas of Le Corbusier were warmly received, not only to replace the horizontal garden city by a vertical one, but also the

74. Margarida Quintã, “Une Introduction à La recherche 2”.

75. Elleh Nmandi, *African Architecture, Evolution and Transformation* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996).

76. Kultermann, *New Directions in Africa Architecture*.

77. Ola Uduku, “Educational Design and Modernism in West Africa”, *DOCOMOMO International Journal*, no. 28 - Modern Heritage in Africa (2003).

78. Kultermann and Frampton, *World Architecture 1900-2000*, 32.

79. Ana Tostões, “Correspondences by Pancho Guedes”, EAHN/FAUUSP Conference Architectural Elective Affinities: Correspondences, Transfers, Inter/Multidisciplinarity, São Paulo, March 2013.

80. “Pancho Guedes built over 25 years in the remote country of Mozambique, an architectural world in which old and new, European and African, fantasy and radical requirements were no longer contrasting each other, but were unified into a new whole, a *Gesamtkunstwerk* in which all the included values were enhanced and elevated to a new level”, in *S AM 03 Pancho Guedes: an Alternative Modernist* ed Pedro Gadanho (Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, 2007).

81. *As Áfricas de Pancho Guedes. Coleção de Dori e Amâncio Guedes*, Lisbon, ed. Alexandre Pomar (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisbon, 2010), 53.

82. In 1935, Le Corbusier published “*La Ville Radieuse*” as in former plans, he presents “une ville centralisée forte densité de population, la conception et une organisation hiérarchique par un zonage fonctionnel (logement, les loisirs, le travail et le mouvement).” The main difference lies in the room layout, which had previously demonstrated economic stratification, and now follows the criteria of elements per family. The skyscraper is proposed, which became known as *Unité d'Habitation*, a building with mixed functions, repeatable along the plan. During the CIAM, the 4th Congress was held (1933), where the principles of functional city were discussed, resulting in the Athens Charter.

repetition of housing units articulated by pedestrian paths separated from traffic lanes. In 1948, the magazine *Arquitectura* published an article about the CIAM VI dedicated to the theme “Can our cities survive” held in 1947 in Bridgewater, England, expressing the desire to familiarize readers with the importance of the discussed issues: “and as we know what is outlined in the north, between the architects and planners with an open mind to the problems of our time, a movement of adherence to these principles, we will provide our contest as a laudable initiative, disclosing to the extent possible, the ideals and work of CIAM”⁸³. The Athens Charter was then translated and published by Francisco Castro Rodrigues⁸⁴ (and his wife Maria de Lourdes Rodrigues), before travelling to Angola where he permanently settled as chief architect of the Municipality of Lobito, developing urban plans applying the principles set out in CIAM IV (1933). He worked in town planning and architecture, applying a programme that organised the city according to four vital functions: housing, leisure, work and circulation. Furthermore, he designed several public facilities that dramatically illustrate the concept of leisure adapted to a culture and a place like Africa, responding to a tropical climate: the School of Lobito (1966-1967), the Lobito Market (1958-1964) and the movie-terrace Flamingo (1963)⁸⁵.

In 1949, the Swiss master was again quoted in the *Architecture*⁸⁶ magazine news, this time with a letter sent in 1936 to a group of modern architects in Johannesburg on the occasion of a manifesto they published in the journal *South African Architectural Record*. The following paragraph was republished an article that summarized the work of CIAM, with the results of CIAM VII, held in 1949 in Bergamo, Italy⁸⁷. In 1959, the last CIAM was held and Team X was formed, presenting itself as a vanguard including Pancho Guedes, the architect from Mozambique who maintained a large network of international knowledge, justifying the fact that was the only Portuguese architect to be published outside the country⁸⁸.

The influence of Le Corbusier was present mainly in Angola, in the work of Vasco Vieira da Costa and Fernão Simões de Carvalho, who worked in Paris, in the atelier on *Rue de Sèvres*, and took the course of urbanism, which explained their ideological commitments, as shown later, in these architects’ plans for Luanda. In fact, the principles of the Modern Movement were applied from the 1950s, especially in the Portuguese overseas territories. On one hand, the African colonies in the southern hemisphere were geographically remote from the repressive control of the metropolis, on the other hand, these territories also constituted a new world, in which the size and the need for development promoted a wide range of experimentation and innovation in the fields of planning and construction. Finally, the lexicon of the architecture of the Modern Movement spurred a creative response and was especially suited to respond to the climate and tropical environment.

83. “Um Novo Congresso dos CIAM”, *Arquitectura*, no. 19 (January 1948).

84. Due to the size of the document, twelve editions were necessary to publish the Athens Charters: *Arquitectura*, no. 20 (February 1948), *Arquitectura*, no. 21 (March 1948), *Arquitectura*, no. 22 (April 1948), *Arquitectura*, no. 23-24 (May-June 1948), *Arquitectura*, no. 25 (July 1948), *Arquitectura*, no. 26 (August-September 1948), *Arquitectura*, no. 27 (October-December 1948), *Arquitectura*, no. 28 (January 1949), *Arquitectura*, no. 29 (February-March 1949), *Arquitectura*, no. 30 (April-May 1949), *Arquitectura*, no. 31 (June-July 1949), *Arquitectura*, no. 32 (August-September 1949).

85. On this subject, see Ana Magalhães, “Modern Architecture in Africa: Open-Air Movie Theatres”, *XI International Docomomo Conference*, Mexico, 2010.

86. Le Corbusier, “Carta de Le Corbusier”, *Arquitectura* no. 30 (April 1949).

87. The architects Alfredo Viana de Lima (1913-1991) and Fernando Távora attended the last CIAM meeting in 1959. Eric Paul Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

88. “Pancho Guedes”, *Architectural Review*, no. 770 (April 1961) and “Pancho Guedes”, *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui*, no. 102 (June-July 1962).

The relationship between architecture and revolution became clear to many. In this context, the statement of modern architecture was seen as a political compromise, designed not only to solve the housing problem, but also to extend this action to urban design and planning. This period was an extraordinary challenge for the African generation that not only had the opportunity to work according to a system based on a progressive discourse, but also to take on the design of large-scale works. Encouraged by the vastness of the African landscape, one could believe that they were involved in the construction of a new place, a new world capable of responding to the ambition of a progressive modern transformation.

The Best of All Possible Worlds. USA 1949-1959: God's Own Country

Ugo Rossi

Iuav University of Venezia

urossi@iuav.it

Ugo Rossi, trained as architect in Venice and Milan. After his Master Degree, at the Polytechnic of Milan, he furthered his education at Venice Iuav University, achieving a Ph.D. with a thesis on Bernard Rudofsky. Rossi's theoretical and practice interests are focused on the investigation of the different meanings of modernity and the intersections between history and culture in the critical practice of modern and contemporary architecture. His essays and articles were published in books, exhibition catalogues, national and international journals. He edited "Tradizione e Modernità, l'influsso dell'architettura ordinaria nel moderno" (LetteraVentidue, Macerata, 2015).

He is the author of "Bernard Rudofsky. Architect" (CLEAN, Naples, 2016). Currently he is working on a new book: "Visions of Modern Architecture".

ABSTRACT

After the 1945 atomic bombings over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the awareness of the two world super powers – USA-URSS – that conventional arm would have not been adequate anymore for political confrontation, led the two opposite blocks to the Cold War, fought almost exclusively on the basis of persuasion. Following WWII, the US, having to face the quick and unwanted unfolding of communism over the rubles and ruins of Europe, decided to organize their own propaganda machine to contrast the Soviet "soft power". This paper intends to deal with the persuasive intent delivered by the US – with Shows, Exhibitions, International Fair and the help of the whole government apparatus – in order to convincingly popularize the advantages of their way of living throughout the world. It will be pointed out how, in cultural and anthropological terms, such initiatives led to the penetration of American culture, a sort of colonization, all over the world. An enormous endeavor of persuasion aimed to inform and convince that what the American way of life could secure to everybody would have been, amongst other things, a prosperous world of freedom, the best of all possible worlds.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9667>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Ugo Rossi



KEYWORDS:

Marshall Plan; Cold War; Peter Harnden; The Caravan of Peace Exhibition; Atoms for Peace Exhibition

Two months after the atomic US bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, George Orwell wrote a piece in which was clear that the groundwork for his novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*¹ had been defined by the following article: «The atomic bomb [put] the possessors of the bomb on a basis of military equality. Unable to conquer one another, they are likely to continue a combined ruling of the world. It is difficult therefore, to predict any upset to such balance except through slow and unpredictable demographic changes [...] the kind of world-view, the kind of beliefs, and the social structure that would probably prevail in a state which was at once unconquerable and in a permanent state of "cold war" with its neighbors, [the atomic bomb] is likelier to put an end to large-scale wars at the cost of prolonging indefinitely a "peace that is no peace" ²».

Nineteen Eighty-Four (1984) was set in a very near dystopian future, ripped apart by an ambiguous and eternal war enslaving the whole of Europe to the nightmare of a totalitarian dictatorship and a policing state, where *War is Peace, Freedom is Slavery, Ignorance is Strength*³.

In 1958, Aldus Huxley wrote on George Orwell's novel *1984* describing it as «a magnified projection into the future of a present that contained Stalinism and an immediate past that had witnessed the flowering of Nazism»⁴. On the contrary Huxley's novel *Brave New World*⁵ was written before the rise of Hitler in Germany and when Stalinism had not yet turned into a dictatorship. For Huxley, in 1948, Orwell's novel – *1984* – was considered possible, despite the fact, that the recent developments in Russia and the recent advances in science and technology had deprived *1984* of some of its likeliness. Huxley hypothesis was based on the idea that the Great Powers could be interested in something like *Brave New World* more than something like *1984*. Society, in *1984*, was controlled by fear and certainty of punishment. In *Brave New World*, punishment was rare and moderate, government control was achieved by systematic reinforcement of desirable behaviours, by non-violent manipulation, and by genetic standardization. Moreover, happiness, in *Brave New World*, was the certainty of personal satisfaction, guaranteed to everyone, in anyway.

After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the two superpowers – USA and URSS – newly achieved awareness that the political confrontation could not be fought anymore with conventional weapons, led the two opposing sides toward what George Orwell defined the "Cold War"⁶: two global social systems facing each other up on matters of persuasion because «unable to conquer one another⁷».

After WWII the US have to face the problematic spreading of Communism throughout European continent in ruins. They start to organize their activities to contrast the Soviet "soft power" by creating the *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA) – founded thanks to the 26 July 1947 *National Security Act* – and the *United States Information Agency* (USIA)⁸.

1. George Orwell, *1984* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949).

2. George Orwell, "You and the Atomic Bomb," *Tribune* (October 14, 1945); George Orwell, "You and the Atomic Bomb," in *The Collected Essays, Journalism And Letters of George Orwell*, Vol. IV, eds. Sonia Orwell, Ian Angus (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968): 6-10.

3. Orwell, *1984*.

4. Aldus Huxley, *Brave New World Revisited* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958): 5.

5. Aldus Huxley, *Brave New World* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932).

6. Orwell, "You and the Atomic Bomb": 9.

7. *Ibid.*

8. In March 194, in occasion of the Congress in favor of military help to Turkey and Greece – countries that the White House considered directly threatened by the communist expansion plan – President Truman announces the role of the US power as custodian of world stability: «One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion [...] we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes [...] I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes» [Address of the President to Congress, Recommending Assistance to Greece and Turkey, 80th Congress, second session, March 12, 1947]. In July of the same year, the Congress acquires the *National Security Act*, drawn up by the financial broker Ferdinand Eberstadt. The Act institutionalizes, in a times of peace, the synergies adopted in times of war by the 3 sections of the armed forces and by the private one too: the Pentagon, the industrial production, military and university research, all in the name of National Security needs. The State Apparatus is somehow rationalized and every obstacle is removed from the National Policies Program turning it into a global strategy. Not only, but in terms of global overview, Truman also predicts a concerning division not only between East and West but also between North and South: «We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas [...] Only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people»; See: "Truman's Inaugural Address", January 20, 1949, transcription, NARA Archive.

Their decision, to specifically engage the cultural field was determined by their awareness that winning culturally was as important as winning economically and politically. Wilson Compton, director of the State Department's *International Information Administration* (IIA), stated: «As a nation we are not really trying to win the "cold war." We are relying on armaments and armies to win a "hot war" if a "hot war" comes. But winning a hot war which leaves a cold war unknown will not win very much for very long. Our present facilities for the "war of ideas" should enable us to retard the advance of international communism, dull the edge of its propaganda and help to give the free world a breathing space. This itself is important. But these facilities will not enable us to win the "cold war". Nor perhaps will even larger facilities enable us to win it, until as a nation, or mutually with other nations, we can couple what we are able to say overseas more effectively with what we are able to do overseas⁹».

Anti-communist US policies implementation started in 1947 with the *House of Un-American Activities Committee* (HUAC). In 1953, based on the proposal by the Wisconsin Senator, Joseph Raymond McCarthy, started the enquiry on the presence of communist propaganda on American soil, which later on led to the infamous *Black List*.

Such a "divided" world, characterized by suspect and underground conspiracies of spies and "007" agents, is masterly described in the novels by former agent of the *Naval Intelligence Division* (NID), Ian Fleming¹⁰. The American writer Ray Bradbury, in those same years, interprets the atomic phobia. He pictures, in *The Martian Chronicle* (1950), a nuclear war as an inevitable landscape for the palingenesis of humanity, forced to "start again" – after the destruction of the planet caused by the war – on a different planet¹¹. Also in *Fahrenheit 451* (1953) a nuclear conflict annihilates cities and the modern civilization, so that humanity can rise again, thanks to rebels a marginalized individuals, from the ones that turned into books, – forbidden object to be burnt¹² – were the sole custodians of "memory." The only ones able to survive the conflict because alien to cities, technology and the happiness of goods.

On one hand the US Government concentrates all its efforts to overthrow the perception of unease and social unrest caused by the recent past – despite the high level of scientific knowledge, or probably because of it – on the other it starts to implement a propaganda project aimed to persuade the world of the benefits of American culture. Such will be the task assigned to the *Economic Cooperation Administration* (ECA), the *European Recovery Program* (ERP), the *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* (FBIS), the *International Press Service* (IPS), the *Office of International Information* (OII), the *Radio Free Europe* (RFE), the *Voice of America* (VOA), the *United States Information Agency* (USIA), the *Atomic Energy Commission* (AEC), a small listing of the many agencies appointed to promote and divulge the *American Way of Living*.

9. Wilson Compton, "Cold War", in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954, National Security Affairs, 1645. Vol. II. Part 2. A/MS Files, Lot 54 D 291* (Washington: 1984).

10. NID, the British Armed Forces investigative Intelligence Agency akin to the US Office of Strategic Service (OSS) which in 1947 becomes the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

11. Ray Bradbury, *The Martian Chronicles* (New York: Doubleday, 1950).

12. Ray Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1953).

Jointly with the USIA initiatives – whose function was to coordinate the activities to boost American culture, history, literature, art and cinema – the US Government also implements a plan to inform – a form of propaganda – on the reconstruction activities and the economic recovery operated by the Marshall Plan. Thanks to the *European Recovery Program* (ERP) and the *Organization for European Economic Cooperation* (OEEC)¹³, they are able to show the advantages that could be assured to the Countries part of the *Mutual Security Agency* (MSA)¹⁴, and of the *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO)¹⁵, and, thanks to the *United States Atomic Energy Commission* (AEC)¹⁶, they decide to promote the enormous possibilities for a peaceful use of nuclear energy.

This study will mainly address the initiatives that have contributed, in anthropological and cultural terms, to the colonization, the affirmation and the absorption of American culture in Europe and in the rest of the world. For this reason the wide-spreading and the “knowledge” of American architecture in publications and magazines¹⁷, will not be taken into consideration in this paper, as it is unlikely that such knowledge might have been the cause of such huge cultural change. Certainly more important were probably the movies released in the early 40s: *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Stagecoach* (1939), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) and *Love Me Tender* (1956); the novels by John Steinbeck, William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway, and, in the early years of the 1960s, cartoons such as *The Flintstones* and *The Jetsons* created by William Hanna and Joseph Barbera. The first ones driving cars fueled by human propulsion and using dinosaurs as airplanes or domestic appliances; *The Jetsons* using space ships instead of cars, robots to do the house-works and operating domestic appliances that have very much in common with the ones produced at that time, giving, in that way, an image of the future very much at hand. Also very influential, in this case to convince the masses of the benefits of nuclear power, were comics like *The Fantastic Four* and *Hulk* by Stan Lee and Jack Kirby, whose superpowers had been acquired thanks to the use of nuclear energy or, like in the case of *Spider Man*, thanks to a spider accidentally “exposed to radioactivity.”

The persuasive commitment carried out capillary and diffusely by the US resulted in a sort of educational work, or, should one prefer to say, indoctrination, to popularize the appeal of the American way of living throughout the world, without bafflement or misconceptions.

The *Bulletin Books, Exhibits and Cultural Activities in the Overseas Information Program*¹⁸ infers that to assure the knowledge of American culture the US government lavished huge amounts of energies in helping publisher to translate and print in the national languages American Literature, to distribute in cinemas American films, to broadcast through the radio American music and finally to boost the knowledge of the American

13. The Marshall Plan was announced on 5th June 1947 by the secretary of State George C. Marshall to an audience of students and teachers at Harvard University, it was adopted on April 3, 1948. The Plan provides a budget of 14 billion US dollars, for the period 1948-1952, aimed to the re-construction and economic recovery of the European Countries involved. European Recovery Act; General Records of the United States Government Record Group 11, NARA.

14. Established on October 10, 1951.

15. Established on April 4, 1949.

16. Atomic Energy Act of 1946, Public Law 585, 79th Congress.

17. Let us think about the historical work by Bruno Zevi which at that time contributes to promote the thought and work of Frank Lloyd Wright by setting up the “Associazione per l’Architettura Organica” (APAO) – Bruno Zevi, *Verso un’architettura organica* (Torino: Einaudi, 1945); Bruno Zevi, *Toward an organic architecture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1950) – and by creating an interest around the architects of the Bay Region and the Prairie School, as well as Richard Neutra and Marcel Breuer American activity and work.

18. *Books, Exhibits and Cultural Activities in the Overseas Information Program* (Washington: USIA, 1956).

language, both spoken and written. An educational under-layer on which global modern culture was going to feed upon because, in order to accept the new culture, a good knowledge of its benefits was needed. The US government was then ready to present the American *Way of Living*.

How do Americans live?

Following on the peace keeping effort, the policies for development and the cultural and economic exchange program of the *High Commissioner for Occupied Germany* (HICOG), the *Amerika Häuser*¹⁹ were built in occupied Germany. They were used to organize exhibitions, conventions and other initiatives to extend the knowledge of American culture: the emblematic *Wir bauen ein besseres Leben (We're Building a Better Life)*²⁰ opened in 1952, at the Marshall House in Berlin-Charlottenburg²¹. It was a typical Marshall House event, focused on showing the *American Way of Living*: a home containing supplies of consumer goods manufactured by Marshall Plan member nations in demonstration of the benefits of international exchange guided by the market. Designed by the Peter Harnden and Associates²², the exhibition showed a roofless ideal model home, representing the home of a middle class family living in the Atlantic Community. It consisted of a kitchen, laundry and utility room, dining room, nursery, bedroom, bathroom and living room as well as a garden with outdoor furniture and tools. Visitors could see the interior from a rectangular balcony running around and above the house. The house included the latest in Western consumer technologies. Everything was intended to demonstrate that a better standard of living can be attained by the Atlantic Community people through increased productivity and integration.

At the same time at the exhibition *Wir bauen ein besseres Leben*, at the Marshall House in Berlin, were put on show 6,000 products, all manufactured in Marshall Plan member nations, including Eames and Hermann Miller chairs. The State Department often helped establishing European showrooms for the US furniture company Hans Knoll and sponsoring many other travelling furniture exhibitions, for example, in 1951, *Design for Use, USA*²³, a European version of MoMA's *Good Design* exhibition, showed in New York in the same year²⁴.

Wir bauen ein besseres Leben was shown first in Berlin, then transferred to Stuttgart in early December and lastly in Hanover. Successively the exhibition toured Austria, France and Italy²⁵.

Mobile Exhibitions

The 1940s and 1950s "travelling" exhibitions were meant to show and divulge in the many European countries, still devastated by the war and often lacking available exhibiting places, the results of the US cultural

19. The *Amerika Häuser* is an institution developed following the end of WWII to provide an opportunity for German and Austrian citizens to learn more about American culture and politics, and to engage in a discussion and debate on the transatlantic relationship. The most important American Houses were built in Berlin, Hannover, München, Freiburg, an Tübingen.

20. See: "We Build a Better Life", *Information bulletin* (February 1953): 2; Alfons Leitl. "Wir bauen ein neues Leben", *Baukunst und Werkform*, no. 12 (1952): 39-50.

21. The Marshall House is the *Amerika Häuser* of Berlin, designed by Bruno Grimmek with Werner Düttmann, was opened in October 1950.

22. Peter Graham Harnden was born in London in 1913. Following after his father, a member of the U.S. Diplomatic Corps stationed in Europe, he attends primary schools in Spain, Germany and Switzerland. After moving to the United States at eighteen, he attends some courses at the Faculty of Architecture in Yale, moving later to Georgetown (1932-36). In 1941, when America enters WWII, Harnden is in the U.S. Officer Corps. A period of instruction takes place at Camp Ritchie, Maryland (where he becomes friends with Peter Blake). Using his knowledge of contemporary Germany, he works mainly at administrative tasks in the American information services, participating in the Nuremberg Trials in 1945-46. From 1946, Harnden becomes a member of the Office of the Military Government in U.S. occupied Germany (OMGUS), he is in the Information Control Division in Monaco, Berlin and Nuremberg. He becomes head of an "Exhibition Program" devoted to promote US cultural, social and scientific life to a German audience in the immediate postwar period. When ERP starts in 1948 the Marshall Plan Office Paris was the centre where exhibitions across the Europe were organized. Harnden is the chief of those exhibition programmes and then he is responsible for the design of the exhibits that toured the European countries, housed in different vehicles like canal barges in Holland, the Europa Zug train in Germany, caravan and trucks, to show American support, all around Europe.

23. See "Design for Use, USA", *Information bulletin* (May 1951): 26.

24. On Show at MoMA, from November 22, 1950 through to January 28, 1951. The exhibition, sponsored by The Merchandise Mart in Chicago and the MoMA, contained 250 items of home furnishings.

25. "La Casa senza frontiere", *Domus*, no. 298 (1954): 20.

and economic policies in Europe. They were not chosen for educational reasons, for the effectiveness of their set up, adaptable structures easy to move around, or even for their intent and purpose, but rather for the fact that they brought within Europe – and not only – the informational doctrine promoting the economic and political reconstruction program that the US operated during the post war years, from 1947 to 1959. Those exhibitions introduced the strategic intents of American culture at International Fairs and cultural events in the 1950s.

Europe Builds

In December 1949 the Information Division ECA and the Office of the Special Representative (OSR) implemented their projects with the support of the OEEC: *The Caravan, The Train of Europe and Barges*²⁶.

The first large mobile exhibition was called *Caravan*, telling the story of the Marshall aid and its part in the reconstruction of Europe to explain the economic advantages of co-operation between European countries, the commercial and cultural links between Europe and America, and the need for increasing productivity.

The Caravan exhibition was designed and planned by The Peter Harnden and Associates Studio. It was contained in four expanding trailers and a large circus tent which was erected in the central space in each town where the convoy stopped. The tent housed the main exhibition space and the trailers themselves served as auxiliary pavilions. Outside the circus tent, in which visitors paused to view a 20 minutes movie of European recovery, they were given the opportunity to watch other short documentaries. Other devices in the exhibit included electrically operated question-and-answer panels and a telephone dialling device allowing the reception to answer questions concerning the free inter-European exchange of goods. From April 1950 to March 1951, the Caravan visited Belgium, France, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Holland and Italy and it was viewed by 1,852.768 people.

*The Train of Europe*²⁷ began its tour in Munich in April 1952, and travelled continuously on the many European railway lines throughout Germany, Denmark, Norway, France, Italy, Austria and Benelux. By December 1952 it had been visited by over five million visitors.

The Train of Europe was originally a German military hospital train and consisted of seven couchettes. Four of them housed the main exhibition, one adapted and changed the exhibits according to each country visited, one was set up as a cinema, one contained generating equipment and the last one provided accommodation for the crew. A telephonic question-and-answer device was also put in place. The train could be taken

26. See: "Foreign-aid Program in Europe: Report of the Investigations Division of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Relative to Activities of the Foreign-aid Program in France and in the Regional Offices of the MSA in Paris" (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953); "Four mobile exhibitions," *The Architectural Review*, no. 675 (April 1953): 216-225; Howard Calkind, "OEEC Truck Caravan", *Information Bulletin* (October 1950): 33-34. Ernst Scheidegger, "Mobile Ausstellungen", *Werk*, no. 4 (April 1953): 109-123.

27. See: "Europa-Zug in Munich on Eve of Tour", *Information Bulletin* (May 1951): 73; See also: "Train Of Europe," *Information Bulletin* (September 1951): 23.

off the railway tracks to be shown in alternative public places other than railway-stations, like for its preliminary show in Paris²⁸.

The Barges Exhibition was set up in two standard Dutch barges, it included an exhibition on productivity designed for the Holland Productivity Council and the Dutch *Mutual Security Agency* (MSA). It opened at Nijmegen in April 1952, and it toured around the Dutch canal system. One barge was set up as a cinema and the main exhibition was placed above deck, protected by tent.

The Caravan of Modern Food Service and Supermarket USA Exhibitions

The offer for the best life possible and the State Department exhibitions on modernization demonstrate as the promotion of the *American Way of Living*, could have not been partial and had to include all aspects of life. That is why, besides the home space, great relevance was given to general goods, industrial products, devices and electrical appliances of modern living: the fridge and the kitchen were the symbols of a distinctively American invention, representative of the essence of people's capitalism and its possibility of choice and abundance. The American Kitchen, full of appliances and equipment, is the ultimate US convenience product that European countries had to adopt, what people in West Germany called the American "Fat Kitchen"²⁹. The USA promote this commodified domesticity with a mobile exhibition supported by the *Mutual Security Agency* (MSA).

The Modern Food Service, designed by the Peter Harnden and Associates, was a mobile supermarket model that opened in Paris in May 1953. The circulating version resulted in the usual caravan-trailers format. Its set up provided, outside the trailers, signs in seven languages explaining the theoretical and practical aspects of the trading and distributing system of a supermarket. Inside was placed a bookshop and a small theatre showing documentaries. The showing area within the trailers was organized into a real grocery store which included products and refrigerated shelving units from which one could take the goods according to the "obscure" principle, at least in Europe, of self service. With a "real" trolley, visitors could experience the real "practice" of the entire shopping ritual, from the autonomous selection of products right through to the payment at the checkout counters.

The Modern Food Service Exhibition became *Supermarket USA* which displayed a fully-stocked American supermarket. It will also be part of the US pavilion of the agricultural exhibition shown in June 1956, in Rome, and Zagreb, and in September 1957 in Barcelona, during the 27th International Trade Fair, held there from June 1 to June 20, 1959. More than one million visitors viewed *Supermarket USA*, the major attraction among the US exhibits.

28. See: "Press Division," OEEC-263, 03/1951-03/1961.

29. Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the home front: The soft power of midcentury design* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

In 1959, at the American National Exhibition in Moscow (ANEM), the “kitchen debate” represented the diplomatic surrogate for the nuclear arms race³⁰.

30. See: Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, *Cold war kitchen: Americanization, technology, and European users*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009).

At three other trade fairs in the 1958 July-December period, the Department of Agriculture assisted in planning, staffing, and financing agricultural sections of exhibits directed by the Department of Commerce. The supermarket exhibition was then displayed in Salonika, Izmir, and Zagreb and the actual opening of commercial supermarkets in Rome (where it was previously shown) gave evidence of its success. *Supermarket USA* was shown with US exhibits throughout Europe until 1962.

The Caravan of Peace

The success of *Europe Builds* led to the creation of a new similar exhibition, as requested by NATO authorities, devoted to explain what NATO stood for and emphasizing the economic as well as the military aspects of its long-term policy. The exhibition was housed, similarly to *Europe Builds-Caravan*, in a large circular circus and four expandable trailers. They had two themes: NATO as a whole, and the role within NATO of the countries where the exhibition was being shown. *The Caravan of Peace* opened at Naples in February 1952, and then toured through the principal cities in Italy, Greece and Turkey³¹. Back to France it left from there to other NATO countries.

31. See: “NATO Atlantic Exhibition 1952-1954, Italy, Greece, Turkey, France”, AC/52-D/54, 3rd (September 1954).

Atoms for Peace

The portrait of Europe in the early 1950s, still hurt and devastated by the recent war, was very clear. On one side its emergency priority was very much concerned with its own reconstruction, on the other the atomic scenario menacingly emerges in an unquestionable way. The United States, politically well aware of their role on the international stage, chose to develop a peaceful and persuasive campaign on nuclear power, employing the same massive effort as for the promotion of its own *Way of Living*, which was presented worldwide on December 8, 1953³².

32. See Trumans Atoms for Peace Draft [C.D. Jackson Papers, Box 30, “Atoms for Peace - Evolution (5)”]; NAID #12021574]; Press Release, *Atoms for Peace* Speech, December 8, 1953 [DDE’s Papers as President, Speech Series, Box 5, United Nations Speech 12/8/53]; Preliminary Proposal for an International Organization to Further the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, June 8, 1954 [C.D. Jackson Papers, Box 29, Atomic Industrial Forum; NAID #12022796]. See also: Public Law 703-AUG. 30, 1954, Atomic Energy Act 1954.

As the result of President Eisenhower’s *Atoms for Peace* program, the United Nations – in August 1955 – conduct the first International Conference on *Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy* in Geneva, Switzerland.

The *Atoms for Peace* project had the task to avert a possible, global and catastrophic nuclear war, proving that such destructive force could be put to the benefit of mankind and human development³³. That is why many of the topics dealt with by the “cultural” exhibitions and by the *International Trade Fairs* are closely linked with the promotion of nuclear issues in

33. See: *The International Atomic Energy Agency* (Washington: US Department of State, 1957).

agriculture, medicine and as a future source of power, translating into practice the political principles and intents.

The Mobile Exhibition *Atoms For Peace*, presented in Paris by the USIS, is not to be confused with the meetings and exhibitions organized by the *International Atomic Energy Agency* (IAEA), aimed at a knowledge exchange among insiders, and most of all addressing the issue of a common settlement between the super powers. On the contrary, the Mobile Exhibition *Atoms for Peace* was meant to illustrate the peaceful potentials and the possible uses of nuclear power for “common people”.

The itinerary of those mobile exhibitions included the stop-over of a few days at the most representative spots within the hosting nation. The travelling show, planned and designed by Peter Harnden and Associates, consists of “Five expandable Deplirex trailers.” Two of them hosted the introductory section – to inform and supply basic notions and principles to understand nuclear energy – the other three showed each one the diverse and practical applications of such power in agricultural, industrial and medical terms. The trailer, catered to host the show, were supplied with electricity. The Deplirex system provided electrical expansion of the side walls, the roof, and the floor in less than two minutes and allowed the outward opening of the sides, clearing, like that, the indoor area. In the back of one of the trailers was positioned the projection equipment for the screening on a screen surface placed outside. The indoor room of each trailer roughly amounted to 50 square meters and the sides were lifted for outdoor sheltering purposes. When cleared, the sides walls of the trailers were replaced by sliding glass ones, large windows that permitted visitors to look through them at what shown inside. The display was made of central structures and mobile elements supported by aluminum piping fixed on the floor and on the ceiling³⁴.

34. “Mostra Atomica”, *Domus*, no. 294 (1954): 63-66.

International Trade Fairs

The US propaganda strategy to promote the *American Way of Living* was also implemented by the *Trade Fairs* and the *Industrial Exhibitions*. As the official government bulletins show us, the *Foreign Commerce Weekly* or the *World Trade Information Service*, for example, published by the *US Department of Commerce*, international trade really took off again in 1947 and with it the *International Trade Fairs*³⁵. US participation at the international Fairs was therefore extremely relevant as it had the same aims as the travelling exhibitions.

The international trade fair program of the *US Department of Commerce* sought to develop greater interest on the part of American companies in exhibiting at fairs abroad and in attracting more favorable foreign attention for American products and their industry³⁶.

35. NARA, Records of the International Trade Administration, Record Group 489.

36. See: “Ausstellungen der USA in Europe”, *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, (Januar 1956): 399-412; Eugenio Gentili, “Architettura americana per esposizioni”, *Comunità*, no. 32 (Settembre 1955): 34-37.

It will only be in 1952 though, that the *Department of Commerce* will actively start to take part to the *International Trade Fairs* organizing a network of planned designs and constructions easy and quick to assemble, dismantle and transport – thanks to the newly developed opportunities in the prefabrication system – and making use of advertising as an important vehicle for the ideological colonization of European in any way possible.

Many of those displays were planned and designed by the Peter Harnden and Associates Studio. After 1956, though, when the US government decided to transfer the Marshall Plan Exhibition office from Paris to Washington and the Studio turned down the offer to follow them there, they continued their activity as free-lancers, first with a professional office in Orgeval, near Paris³⁷, then, from 1962, in Barcelona. That permitted them to work with the *Office of International Trade Fairs* (OITF) and also gave them the opportunity to participate to the designing of the American pavilion in various fairs in Europe and around the world. In 1958, they planned the Exhibitions in the American pavilion at the Brussels World Fair. Yet, after 1959, the most important Exhibitions and Fairs outside the Europe will be entrusted to Jack Masey³⁸, who employed other architects and designers: Peter Blake³⁹, Richard Buckminster Fuller, Charles and Ray Eames and George Nelson.

1958 Brussels' World Fair. US Pavilion

The events surrounding the US participation at the Brussels' *World Fair* are emblematic in demonstrating the climate of friction and diffidence between the two superpowers, as the peaceful confrontation expressed by the so called "Soft Power" will not be enough. The attempt by architect Bernard Rudofsky, who worked with Harnden and Associates, in offering an alternative image of the US, will not be found acceptable by the institutional system. To the image of the States as a land of freedom and endless possibilities was preferred the one of a consumer society where happiness was promptly delivered by goods.

Before giving the job for the Brussels World Fair Exhibitions to the chosen planners and designers, the USA General Commissioner for the Public Affairs Division, Howard S. Cullman, consulted with the State Department and the USIA «to ask for assistance in preparing a theme [...] that might subsequently be translated into the visual terms of the exhibit»⁴⁰. The initial proposals glorify the "cultural side of American life"⁴¹, and to balance such ideas the Vice Commissioner James S. Plaut writes to the Dean of the MIT, John Burchard, with a proposition: «we wish to present science and technology as the setting in which the new humanism may be developed and considered⁴²». It is established, therefore, that, between 'influential realities' and what informs 'daily life' (which for the European public

37. "Alle porte di Parigi", *Domus* no. 327 (Febbraio 1957): 45; "A Orgeval, fuori Parigi," *Domus*, no. 366 (Maggio 1960): 3-8.

38. Jack Masey was born on June 10, 1924, in Brooklyn. During World War II, he serves in Europe with the Army's Camouflage Engineers, alongside the future fashion designer Bill Blass and the future painter Ellsworth Kelly. They are part of the Ghost Army, a special unit, of a thousand men, that uses visual and sound effects to impersonate larger forces, taking these strange creations into action in France after D-Day. Back in the US, Masey works at the New York offices of *Architectural Forum*, then studies architecture and graphic design at Yale, where, in 1950, he earns a bachelor degree in fine arts. In the 1957-59 period, he is responsible for some USIA exhibitions for international fairs in West Berlin (*Amerika Baut, Kalamazoo, Medizin-USA*), and in September 1958 USIA names Masey chief designer of the National Exhibition in Moscow, where he invites the Eameses, Fuller, Nelson and Blake to design the exhibitions. On Jack Masey see: Jack Masey and Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations* (Baden: Lars Müller, 2008).

39. Peter Blake was born in Berlin in 1920, in a Jewish family. His father is an important Lawyer who served in the German Army in WWI. In the 1930s' his family leaves Germany for Britain, where Blake attends the London Regent Street Polytechnic School of Architecture. He emigrates to the US, where between 1940 and 1941 he is a student at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. With the help of Walter Gropius he continues his studies in the US and he works for the Magazine *Architectural Forum*. At the same time he enrolls in the US army, as an intelligence officer, until 1947. After the war, he works at the *Architectural Forum*, and from 1948 to 1950 at the MoMA. He then goes back to work, as editor, at *Architectural Forum*. On Peter Blake see: Peter Blake, *No place like Utopia: Modern architecture and the company we kept* (New York: Knopf, 1993).

40. "Brussels '58: The United States speak to the world. Progress Report," *Interiors*, CXVII, # 2 (September 1957): 134.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ivi*: 135.

requires an integrated explanation around culture and technology), there are: «The enormous amount of electrical energy at the command of the average individual. The amount of leisure time made available to each individual by machines both as implements of production and as household servants. The collapse of distance resulting from rapid transportation. Immediate communication. Increased average longevity⁴³».

The press release specifically stated that the Austrian architect Bernard Rudofsky would work in association with Peter Harnden on the planning, «to draw up the master plan for the show, and to outline some of the so-called cultural exhibits⁴⁴». In the pavilion, the objects exhibited should have been arranged in the structure created by Edward Durrell Stone: a huge circular structure, measuring 341 feet in diameter with a ceiling supported by a number of imaginative golden columns, 85 feet tall.

The Cultural Exhibitions, curated and displayed by Rudofsky and housed on the ground floor, are *Face of America*, *Streetscape*, *City Scape and Islands of Living*, the others ones: *Folk, Indian and Contemporary Art*; *Atomic Energy and International Geophysical Year*; *Automation*; *Industrial Entertainment*; and *Unfinished Business*; on the balcony, *Domestic and Industrial Architecture and Children's Creative Center*⁴⁵.

Rudofsky's installations enjoyed no such favour, provoking such front page headlines as "Brussels Exhibit Irks Eisenhower."⁴⁶ However, as reported by the *New York Times*, the most frequent recrimination of the American visitors was that the Rudofsky exhibitions were superficial and delivered an inadequate and distorted image of the many characters of Americans⁴⁷.

In occasion of the photographic shooting for *This is America*⁴⁸ the different ambience of the *Island of Living* were completely transformed and clogged up with all the desirable national products, indispensable to represent America⁴⁹.

The European public appreciated the exhibitions in Brussel, unlike most Americans who perceived them as little more than a cold war episode in opposition to Russia. The American press and the public opinion did criticize Rudofsky's displays and actually judged more positively the Russian ones, as witnessed by President Eisenhower's words: «The Soviet Union's exhibit presented all of those things I expected to see in the American exhibit, tremendous murals showing happy people playing and working together and industrial displays, including airplanes, modern automobiles and a model of the Soviet Sputnik⁵⁰».

The American National Exhibition in Moscow 1959 (ANEM)

During the 1950s, advocates of both capitalism and communism attempted to conquer the hearts and minds of other countries by claiming

43. *Ivi*: 135-136.

44. Bernard Rudofsky, *On exhibition design*, unpublished conference, Tokyo 1958, (Rudofsky Papers, Getty), (International House, Tokyo, December 5, 1958): 12.

45. See: *This is America: Official U.S. Guide Book. Brussels World's Fair 1958* (Brussel: The Office of the U.S. Commissioner General, 1958).

46. See: John D. Morris, "Brussels Exhibit Irks Eisenhower," *New York Times* (June 18, 1958): 1.

47. Walter H. Waggoner, "Guidebook to Aid U.S. Fair Exhibit", *New York Times* (May 11, 1958): 23.

48. *This is America: Official U.S. Guide Book*.

49. Marjorie J. Harlepp, "U.S. Revises Home Show at Fair Site," *New York Times* (May 6, 1958): 43.

50. Bernard Rudofsky, *On Exhibition Design*: 37.

to offer the best system when it came to people's welfare and their future. The ideological battles of the Cold War increasingly focused on citizens' well-being and on different models of consumption.

Nikita Khrushchev initiated a process of reforms and changes aimed to the de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union called the "thaw." As part of those reforms, the Soviet Union willingly engaged in a relationship with the United States through what was termed "peaceful coexistence."

For the Russians the competition with the US and their propaganda was not only based on weapons and space technologies, but increasingly on living standards and on consumption issues, resulting in a much harder time for them.

Khrushchev knew that the URSS was a great power, but he thought that that was not enough. Material changes in the daily life of ordinary Soviet citizen were also essential. After the sacrifices that the Soviets had suffered during the war and under the Stalinist terror, the new political climate had raised expectations for material wealth and better times to come.

On 27th January, 1958, a Soviet-American deal was made concerning exchanges in the fields of culture, technology and education. On 10th September of that same year a deal on a mutual exchange of exhibitions set the seal for a new policy of peaceful coexistence between the two countries.

Soviet National Exhibition came to New York City on June 30, 1959. At the "Coliseum" centre they showed until 10th August to showcase the Soviet technological know-how.

The Soviet exhibition displayed the latest mechanical equipment: the ice-breaker "Lenin," the Stalingrad power plant, the latest models of Russian cars, the *Sputnik*. The range of items on show went from watches to full-scale, fully equipped 3-room model apartments, radios, TV sets and refrigerators, articles of clothing and food. Despite the display of consumer goods, however, the real Soviet showpiece was the heavy machinery and the three *Sputniks*.

Before Khrushchev came to the US, American vice-president Richard Nixon visited the American exhibition mounted in Sokolniki Park, near Moscow, which he personally opened on 25th July and then was closed on 4th September.

The ANEM was the first major American exhibition ever held in the USSR. It was expected to draw 3,5 million visitors from various parts of the Soviet Union. The goal of the exhibition was to demonstrate «the projection of a realistic and believable image of America to the Soviet people through exhibits, displays, films, publications, fine and performing arts⁵¹». A reflection on how America lived, worked, learned, produced, consumed

51. "Facts About The American National Exhibition in Moscow July 25-Sept. 4, 1959" (Office of Public Information, Republic 7-8340 Ext. 2743): 2.

and played and on what kind of people Americans really were, what they stood for. A “corner of America” in the heart of Moscow showing, amongst other things, American’s cultural values

The exhibition’s topics focused on America’s Land and People. The exhibition was shown in different building: the Geodesic Dome; the Exhibition Hall, the Plastic Pavilions, and the Circarama.

George Nelson was the chief designer for the exhibit, responsible for all interior and exterior displays and for the design of the plastic pavilions and the exhibition hall. The Geodesic dome, designed by Welton Becket & Associates⁵², was the “information centre” for American Culture, and it housed the exhibitions on space research, education, work, health and medicine, agriculture, and basic research on synthetics and nuclear energy. The Eames’ documentary was screened on one-third of the dome’s interior surface using a unique motion picture technique which used seven simultaneous screens with a single Russian-language soundtrack. At the exterior of the dome was placed the “Gallery of Americans” with photographs of American’s most representative figures.

The Exhibition Hall was a 50,000 square feet, fan-shaped steel structure, 28 feet high, with grass at the front and covered by an aluminium roof. It displayed the American cultural achievements and exhibits, the fruits of the American economic system, its abundance so broadly shared by its people and reflecting the freedom of choice enjoyed by American families. The display framework allowed for mezzanine areas from which visitors could observe the exhibits from above, below, and on the same level as they were placed.

The three Plastic Pavilions covered 15,000 square feet. In one was housed the Museum of Modern Art’s exhibition, “Family of Man” by Edward Jean Steichen; the second one housed contemporary American architecture’s exhibits – designed by Peter Blake,⁵³ – showing models and 100 black-and-white photographs of schools, churches, shopping-centres, skyscrapers and other buildings throughout the United States. The third plastic pavilion was devoted to the display of American clothing, ranging from work clothes to formal attire. The Circarama, an all around “360 degree movie”, very successful in Brussels, was housed in its own circular building, was remade and up dated by Walt Disney with new sequences and a Russian sound track.

The outdoor Area was devoted to showing the fully furnished American ranch-type home: the *Splitnik*, twenty-two 1959 automobiles from all US industries; sporting and camping equipment; farm equipment, such as tractors and combined machineries; a children’s playground with a playhouse and an iron grid “magic carpet” and a sand lot for toddlers. The Polaroid camera demonstrations did not only illustrate the “picture-in

52. As Jack Masey and Conway Lloyd Morgan wrote: «There is one mystery concerning the Moscow Dome. Although Buckminster Fuller has for nearly half a century been given credit for its design, no evidence in the form of architectural drawings attesting to Fuller’s role in the design of the dome appears to exist. Rather, a set of architectural drawings stored at the US National Archive [NARA] are from Welton Becket and Associates». Jack Masey and Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations* (Baden: Lars Müller, 2008): 170.

53. For more detailed aspects of the Exhibition in Moscow see: Peter Blake, *No Place Like Utopia*: 228-248.

a minute" technique but also provided 15,000 Soviet visitors with self-portrait souvenir photographs.

Brightly coloured kiosks served free Pepsi-Cola to visitors and others ones displayed American newspapers, magazines and books.

The American house *Splitnik* was designed for a middle class family costing around \$12,000. When built in Russia, the house had a 10-foot wide corridor splitting it right down the middle, allowing all of the estimated 3,5 million Soviet visitors to see its interior. The house provided a total living area of 1,144 square feet with kitchen, living room, dining room, three bedrooms, and one and one-half bathrooms. Inside, the Russians could observe typical American family possessions such as an all-electric kitchen with kitchen cabinets, a built-in oven and a counter top range, adding to its overall comfort and graceful living.

Nixon's visit became the platform for the so-called "Kitchen debate,"⁵⁴ through which the American vice-president and the Soviet premier fought the Cold War in terms of consumption.

54. Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, *Cold war kitchen: Americanization, technology, and European users* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009).

That summer, his visit to Moscow had taken Khrushchev by surprise as the debate shifted from the contest over space-race to a struggle over domestic appliances, even though the Soviet Union, less interested in individual kitchens with gadgets, continued its far more effective rhetoric around space conquest and the Sputnik.

During the ANEM Richard Nixon, deliberately shifting the attention away from the space race to consumer culture, seemed to have taken the upper hand in focusing on consumer goods and abundance, during his visit Khrushchev tried to shift the international attention back to the Soviet production debate. He presented the Soviet Union as a developed nation, whose output in terms of cattle breeding, meat, eggs, and wool production had been greater during the five years previous. The American point of view incessantly stressed the link between political freedom and consumer goods: freedom meant above all freedom of consumption and freedom of choice in free-market system. The US government was set on peppering the debate with the notion of "plenty" at any point – a particularly dangerous route for the Soviets.

Conclusion

Besides the *Space Race* though, or the Nuclear arms race, what really still lingers on today, of the idea of modernity in the post-atomic and post-modern age, is actually based on what Nixon stated in Moscow: the importance of the link between consumer goods and political freedom, reifying the concept of freedom to the freedom of consumption, freedom of choice, and the free-market system.

It is not by chance that with the loss of intensity of the ideological conflicts, the knocking down of walls and globalization still currently in process, market and political strategies are the consequences of that same process and, inevitably, the natural development of the 1950's US propaganda policies. The promise for a better world resulting from the freedom of choosing markets and goods and the circulation of people and ideas, determined a supremacy over any possible alternative.

The 1959 *American National Exhibition in Moscow* is the last event to take into consideration. It is the last exhibition with which US politics gave proof of its efficacy paving the way for the Capitalist-consumerist ideal victory over the feeble attraction offered by its USSR Communist counterpart. As in *Brave New World Revisited* Aldus Huxley pointed out: «Recent developments in Russia and recent advances in science and technology have robbed Orwell's book of some of its gruesome verisimilitude. A nuclear war will of course, make nonsense of everybody's predictions.

Assuming for a moment that the Great Powers can somehow refrain from destroying us, we can say that it now looks as though the odds were more in favor of something like *Brave New World* than of something like *1984*⁵⁵». The promise of prosperity and of immediate and universal happiness – acquired by objects, goods, freedom of personal achievement and consumer power – will be the last brick in the edifice built by the US propaganda to convince the world of the supremacy of its social, economic and political system. What happened in that very recent past determined our present and, undoubtedly, that massive work of propaganda impacted enormously on the way we live our daily lives. The mother of illusion, still committed to convince us that this is the best of all possible worlds.

55. Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World Revisited* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958).



FIG. 1 Model house at "Building for a Better Future" exhibition, Berlin, 1952 and the demountable tent on a framework of ball jointed steel tubes; Caravan of Peace on tour in south-east Europe, in *The Architectural Review*, no. 675, 1953, pages 216-217.

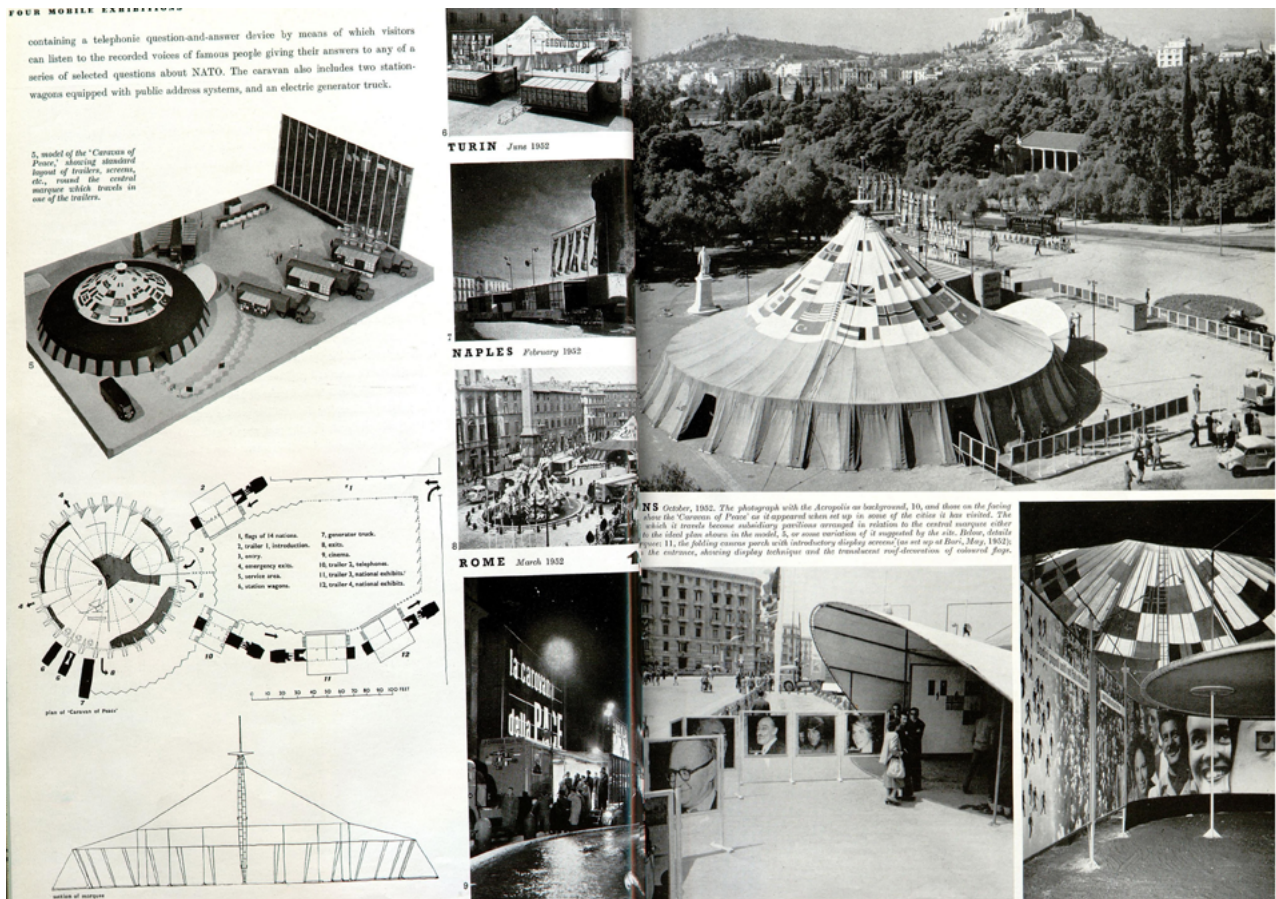


FIG. 2 Model of the "Caravan of Peace" exhibitions; "Caravan of Peace" in Athen, in *The Architectural Review*, no. 675, 1953, pages 218-219.



FIG. 3 "Caravan of Peace" in Naples, February, 1952 and Salonika, September, 1952; The "Train of Europe" at Innsbruck railway station, Austria, July, 1952, in *The Architectural Review*, no. 675, 1953, pages 220-221.

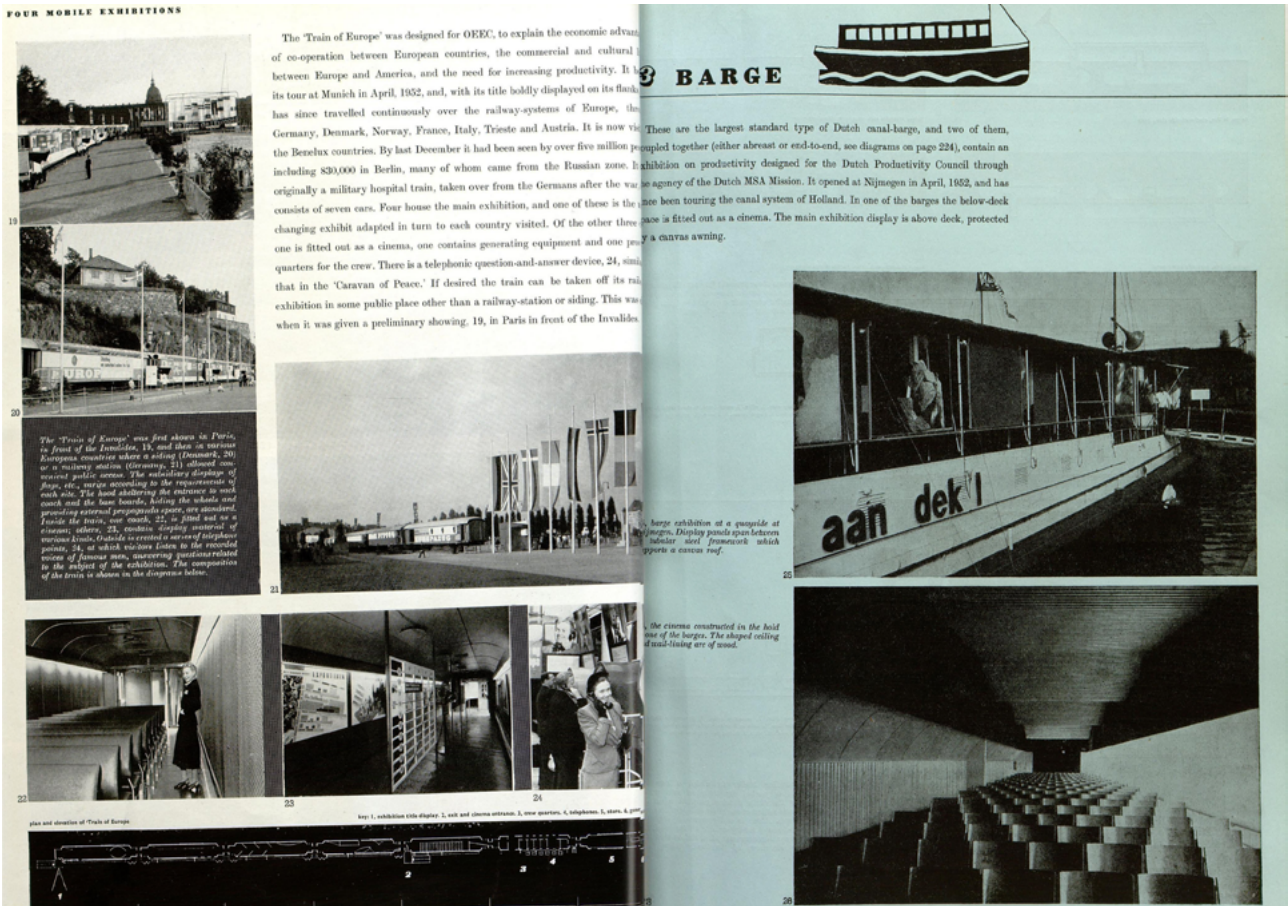


FIG. 4 The "Train of Europe"; "Barge exhibition" at a quayside at Mijmegen, The Netherland, in *The Architectural Review*, no.675, 1953, pages 222- 223.

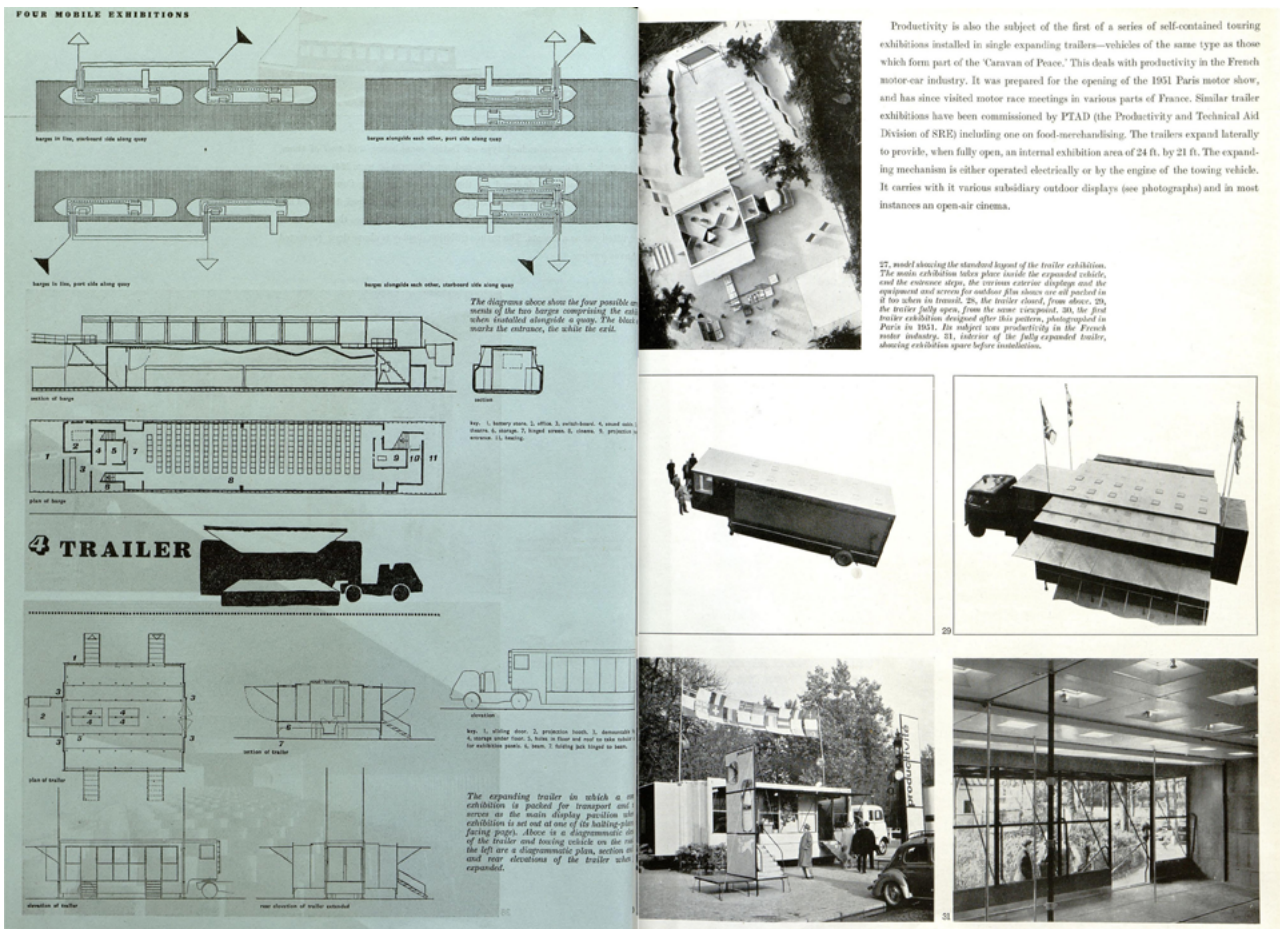


FIG. 5 Drawing of the standard layout of the "trailer" and "barge" exhibitions; "Trailers exhibition" photographed in Paris in 1951. Its subject was productivity in the French motor industry, in *The Architectural Review*, no. 675, 1953, pages 224-225.

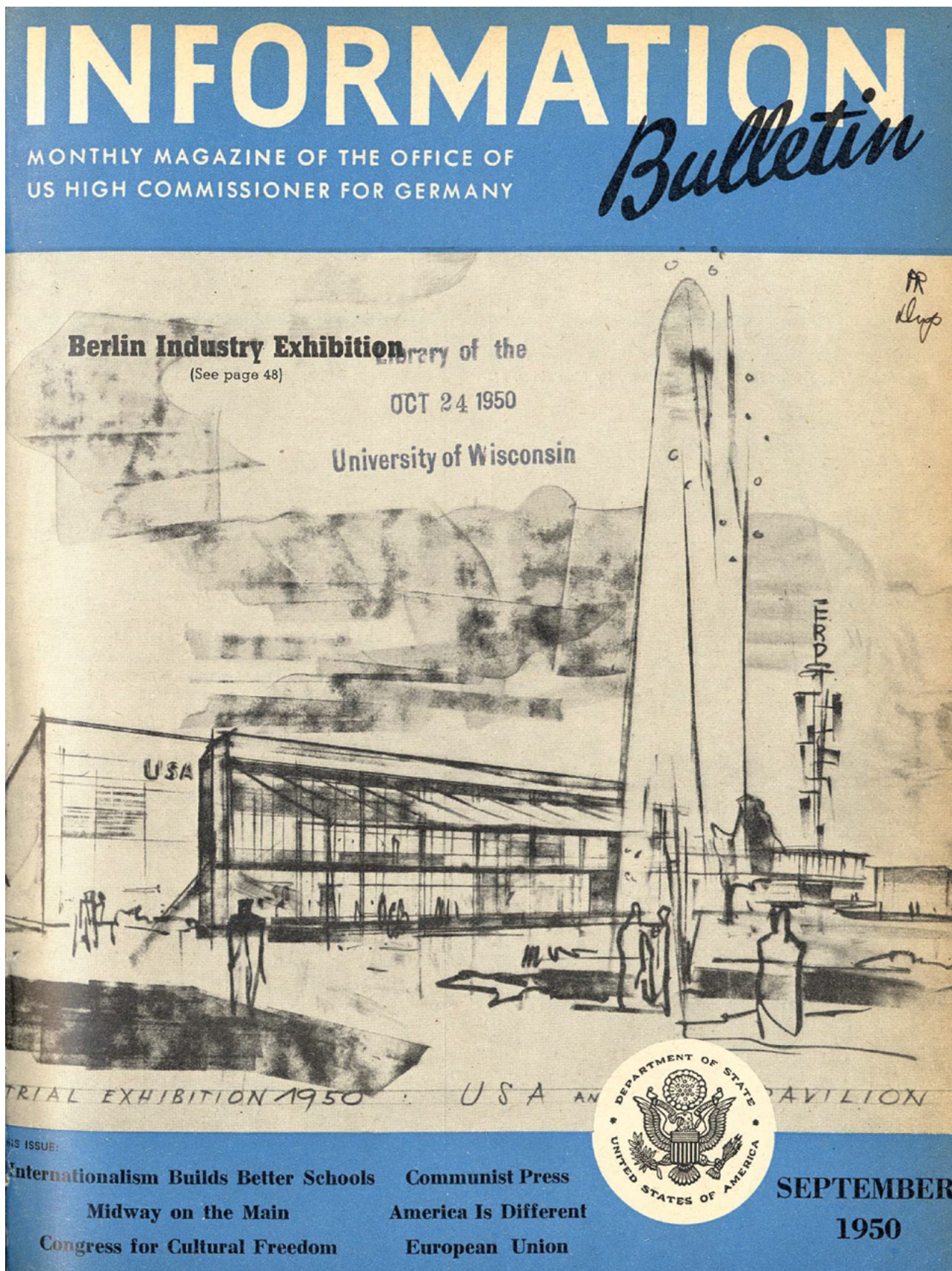


FIG. 6 The Marshall House in Berlin, in *Information Bulletin*, September, 1950, Cover.

Berlin Industry Exhibition

THE RISING STANDARD of living, fostered in Western Berlin by free enterprise with the assistance of ERP aid, will be illustrated at a gigantic public display of the city's manufactured products next month at the Berlin Industry Exhibition in the expanding exposition area of the Funkturm (radio tower) in west-central Berlin.

Reconstruction of war-damaged buildings of Berlin's huge exhibition grounds and erection of new buildings are being rushed to completion for the opening of the industrial exhibit on Oct. 1. The exhibition will last 15 days, while one building will continue as a permanent display of the city's industrial production for export.

Center of the October exhibition will be the George C. Marshall House for the ERP and American exhibits. The theme of its display will be to illustrate the rising standard of living made possible by the free entrance system.

Speaking at the laying of the cornerstone of the George C. Marshall House, Maj. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, US commander of Berlin, said, "It... looks like a historic contradiction that this American soldier, so successful in war, should after the war become the first to forge a lasting peace. Yet the Marshall Plan is far more important than any war plan in which General Marshall had a share."

Models and mechanical devices will be utilized in the ERP exhibit to depict the manner in which West Berlin fits into the European Recovery Program. Stress will be laid

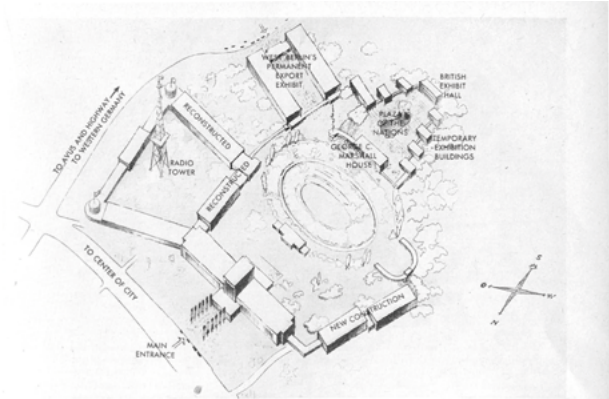


Maj. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, US Commander of Berlin, spoke at laying of cornerstone of the George C. Marshall House at the Funkturm July 26. A copy of the charter of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, the document which established the Marshall Plan, sealed in metal container (left), was inserted in the cornerstone. At right, Mayor Ernst Reuter of Berlin, who also spoke. (US Army photo)

on the co-operation achieved by the nations of western Europe, including Berlin.

The building, having a floor space of nearly 19,375 square feet, will also have a motion picture screen for showing American documentary films. After the exhibition, the George C. Marshall House will become a permanent center for conference meetings with a section provided for a restaurant.

In addition to West Berlin, ERP and American exhibits, the states of the German Federal Republic and several foreign countries will be represented with displays of their industrial products. One building will be devoted to British and Commonwealth exhibits.



Sketch of the Funkturm grounds showing the buildings which will house the international industrial exhibit opening Oct. 1.

The floor space of the exhibition halls around the radio tower, the tallest structure in Berlin, will be more than doubled with the reconstruction and the new buildings for the October exhibition. To the 193,500 square feet used since the war, 294,300 square feet will be added, making

total of 397,800 square feet available for display purposes. The construction is being financed by DM 4,000,000 (\$952,000) in ECA-allocated (counterpart) funds. Seventy percent of the funds are to go to pay wages. Except for the window glass, all materials used in the construction are

Architect's drawing of Plaza of the Nations in spacious grounds of the Funkturm (Radio Tower), Berlin's tallest structure.



View of the pavilion in the George C. Marshall House which will house the ERP exhibits. Walls are almost entirely of glass.

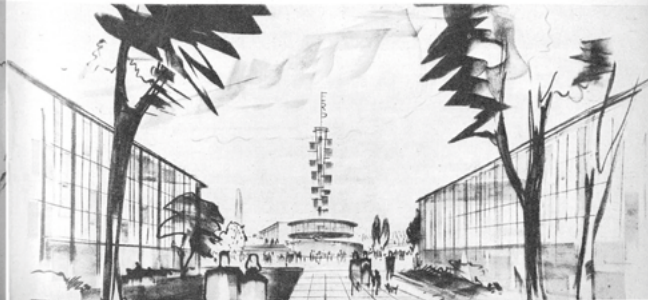
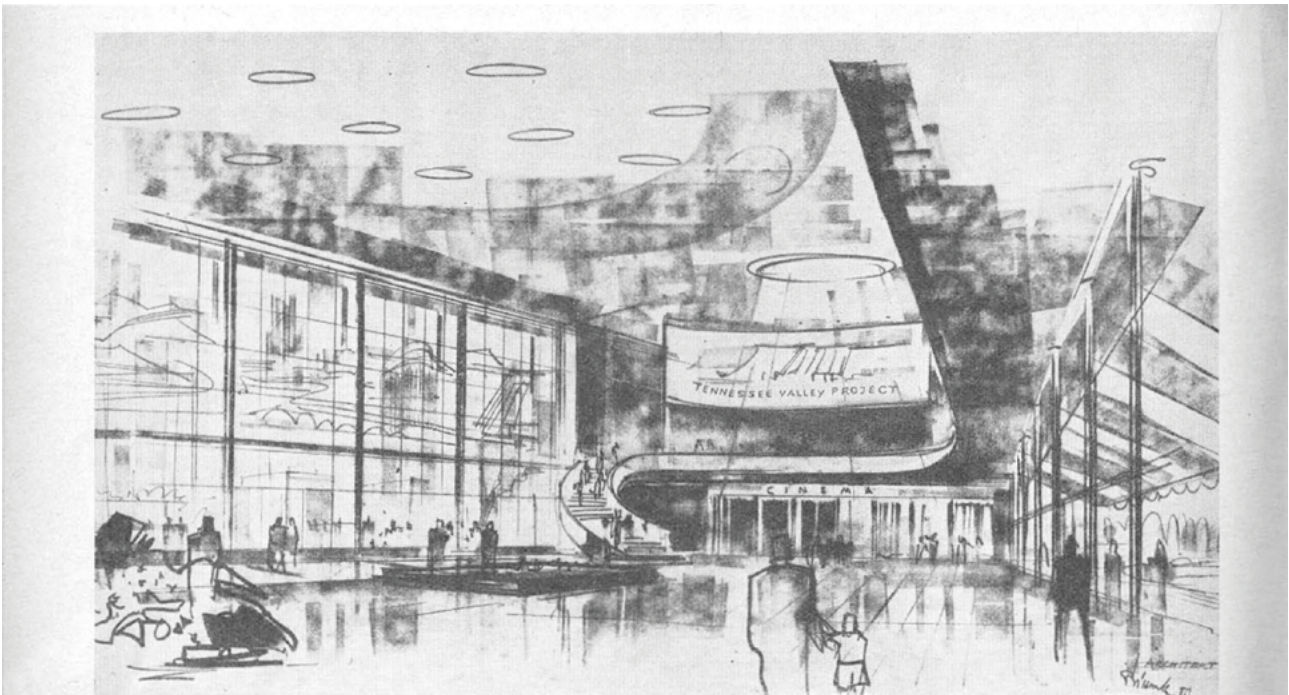


FIG. 7 "Berlin Industry Exhibition", in *Information Bulletin*, September, 1950, pages 48-49.



Architect's drawing pictures spacious interior of main hall in the new Marshall House with huge mural of TVA project.

being manufactured by West Berlin firms. Begun in June, construction is to be completed by Sept. 15.

Five structures, harmonizing in design with those already standing, are being built, forming an architectural group to which extensions can be added without difficulty. The new buildings have walls almost entirely of glass, and

are designed to facilitate the movement of large crowds. Building material is principally from reclaimed rubble of the city. The frames of the buildings are of steel.

After the October exhibition, one group of buildings in the southern section will become the permanent exhibit halls for Berlin's export products. +END

Front of the George C. Marshall House as seen from the large terrace gardens in Berlin's far-famed exhibition grounds.

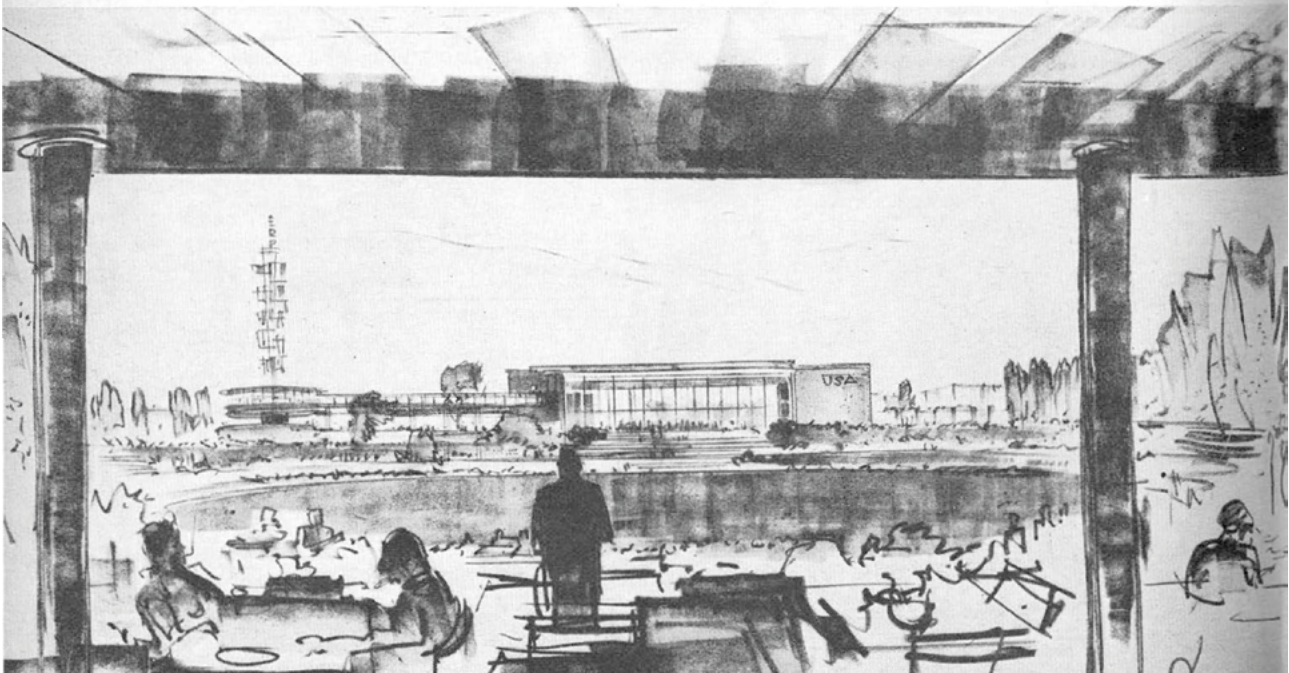
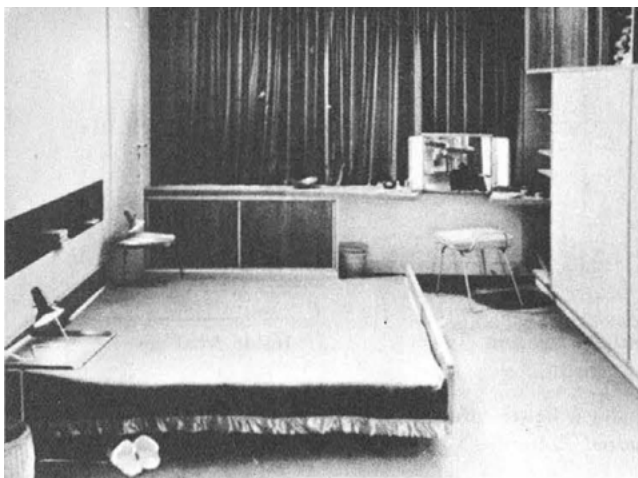


FIG. 8 "Berlin Industry Exhibition", in *Information Bulletin*, September, 1950, page 50.



FIG. 9 "We Build a Better Life", in *Information Bulletin*, February, 1953, Cover.



Bedroom with built-in wardrobe



Children's playground

“We Build a Better Life”

A joint MSA-HICOG exhibit, entitled “We Build a Better Life,” now touring Europe, is intended to demonstrate that a higher standard of living can be attained by the peoples of the Atlantic Community through increased productivity and integration. It shows that the average man living in the Atlantic Community will benefit when higher productivity and the abolition of trade barriers have raised his real income. It also shows that good design is thoroughly compatible with mass production and that rationally designed products from the different countries in the Atlantic Community can be combined harmoniously.

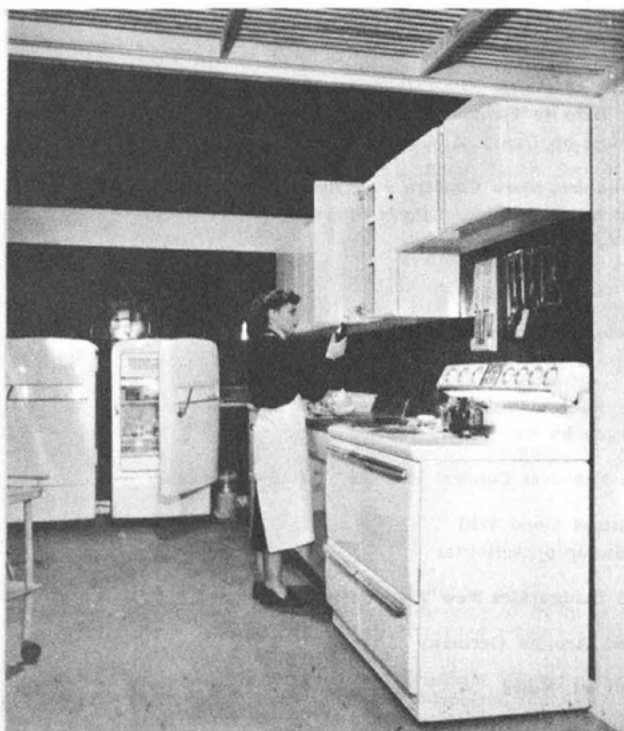
The exhibit was shown first in connection with the Industrial Fair 1952 in Berlin and transferred to Stuttgart in early December. It is then to be shown in Hanover and successively tours various European countries.

The Ideal House represents the home of an average skilled worker and his family living in the Atlantic Community. It consists of a kitchen, laundry and utility room, dining room, nursery, bedroom, bath and living room and also has a garden with garden furniture and tools. The roof is removed so that spectators can see the interior from a rectangular balcony running above the house.

A family of four, man, wife and two children, go through the motions of normal living to demonstrate the interior to the audience. While many of the items shown in the exhibit are still too expensive for the average budget, as is pointed out by a narrator over a public address system, increased productivity and the removal of trade barriers will make them available to the entire Atlantic Community at much lower prices.

There is also a separate display of all consumer items used in the Ideal House, showing country of origin, retail purchase price and the number of hours a skilled worker would have to work to earn enough to purchase the item.

(MSA photos by Wolf Heine)



Kitchen with modern equipment

Modernly equipped bathroom



Comfortable living room



FIG. 10 “We Build a Better Life”, in *Information Bulletin*, February, 1953, page 2.



Eingangsbereich mit Fotomontagen und Flagge. Links zerlegbare Plattenwand mit Abbildungen industrieller Erzeugnisse.

Ausstellungsstand auf der Messe
in Barcelona 1955.

Programm: Querschnitt durch die
amerikanische Produktion.

Ausstellungen der USA in Europa

Das Handelsministerium der Vereinigten Staaten hat in diesem Jahr zum ersten Male ein Amt für Internationale Messen geschaffen und innerhalb dieser Organisation europäische Messen in einem einheitlichen Programm beschickt.

Die gezeigten Ausstellungen bringen den ausländischen Besuchern je nach Thematik einen Querschnitt durch die industrielle, soziale und kulturelle Entwicklung in den Vereinigten Staaten und werben gleichzeitig für amerikanische Produkte.

Trotz des internationalen Charakters, der ihnen eigen ist, bringen sie dem Besucher in einer jeweils seiner völkischen Eigenart angepaßten Weise das Ausstellungsgut näher. Die einheitliche Organisation und Leitung liegt in den Händen von Peter G. Harnden, dem ein ausgewähltes Entwurfsteam aus Architekten, Grafikern und Industriegestaltern zur Verfügung steht.

Eines der Kernstücke dieser Ausstellungsreihe bildet der hierfür entworfene Pavillon, der in Brüssel die Ausstellung aufnahm. Für diese zweigeschossige Halle wurde eine Konstruktion aus Stahlrohr gewählt, die zerlegbar

und so leicht zu transportieren ist. Eine leichte Konstruktion, wie sie hier verwirklicht wurde, wird im Ausstellungsbau vielfach angestrebt; viele erswerende Bedingungen, die sonst berücksichtigt werden müssen, fallen fort. Wie allgemein bei Ausstellungsbauten überraschen auch hier erfindungsreiche Neuschöpfungen, neue Ideen, neue Herstellungsverfahren, die eben nur an solchen für kurze Zeit aufgeführten Bauten angewendet oder zum ersten Male versucht werden können. Außer diesem Pavillon hat die Ausstellungsleitung einen festen Bestand an zerlegbaren, kubisch aufgebauten Leichtstahlgerüsten, die den jeweiligen Ausstellungsgegenständen angepaßt und entsprechend den verschiedenen Bedürfnissen zusammengefügt und angeordnet werden. Neben Aluminium, das wegen seiner Leichtigkeit und der vielfältigen Möglichkeiten seiner Anwendung (als Träger, Rohr, Profil, als Blech und Folie, gebogen, gefaltet, perforiert...) und wegen seiner anticorrosiven Eigenschaften, in den verschiedensten Farben eloxiert oder gestrichen, sehr oft bei Ausstellungsgestaltungen Verwendung findet, wurden in gültiger Weise auch alle übrigen für den Ausstellungsbau



FIG. 12 USA pavilion at the Barcelona Fair, 1955, in *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, Januar, 1956, pages 400-401

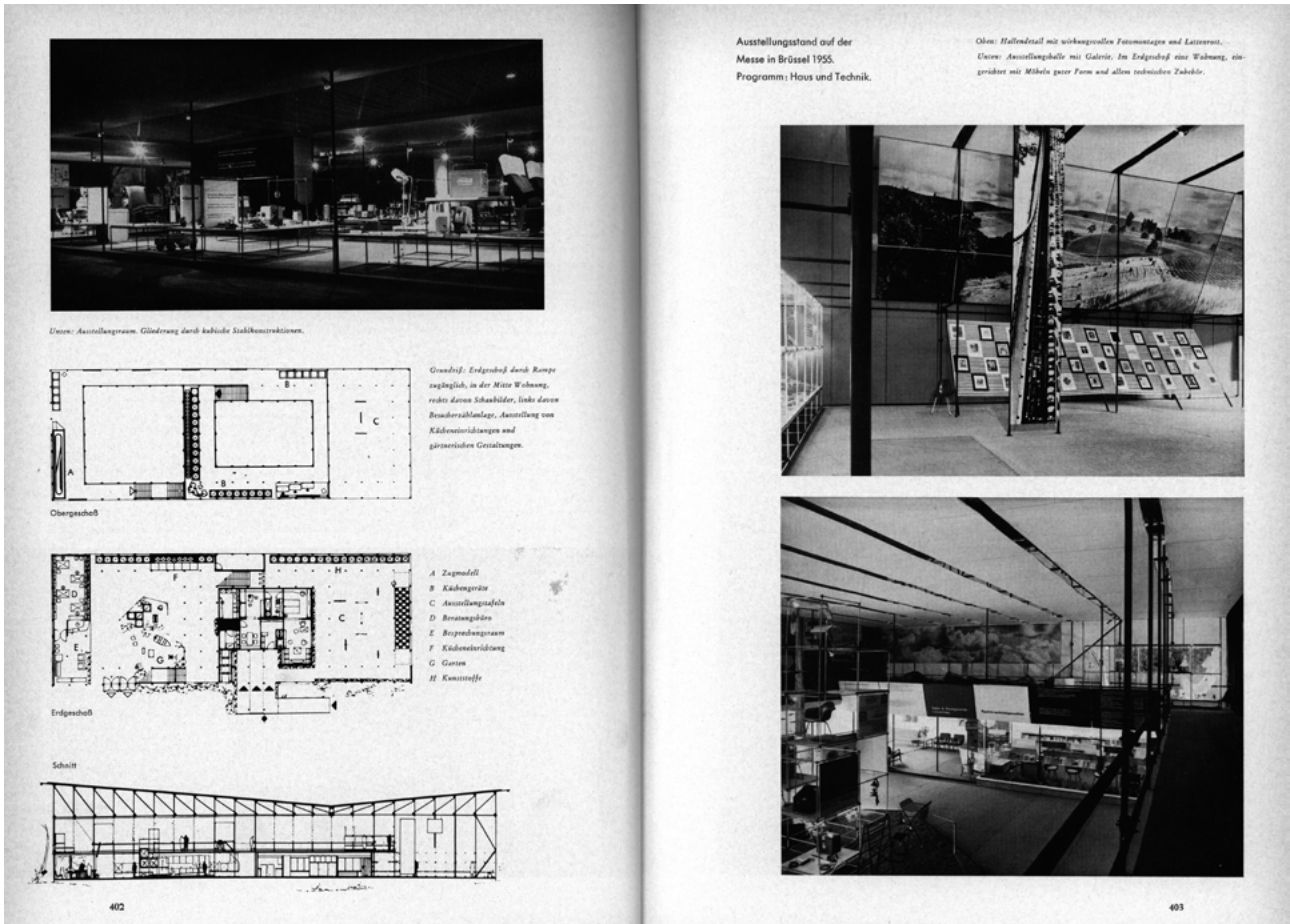


FIG. 13 USA pavilion at the Brussels Fair, 1955. Program: House and Technology, in *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, Januar, 1956, pages 402-403.

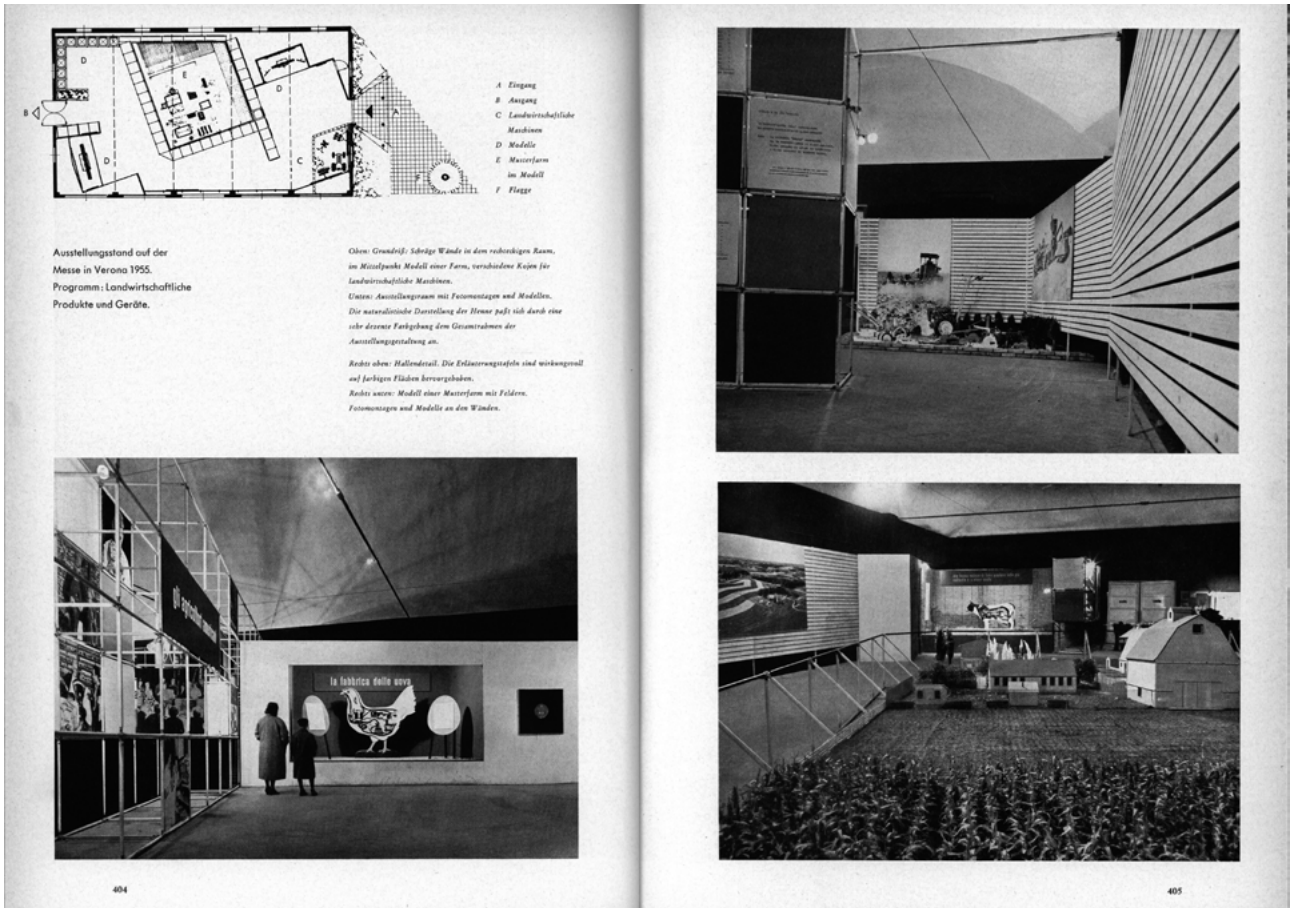


FIG. 14 USA pavilion at the Verona Fair, 1955. Program: Agricultural Products and devices, in *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, Januar, 1956, pages 404-405.



FIG. 15 USA pavilion at the Liège Trade Fair, 1955. Program: Industry! Shape in the USA, in *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, Januar, 1956, pages 406-407.

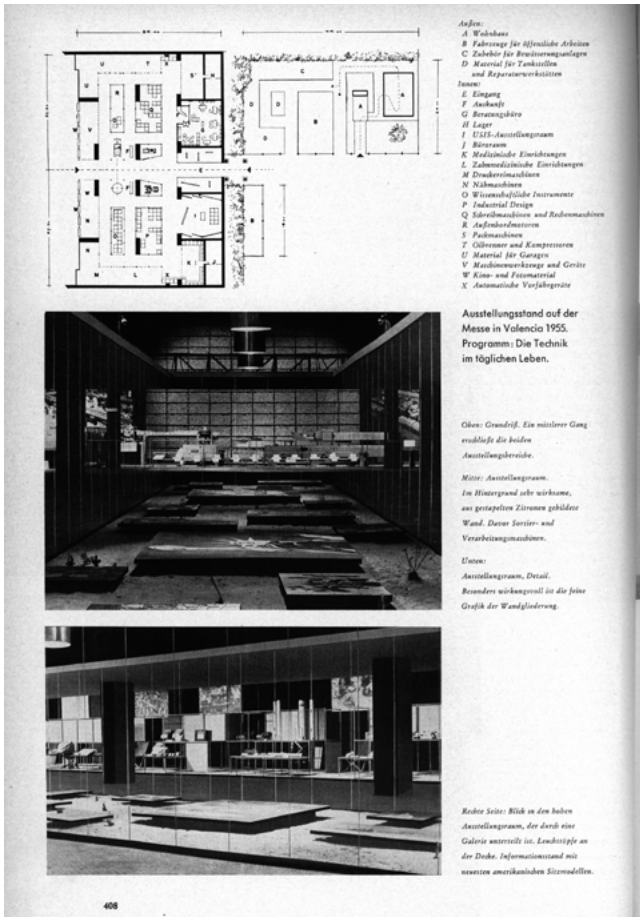


FIG. 16 USA pavilion at the Valencia Fair, 1955. Program: The technology in daily life, in *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, Januar, 1956, pages 408-409.



FIG. 17 USA pavilion at the Milan Fair, 1955. Program: Mass production in the USA; USA pavilion at the Hanover Fair, 1955. Program: trends of the technique, in *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, Januar, 1956, pages 410-411.



FIG. 18 USA pavilion at the Hanover Fair, 1955. Program: Trends of the technique, in *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, Januar, 1956, pages 410-411.



Ausstellungsstand
in Frankfurt/Main 1955.
Programm: Amerika zu Hause.

*Oben: Ausstellungshalle.
Stahlrohrkonstruktion und
kubische, aus Rohrgerüsten
bestehende Vitrinen.
Unten: Einrichtung eines
Wohn-Schlafraumes.
Fotos: Archiv.*

Alle Gerüste der USA-Ausstellungen
in Europa sind in Mero-Bauweise
mit 22-mm-Stäben hergestellt.
(Dr.-Ing. Mengerhausen, Würzburg.)



FIG. 18 USA pavilion at the Frankfurt on Main Fair, 1955. Program: America at home, in *Innenarchitektur*, no. 7, Januar, 1956, page 412.

The Kit of Parts as Medium and Message for Developing Post-War Dwellings

Carlo Carbone

University of Québec at Montreal
carbone.carlo@uqam.ca

Carlo Carbone is a professor of Environmental Design at the University of Quebec at Montreal Design School. He has been a practising architect in Montreal since 1998 and involved in teaching architectural design studio, design-build studios as well as building science courses at both graduate and undergraduate levels since 2001. He founded Pre[FABRICA]tions a design research lab in 2010. His research is focused on, the history of prefabrication, the generative links between industrialization and modern building culture, the prefabrication of houses and the current state of industrialized building systems, specifically their potential customization by users, builders and architects. His research also focuses on Canadian modern architecture with recent notable contributions to two exhibits as co-curator and associate curator: *PGL et l'architecture du Québec moderne, 1958-1974* (2016) and *Montreal's Geodesic Dreams* (2017).

ABSTRACT

Since the construction of the "Crystal Palace" by Joseph Paxton in 1851, the manufactured component became the basis for the efficient production of architecture. Making buildings from a kit of parts is a manifestation of a series of interrelated themes in architecture and its writings emerging and evolving from the mid nineteenth to the mid twentieth century: the converging of architecture with mass production, the transference of military expertise to civilian use and a search for new dwelling types for cold war subsistence. These concepts reformed construction and the industrialization of construction would parallel the advances made in commodity production. The revolution in manufacturing was accompanied by and magnified social transformations leading to an ever-increasing demand for affordable urban housing. This major growth contributed to one of architectural modernity's foremost quests: designing the post-war house. The modern dwelling echoed new architectural values and was the focal point of architectural literature in periodicals, planning and technical journals. The manufactured architectural kit, a tool for flexibility, adaptability, resilience and mobility, placed synchronized design and production along with affordability as its main selling points and became an emblem of innovative post-war dwelling schemes. Proposed by Walter Gropius in his infamous manifesto in 1909 and developed later with Konrad Wachsmann as "The Packaged House" (Herbert 1984), the kit of parts ideology infiltrated architecture's production. The manufactured kit symbolized a new era and would bring quality architecture to the masses. Along with a look back at its evolution, three significant productions showcase the kit as both medium and message for developing a post-war dwelling: *Arts and Architecture's* "Case Study House Program" and its influence in California and beyond, Buckminster Fuller's "Standard of Living Package" and plastic shell construction for the "House of the Future", not only portray the evolution of modernity through post-war American domesticity but also express the underlying theme of how kit architecture would realize the longstanding dream of the factory made house and even make a case for a kit of parts urbanism in the latter half of the twentieth century.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9648>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Carlo Carbone



KEYWORDS:

Modern architecture in the United States; The Case Study House Program; Buckminster Fuller; Autonomous dwelling; Kit of parts; Prefabrication

Specifically, in the USA, the amplification of growth during the nineteenth century intensified the harvesting of old growth forests and the operation of lumber mills as territorial development expanded. Advances in railroad transport and the mechanization of saw mills and iron nail cutting added to the efficiency with which industry progressed. Manufacturing precise pieces of lumber helped standardize export ready components for building. The American balloon frame generated from this industrialization of the forest industry contributed to the «do it yourself» building culture in America and subsequently throughout the developing world. The balloon frame became the prevailing quickly built, low-cost easy to communicate building system. Included in pattern books and catalogues used by master carpenters, the pattern books provided models and attested to their relevance. Burn (1877) published *The Details of an American Balloon Frame* showcasing that timber's dry assembly methods, notches and tight-fitting complex joinery were being replaced by quick and easy nailing [Fig. 2].

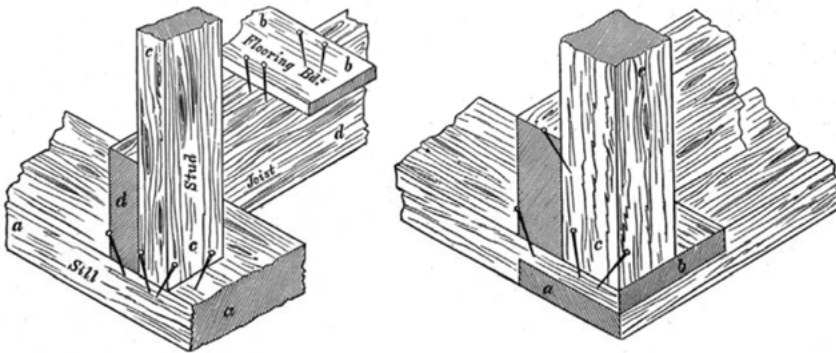


FIG. 2 Details of an American balloon frame. Source: Burn (1877)

From this easy to build culture spawned the design of specific housing kits where elements were simply precut and shipped for a quick on-site delivery. From the American Sears Roebuck catalogue house to the German Christof and Unmack system, the timber kit of parts, milled and sorted in a factory became representative of the manufactured house industry. Other notable companies, Alladin, Liberty and the German Huf Haus produced intelligible kits optimally packaged and delivered wherever the client wanted. Later, to increase efficiency, prefab housing producers turned to factory produced modular boxes and the kit of pre-cut parts became a peripheral strategy for prefabrication. The mobile home or volumetric manufactured house delivered on a trailer came to represent prefabrication in America.

The kit however remained the emblem of do-it-yourself flexibility. The Liberty "Ready-Cut House" in the USA typified the manufactured kit and is part of approximately 500 000 units produced in the United States during the pre and post-war housing crisis.² The Liberty house kit contained all the required lumber for structure, siding, mouldings and

2. "Liberty Ready Cut Homes Catalogue." Lewis Manufacturing Company, 1952. Accessed June 26, 2019 <https://archive.org/details/LibertyReady-cutHomes1952>

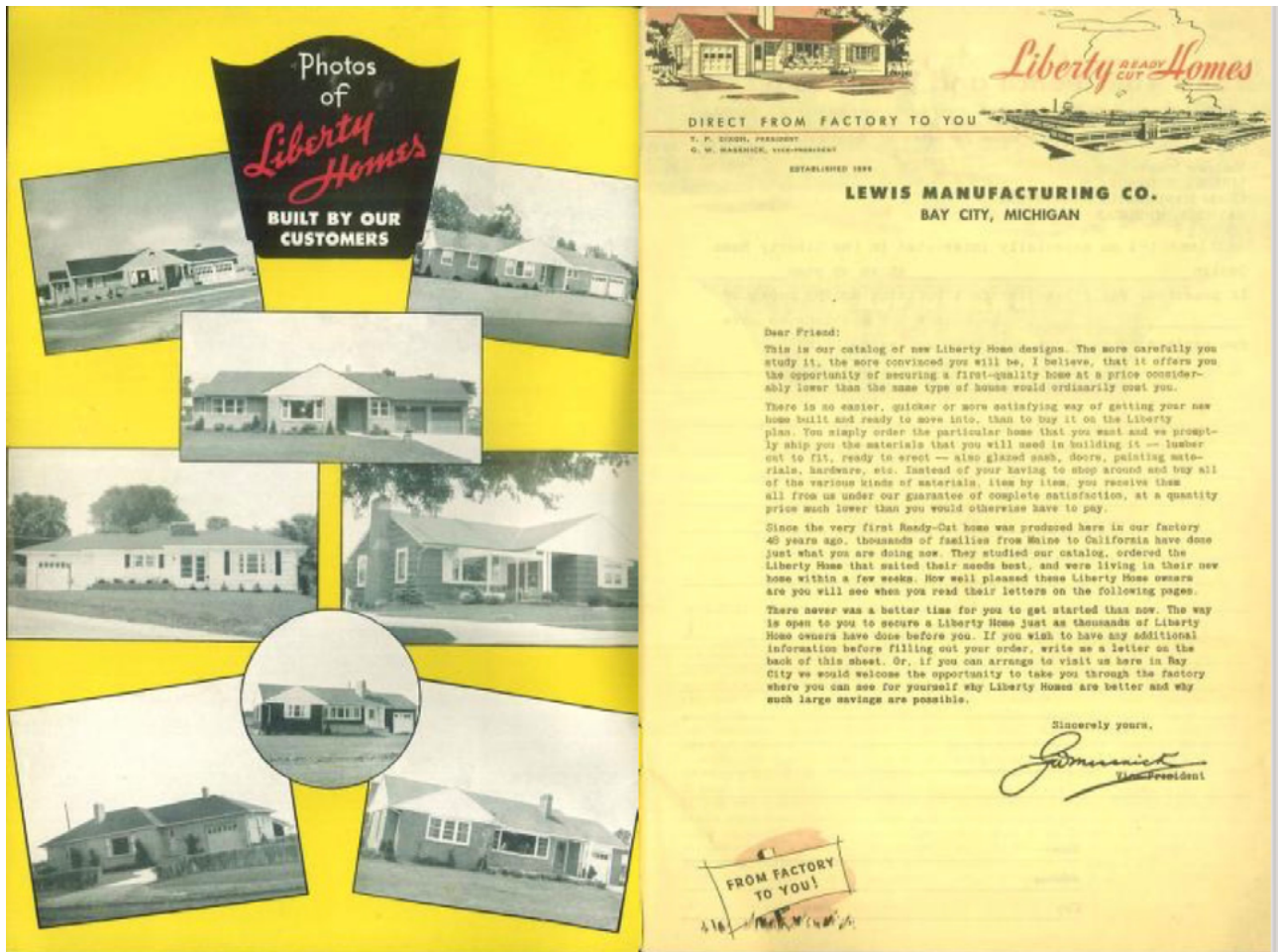


FIG. 3 Liberty Catalogue Cover. Source: Author's collection

finishes. The bundled hardware included nails, screws, windows, doors, siding and easy to follow assembly instructions [Fig. 3]. The Liberty catalogue of multiple designs “architecturally designed for simple living”³ were all based on a simple 2-by-4 frame structure for walls and short spans of 2-by floor joists and roof rafters. The simple to build 2-by-4 frame and the steel nail were the core components of an infinite architectural variability. Doors, windows, siding and built-in furniture were dimensionally coordinated and would adapt to any design. The pattern book of house types demonstrated the company’s idea of customization and included an order form for a complete house kit delivered and labelled to optimize on-site assembly with or without a hired carpenter or builder.

Probably the most famous, The Sears Roebuck catalogue, distributed from 1908, was not the first of its kind nor the most industrially advanced, as each model’s components were simply pre-cut. Decades earlier, the D.N. Skillings and D.B. Flint’s⁴ catalogue of sectional portable buildings proposed a nascent industrial building system. The catalogue of varied building plans proposed a system of panels, standardized on a set module, that could be packed, shipped and assembled with ease [Fig.4].

“The construction of these buildings is so simple that two or three men without mechanical knowledge or experience in building can

3. “Liberty Ready Cut Homes Catalogue.”

4. “D.N. Skillings and D.B. Flint’s Illustrated Catalogue of Portable Sectional Buildings” D.N. Skillings and D.B. Flint, 1861. Accessed June 26, 2019 <https://archive.org/details/SkillingsFlintCCA196560>

set up one of them in less than three hours and with equal ease the same men can take it down , remove it to another locality, and rebuild it without additional material."⁵

5. "D.N. Skillings and D.B. Flint's Illustrated Catalogue of Portable Sectional Buildings"

This excerpt from the catalogue demonstrates the value already being placed on prefabrication at the time as a flexible and adaptable approach for providing affordable buildings. The catalogue also affirms the beginnings of standardization for building materials and assemblies.

Industrial and design collaborations – industrializing the kit

As material standardization developed along with theories of dimensional coordination (Bemis 1933), industrial production became the model for a type of industry-sponsored pattern book signifying novel materials and methods. An example promoted by the Douglas Fir Ply-

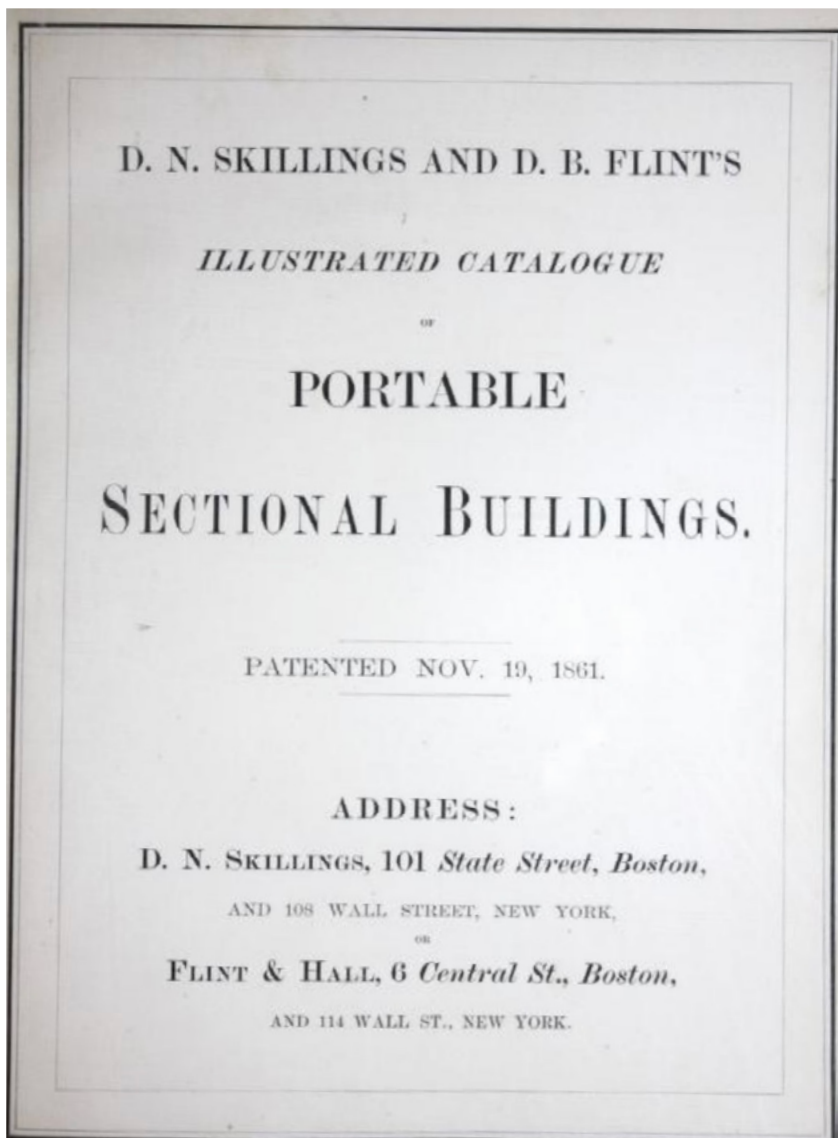


FIG. 4 DN Skillings and D.B. Flints catalogue cover.
 Source: <https://archive.org/details/SkillingsFlintCCA196560/page/n21>

wood Association (DFPA)⁶ illustrated an important paradigm shift in the relationship between industrialisation and architecture. The architect became a marketing tool for promoting the use of a particular material.

All the designs encouraged self-build from a 32 square-foot module (4'x8' sheets) with the use of plywood in envelope, structure, furnishings and interior partitions. Architects were commissioned by the DFPA in a manufacturer's association driven process. Most designs adapted an American modernist aesthetic to a regional and woodland idyllic setting. "The Ranger A-Frame" designed by Nagel and Associates (design no. 15 – [Fig. 5] demonstrated the regionalist adaptation of modernist axioms (kit building, material truth, structural expression, modular coordination). The simple A-frame was composed of 2-by-12 beams anchored to a concrete pier foundation. The interior and exterior plywood panels dictated the spans and overall dimensions. The timber A-frame was nothing new. Its simple triangle arch structure is an age-old building system. However the dimensional coordination was a specifically modern tenant. "The Ranger A-Frame", and the DFPA pattern book embody the leisure zeitgeist that accompanied the concept of the kit for post-war living.

The desire for an industrialized house building kit that optimizes construction efficiency, costs and mass-production has spanned eras, customs, cultures and even public policies⁷. The history of architecture and prefabricated construction recounts this sometimes confluent but often divergent tale. The early 20th century economic crises, social turmoil and industrial development shaped icons of prefabricated kits or sub-assembled components for housing. Projects such as "Lustron" in the United States, AIROH "Aircraft Industries Research Organisation on Housing" in Great Britain, government owned and operated precast concrete panel plants in the USSR and Daiwa's "Midget House" in Japan all convey the modernist 20th century fantasy of factory produced housing. Often supported by the transfer of military knowledge and processes to

6. "Douglas Fir Plywood Association Second Homes for Leisure Living" Douglas Fir Plywood Association, 1960. Accessed on June 26, 2019 <https://archive.org/details/SecondHomesForLeisureLiving>

7. This narrative emerges from extensive literature on the topic and the following references in particular:
Kelly Burnham, *The prefabrication of Houses* (Cambridge : MIT Press, 1951)
Colin Davies, *The Prefabricated House* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005)
Albert G.H. Dietz and Laurence S. Cutler, *Industrialized Building Systems For Housing* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971)



FIG. 5 Ranger A-Frame designed by Nagel and Associates. Source: Douglas Fir Plywood Association Second Homes For Leisure Living Deers Press Seattle 1960

civilian industries, many manufactured experiments were also supported by important housing agendas and policies in their respective countries. Media portrayed the kit as a way of facilitating construction and bringing quality production methods learned in parallel industries such as vehicle production to architecture. The problem of industrializing housing construction was the subject of specific literature touting the advantages of packaged intelligent housing systems.⁸ Surveys of dwelling systems by Kelley (1951) and later by Meyer-Bohe (1959) speak to the far-reaching influence of prefabrication and the kit house theme in particular.

8. See examples Unknown, "US tackles Housing Shortage" *Life magazine* April 15, 1946: 29. See also Robert Lasch, "What to look for in prefabs." *Popular Science*, August 1946: 66.

Architectural projects and manifestoes spawned by the media's prefabrication rhetoric sustained the founding principles of modernity. From Walter Gropius' and Konrad Wachsmann's "Packaged House" (Herbert 1984), to Jean Prouvé's "House For Better Days" (Hoffman and Hummery 2018), the kit pointed out the architect's capacity to design an object and propose a veritable instruction manual for a modern lifestyle. The architectural kit of parts was the union of architecture and industry which invented a new language for architecture challenging existing models. Since modernity both fields, architecture and industry, have outlined divergent trajectories (Davies 2005). Architecture established an idealized representation of prefabrication while the prefabricated construction industry has largely remained in a mass production paradigm; The kit of parts lent itself to an idiom that identified with intelligent design and an era of technological advancement. Along with the efficiencies of twentieth century Fordisms applied to architecture, the kit was seen as a way of offering an alternative to repetitive prefabrication as it could be customized to fit a specific user's needs. Building a great number of variable plans from a set number of pieces and parts would surely reform architecture's production.

The catalogue and the architectural journal are the two main elements which contributed to the idea of the kit percolating mainstream construction as it would be possible to envision an architecture assembled from off-the-shelf components. Military technology and the ongoing threat of wars pushed for the industrialisation of housing systems as for many it was seen as a way of maintaining military production capacity in the event of war. This transfer of technology along with the fact that many architects had been in military service contributed to the kit being understood as a specifically modern method of construction and symbolized the integration of the architect within industry. The threat of war also contributed to the idea, in the USA, that a house should not only offer protection, but it should be easy to build and mobile. The proposal of the "Nissan Hut" or Buckminster Fuller's "Dymaxion Deployment Unit" as a form of dwelling elucidates the idea that architecture and modern architecture during the post-war years was being influenced by war and its production methods. Further the architectural media became a force to

promote the kit as both medium and message as it portrayed the essential elements of modernity.

A special issue of *Architectural Forum*, September 1942, entitled “The House of 194X” presented this particularly fertile time for American prefabrication. The issue endorsed prefabrication as the most significant development in building techniques. All areas of the construction process were affected and the factory would yield the post-war house. The editors cited the 73 362 prefabricated wartime units produced by their contemporary industry as proof of the sector’s proficiency. Applied to every dwelling function, it was the need for adaptability and customization which characterized *Architectural Forum*’s avant-garde take on a need for open systems capable of achieving multiple design options based on component standardization and modularity. Sameness was not an option. If prefab was to succeed it “*must be able to adapt to different needs resulting from changes in family composition as a family grows «older»*”.⁹

Architectural Forum would continue to showcase industrialized building systems in the years that followed promoting prefabrication as effective for saving costs and time. Steel component based systems demonstrated the magazine’s open systems approach as components could be assembled to organize any design.

The “Light Steel Bethlehem System”¹⁰ composed of trussed joists and wall studs typified variable prefab as both wall and floor components could be mass-produced but deployed in multiple variations.

9. Editors, “The House of 194x,” *Architectural Forum*. September 1942: 32.

10. Part of a six-part series on the theme of the “Prefabricated House”, the March 1943 issue of *Architectural Forum* presented a series of steel kits.

2.0 The architectural kit of parts as medium and as message

“What is a house ?” authored in July 1944 in *Arts and Architecture* by Charles and Ray Eames (1944) famously represented [Fig.6] the problem that would fascinate and obsess architects for a time to come. It would respond to user’s needs and would necessarily be informed by technology. While not precisely positing the case for a kit of parts architecture, their position was certainly clarified by their 1949 prototype, “Case Study House 8”, one America’s important architectural experiments. The problem of the post-war house was being addressed not only in architectural circles but in industrial and political circles as well and prefabrication was the way of the future. The kit of parts within architectural literature became synonymous with innovation and the capacity to house returning veterans. “Lustron” is the iconic, successful, failure in terms of prefabricated steel kit housing pushed by both industry and the political system. It can also be argued that villages such as Roger Young Village in Los Angeles, which employed a domesticated version of the “Quonset Hut” exposed a military outlook on housing (Cuff 2000). The meeting of architecture with production and industrialisation was a recurring theme in modern architecture purported by many authors, this paper explores the robust narrative that

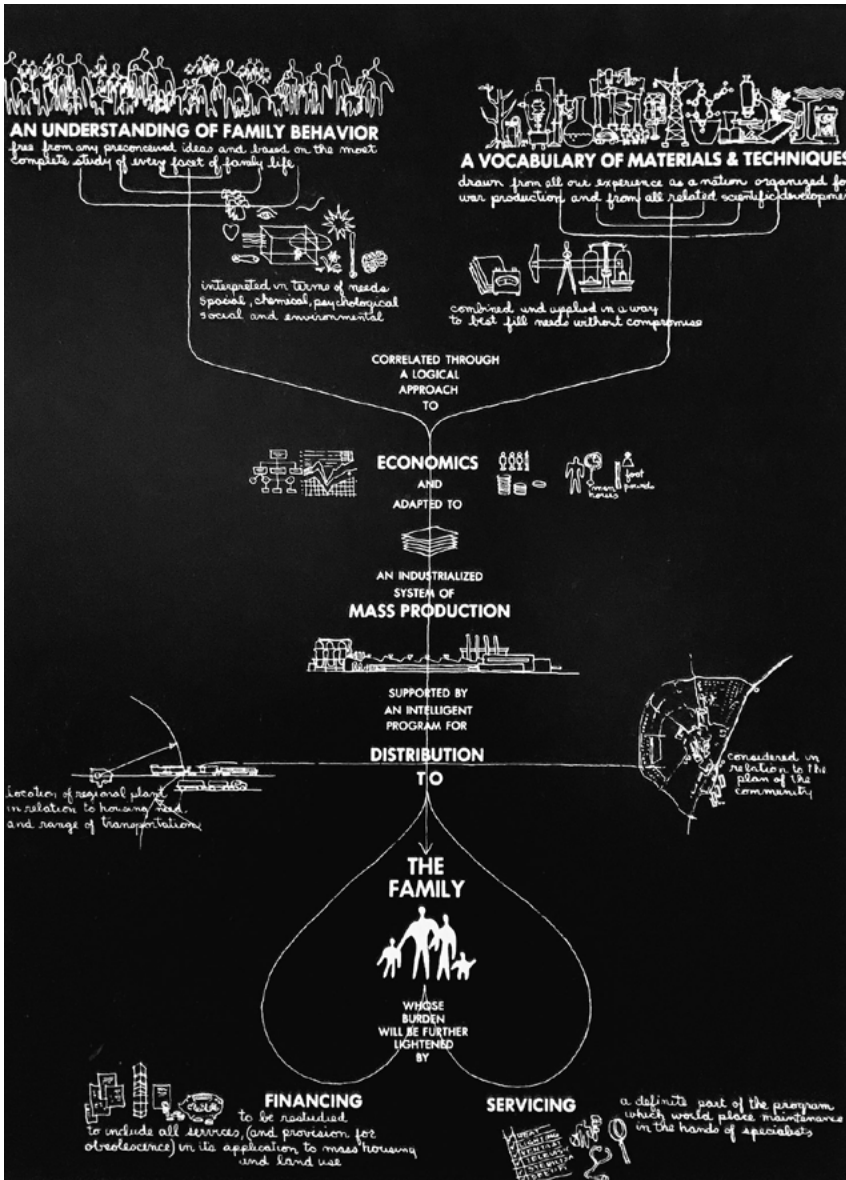


FIG. 6 What is a house representation of the problem. Source: Arts and Architecture July 1944

emerges from the study of three diverse productions all stemming from the kit ideal proposed as a model for reforming housing and eventually for city planning.

Arts and Architecture - architecture with an optimistic message

The immigration of influential members of the European avant-garde to the United States transported and secured modernist values in American architectural academia in the 20th century. The combination of European modernism, its attraction to the American building culture of light industrialized components (balloon frame and skeletal steel) and the American pioneer spirit contributed to elevating prefabrication to a type of intended goal for architectural solutions. While present throughout the United States, California was a particularly fertile context for this type of modernism. Already in 1921, Rudolf Shindlers' "Kings Road House"

employed a project specific kit with its on-site cast tilt-slab concrete construction. Considered by many as the first truly modern house in the USA, its Japanese inspired details also explore a type of timber kit.

Using a media outlet to propose what was new in architecture is not specific to California, however the scale and ambition of “The Case Study House Program” proposed as a veritable production of housing ideas for post-war America (Goldstein 1990) determines its value in influencing what has become known as mid-century modern. The January 1945 issue of *Arts and Architecture*¹¹, formerly California Arts and Architecture was a call to action for architects to explore “good design potentials”¹² through a series of prototype houses which would be followed, studied and advocated by the magazine in order to shape some “creative thinking by good architects and good manufactures”¹³. The post-war house was to be a commodity. Implemented by Arts and Architecture magazine and championed by its editor John Entenza, “The Case Study House Program” was based on values of innovation, scalability, reproducibility, affordability and personalization. 13 out of the 36 residential prototypes were built on the conviction that architecture could be both mass-produced and fitted to owners’ personalities. In 1949, fed by European avant-garde influences, the transfer of knowledge acquired in military service and his work with the magazine, Charles Eames, designed what would come to be known in architecture as perhaps the most famous kit house. The Eames’ proposed the “Case Study House 8” and collaborated on the “Case Study House 9”. Eames explored an open frame structure, a clear span space, structured by a steel skeleton leaving considerable flexibility to potential occupants and users. This variability was based on the assembly of ready-made industrialized and off-the-shelf components akin to what the Eames’ had developed for their infamous children’s “Toy” (Colomina, Brennan, and Kim, 2004).

Regularly linked to Charles and Ray Eames’ “Case study house 8” and “The Case Study House Program”, the kit culture has a deeper-rooted tradition in California. The mid nineteenth century brought over 300 000 forty-niners and varied transportable housing from United States, Latin America, Britain, and Asia, diversifying California’s social make-up and contributing the progressive nature of its building culture.

This tradition of a progressive building culture exemplified by the designs of Bernard Maybeck, and the influence of pure modernists like Walter Gropius and Richard Neutra combined to create an American / California modernism based on crafting architecture rather than a pure separation of craftsmanship from industry. *Arts and Architecture*’s “Case Study House Program” is a prime example of the era’s and the setting’s progressive ideas for housing. The CSHP designs revealed the common themes of horizontal space, centrally clustered flexible spatial composition and modular coordination of components.

11. John Entenza, “The program,” *Arts and Architecture*, January 1945: 37.

12. Entenza, “The Program,” 37.

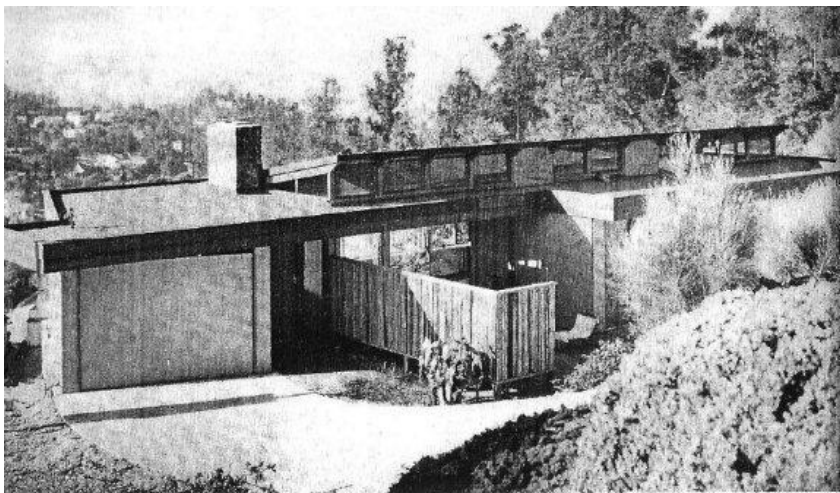
13. Entenza, “The Program,” 37.

An example of the program's and the California kit influence was printed in *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in July 1948¹⁴ [Fig. 7]. Gordon Drake an architect who died tragically in his early thirties had a brief but prolific career inspired by California modernism. Drake designed a series of houses based on a four-foot grid module. The experimental house system proposed interchangeable components based on a three dimensional grid. The strategy was concurrent to the Modular Standards Association and the American Standards Association proposals for a 4-inch cube module that was to facilitate building from a point of view of systems and component integration. Gordon Drake's proposal for his experimental houses was based on modular coordination composed of floor, wall and roof panels, stressed skins attached to a simple open frame structure.

Another influence beyond modular coordination of the case study house program was the crossbreeding of "good architects" and "good manufacturers"¹⁵. Crossing industrial knowledge with architecture was an underlying theme of modernism. As the post WW2 era set off a baby boom brought on by both economic expansion and a renewed optimism of peace time, the modern house and its definition was the topic of

14. See experimental kit house of prefabricated components by Gordon Drake in *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* July 1948

15. Entenza, "The Program," 37.



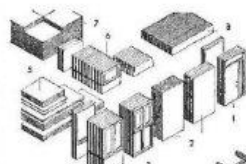
2. MAISON EXPERIMENTALE. CONSTRUCTION PAR PANNEAUX SUR TRAME MODULEE
GORDON DRAKE, ARCHITECTE

Située sur le flanc Nord d'une colline boisée, dans la banlieue de Los Angeles, cette maison est un compromis entre la conception d'un plan « libre » suggérée par le caractère du site, et la rigidité imposée par un procédé de construction extrêmement simple.

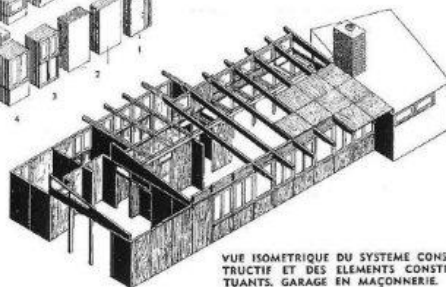
Tout en tenant compte dans ce cas particulier d'un programme qui exigeait des qualités de confort très élevées, l'architecte a réalisé le modèle expérimental d'une construction préfabriquée par panneaux sur une trame modulaire, susceptible d'être produite en série pour les besoins d'une famille moyenne, sur n'importe quel terrain.

Le procédé de construction est basé sur un système très simple de panneaux préfabriqués en bois établis sur une trame modulaire de quatre pieds. Cette méthode implique une construction à niveaux sur une plate-forme qui fut obtenue par excavation et remblai.

Le plan a été étudié en fonction des exigences particulières du climat et de l'orientation du site. C'est ainsi que la façade principale est orientée au Nord, seule solution possible; la pente raide du terrain et la seule possibilité d'accès ont dicté le choix de l'emplacement du garage. La disposition respective des panneaux vitrés et pleins a été déterminée par le panorama de la ville au Nord, la vue ouverte vers l'Est, et l'exposition du jardin au Midi. Afin de sauvegarder le maximum de surface libre pour le



1. Portes; 2. Panneaux murs; 3.-4. Fenêtres de deux types; 5. Panneaux Planchers; 6. Impostes; 7. Panneaux toiture; 8. Cloisons.



VUE ISOMETRIQUE DU SYSTEME CONSTRUCTIF ET DES ELEMENTS CONSTITUANTS. GARAGE EN MAÇONNERIE.

FIG. 7 Experimental housing system: Source: *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* July 1948

many architectural machinations. Architects had been employed in the war effort and the material knowledge they gained was being deployed toward civilian use. Charles and Ray Eames' office was notably active in bringing modern materials such as plywood and plastics from military explorations in leg and arm splints to daily use in furniture or for housing.

The Kwikset Lock Company mandated a lesser-known work by the Eames' office. Both interested in housing and producing prototypes architects and industrialists sought to serve and supply the masses. Founded by Adolf Schoepe and Karl Rhinehart in 1946, the Kwikset Lock Company was founded on their patent for a quickly installed tubular door lock. In 1948 the company set up as factory in Anaheim and became familiar with the Eames' and their work through common acquaintances. "The Kwikset House"¹⁶ prototype designed in 1951 was never built but was proposed as a self-build affordable timber kit [Fig. 8]. The Kwikset Lock Company intended to market and sell the kit to include their hardware. The simple kit was composed of a vertical post and curved beam timber structure which outlined a flexible and adaptable interior space. The one-inch scale model showcased the Eames' furniture and their signature modular organisations applicable from toys to buildings and cities (Zinguer 2004).

Arts and Architecture, the Eames', and other optimistic young architects shaped and inspired by European avant-garde, elevated the kit of parts to a generation's propagandist tool for promoting a new language for architecture: manufactured, customizable and replicable. If the kit of parts promoted progressive minded ideas on architecture and its industrialization, it remained fairly marginal in shaping the ordinary post-war house. It did however shape how modern architecture was envisioned and how it is published. To this day magazines like *Dwell* celebrate "The Case Study House Program" as a symbol of an optimistic modernity in America.¹⁷

16. "The Kwikset House," Eames Office, accessed on June 26, 2019 <https://www.eamesoffice.com/the-work/the-kwikset-house/>

17. Jennifer Baum Lagdameo, "A look at 10 iconic case study houses," accessed June 26, 2019 <https://www.dwell.com/article/a-look-at-10-iconic-case-study-houses-in-california-abb9ca3c>

"The Standard of Living Package": architecture as a tool for survival

The underlying tones of military influence, decentralization of the city and the increasingly mobile lifestyle would remain an influencing power. *Arts and Architecture* would continue to explore the post-war house until

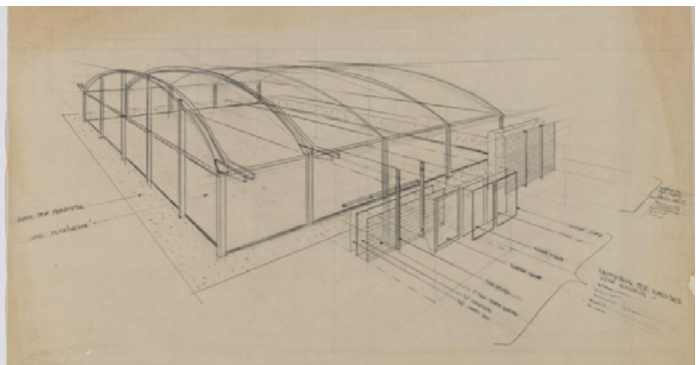


FIG. 8 Kwikset House: Source: <https://www.eamesoffice.com/the-work/the-kwikset-house/>

1962. The off-the-shelf kit in architecture that would lead to the industrialization of the house, proposing an efficient and low-cost “*machine for living*” would not come to fruition at least not in massive terms. However, the kit as both an elucidation of military undercurrents and a solution for the housing shortages would inspire and become a message for potential mobility during the cold war years.

Well known for his Dymaxion inventions Richard Buckminster Fuller’s designs are abundantly documented. From his work on the industrialized service/bathroom core patented in 1913 to the USA pavilion at Expo 67 in Montreal, Canada to his many Dymaxion experiments illustrate the proficiency with which Fuller’s ideals sought to reform construction through an ideal for scientific efficiency. Even today, the Buckminster Fuller Institute continues to promote Fuller’s ideas and lays witness to Fuller’s capacity to federate industry, engineering and academia (Pang 1996). During the late 1940s and early 1950s “The Fuller Research Foundation” (FRF) based in Forest Hills, New York, instigated many experiments linked either directly by military requirements or by the indirect pursuit of building systems, which could be deployed both easily and economically. Overseen by Fuller, the FRF used architectural education, workshops and publications to describe their visions of one of the most iconic building kits of the twentieth century: the geodesic dome.

Filed on December 12, 1951, Buckminster Fuller’s patent, “Building Construction”,¹⁸ describes a system for enclosing space with a minimal amount of materials through the geometric principles of great circles. The patent defines geodesic construction through three interrelated principles: the stability of triangles, the geometry of a spherical icosahedron, and truss principles to increase the moment of inertia of a dome’s shell without substantially increasing its weight.

Reducing weight, an obsession Fuller acquired from his military work, is important in any structure but is particularly important in large spanning structures that are free of any interior obstructions. Triangulated structures or trusses are systems that systematize geometric patterns of consistent components to transfer loads and stresses. An interrelated curved network of triangles, Buckminster Fuller’s “Geodesic Domes” epitomize using geometry as an architectural device; the 20-faced icosahedron in particular, to produce a large variety of geodesic dome kits for buildings of any scope and size. The icosahedron’s composing equilateral triangular faces’ vertices are extended outwardly to approximate a sphere and their joining segments materialized to form a hemispherical dome. The resulting latticework of constructed triangles relies on variable length segments and geometrically agile connectors. The domes were proposed as a revolution in building and as a tool for mobility as the domes could be built from lightweight materials, assembled, disassembled and reassembled in any context. The dome would not only cover architectural space

18. R. Buckminster Fuller “United States Patent no. 2682235 - Building Construction” June 29, 1954; <http://www.google.ca/patents/US2682235> accessed July 1, 2017

but eventually mediate it from inclement weather and predators. The dome would be a formidable kit for decentralizing housing in America.¹⁹

Geodesic principles were explored in a large series of dwelling kits from Fuller's own home to experiments undertaken as part of FRF (Gough 2009, Wong 1999) – the home was no longer viewed as a perennial context based social construction but a product of industrial development to be moved and replaced as needed in the event of a catastrophe.

*"In the spring of 1949 a course by architect Buckminster Fuller presented students at the Institute of Design in Chicago with the problem, as apocalypse-cum-homework assignment: "The city is to be evacuated. All residential and industrial concentrations of 50,000 persons or more are in immediate danger of annihilation. Consumable goods now directed towards these areas will be diverted to smaller decentralised communities. Seven days are allowed in which to gather all living mechanics necessary to maintain a high standard of living for a family of six – two adults, two children, two guests. Everything not decentralised will be destroyed."*²⁰

Along with the dome, The "Standard of Living Package" was Fuller's response to the need for industrializing a low-cost house that could be moved or easily replaced. The articles in *Perspecta* and *Life*²¹ confirm Fuller's principles in both architectural journals and mass media showcasing the industrialized house with the utility package to serve basic needs. If Gottfried Semper's analysis of the "Carribean Hut" (1851) defined an inclusive vernacular architectural language in modernity, Fuller's kit submits the required commodities to replace Semper's ceramic hearth. In this commodified hearth, housing strategy, building techniques, and military technologies fuse together to produce an ambitious dwelling kit for the masses.

Buckminster Fuller's work with the group of students²² used the cold-war setting as his housing designs and geodesic structural prototypes performed an architecture of protection and survival. His "Standard of Living Package" proposed a potential industrialized process to reduce costs and make a better house. This included securing financing, material procurement and marketing. Fuller's kits became a type of architectural propaganda using academia, the architectural studio and workshop setting to push his agenda for change.

The proposed kit was a transportable container that would unfold into a service core [Fig. 9]. The container's sides would simply fold out to become the dwelling unit's floors and out would come all the modern conveniences and commodities that a family of six would need to live comfortably in a decentralized location. The geodesic dome structure covered in plastics would shelter the unit. The two-component kit, a

19. R. Buckminster Fuller, "The Autonomous Dwelling Facility," *Perspecta* vol. 1 (Summer 1952): 28-37.

20. Fuller, "The Autonomous Dwelling Facility," 28-37.

21. See description of Fuller's Wichita House in *Life* April 1 1946.

22. Fuller, "The Autonomous Dwelling Facility," 28-37.

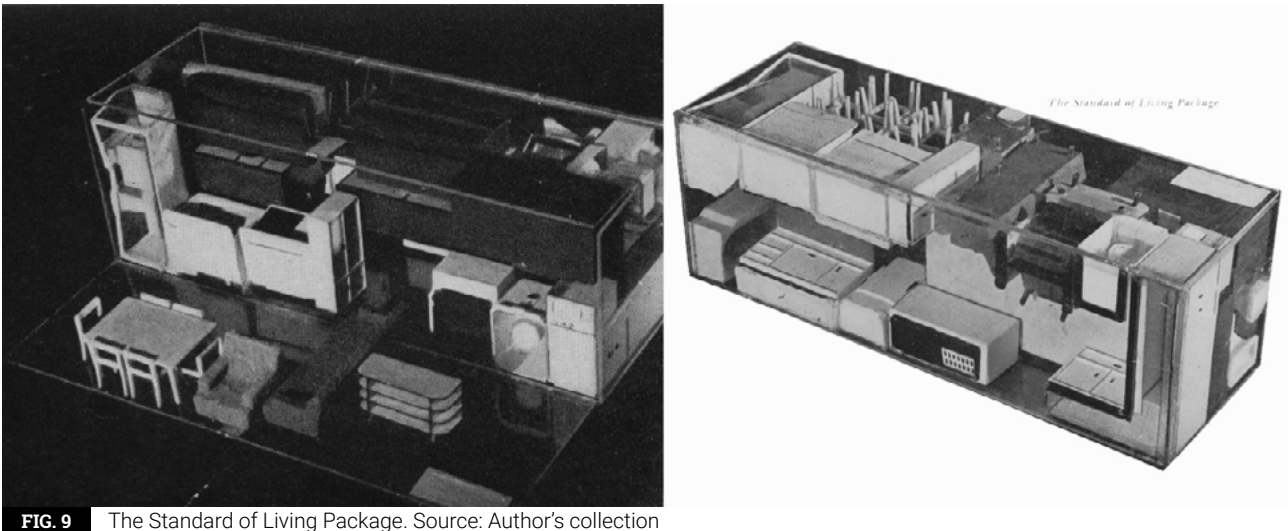


FIG. 9 The Standard of Living Package. Source: Author's collection

transportable container and a geodesic dome, would allow one to conceivably set-up house anywhere.

Fuller's Fuller Research Foundation was modelled as a design office but also as a branch of military engagement. The "Autonomous Dwelling Unit", the "Geodesic Domes" and even the earlier "Wichita House" branded architecture with the aesthetics, efficiency and material knowledge gained from military training. The kit of parts based on the repetitive use of mass-produced components allowed for building large spanning structures with similar and replaceable parts. Each deployed unit was the modular unit of an overall building system. The easy kit rhetoric percolated every part of the Fuller Zeitgeist.

Plastic shells as territorial kits - architecture for the mobile man

The kit of parts as a conceptual product of the post-war era elevated components that were cheap, quick to produce, replicable and easily replaced. As many kits developed concurrently to the development of new materials, plastics became representative of post war commodification of architecture and were ideally suited to the idea of a lightweight kit not specific to any context.

Plastics presented the flexibility of reinforced concrete without the weight limitations. Plastics' flexibility was emblematic of modern society's main constituent: the need for constant change. Social paradigms were being challenged at an alarming rate. Research in architecture and building technology paralleled this social development, as systems' flexibility became a focal point for exploration. Plastics in construction were everywhere and in mass media in particular portrayed as the future of building. *House and Home* even presented a timeline for their streamlined use in all building systems.²³ Without a history before industrialisation, plastics and polymers more precisely were an experiment in material

23. Unknown, "Timetable for the Use of Plastics in Construction," *House and Home* (September 1956): 122

chemistry and their production was based on the efficiencies developed in the laboratory and in wartime use.

Hardening resins, such as Bakelite invented by Leo Hendrik Baekeland in 1907, were developed in building materials from panels to laminates. The monocoque and stressed skin structures developed for military use in aluminum and in reinforced plastics certainly revolutionized modern building culture as they permeated post-war building. The stressed skin and the monocoque combine structure and envelope to produce an optimal weight to strength ratio. Shells could be purposed toward building, as they were strong, light and potentially relayed wartime industries toward civilian use.

The glass-fibre reinforced plastic (GRP) shell panel was symbolic of new uses for composites in architecture. Used notably as the intrados and extrados film over an expanded polyurethane core, the monocoque shaped in variable compositions, juxtaposed on simple grids was neither skeletal nor massive and proposed a new formal language.

Arthur Quarmby²⁴, a particular strong proponent of this use of plastics in architecture explored a modular system of GRP monocoques for British Railways' relay stations, a similar system for Bakelite Ltd and for use in temporary housing. Quarmby's approach was based on identical shells (combining walls and roofs) for corner units and wall segments. The system was expandable. A base square unit could be deployed to a limitless length in one direction with only two reusable moulds.

In the 1950s, Marvin E Goody and Frank J Hager from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology also explored glass reinforced plastics for buildings. The MIT researchers united with industries such as Owens Corning to study new potentials for plastics in architecture. Their work led to an association with Monsanto on the "All Plastic House of the Future", exhibited by Disney in Anaheim, California from 1957 to 1967 and to a lesser-known project for a flexible school structure. Promoted as the future of housing the Monsanto house illustrated the potential use of plastics in every building system.²⁵ The kit was no longer just a tool for showcasing construction simplicity, it helped commodify architectural production and became a message for the future of building [Fig. 10]. The message was that architects were not only responsible for building but equally a tool for its publication and for defining a new lifestyle. Houses by Goody and Hager, Alice and Peter Smithson and also by Shein and Magnant portrayed the future of living in plastics as a global phenomenon (Vergnot-Kriegel 2011).

The monocoque shell skins for the Monsanto house helped develop an ideal form-resistant structural shape. The monocoque shells could be moulded into virtually any profile and nested to be easily transported to any site. In the case of their experimental elementary school, Goody and

24. See a number of Quarmby's proposals at http://www.frac-centre.fr/_en/art-and-architecture-collection/rub/rubauthors-316.html?authID=156 accessed June 26 2019.

25. Unknown, "Plastics and Houses," *House and Home* (September 1956): 134

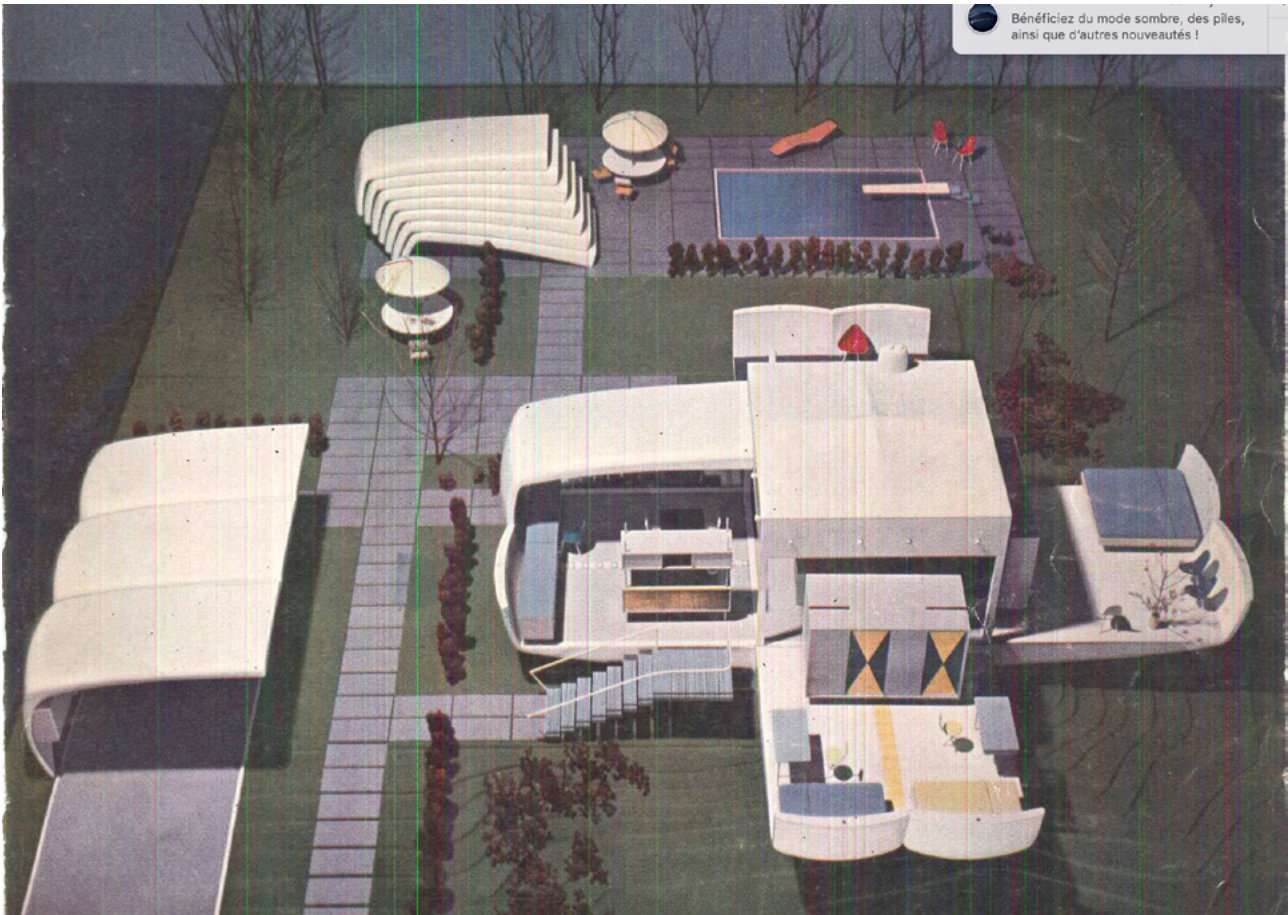


FIG. 10 Monsanto House of the Future: Source House and Home September 1956

Frank developed a hyperbolic paraboloid (a curved surface shaped like a horse saddle) skin composed of a foam insulated core (25 mm) moulded between two thin fiberglass reinforced (1.5 mm) skins. Simple to produce, these shapes and objects became the source of combinable and coordinated architectural components. Many such projects developed concurrently for different scales and different settings. The "DO-bausystem" in Germany, the "Tetrodon" in France, Guy Gérin Lajoie's modular plastic panels for the Arctic in Canada and both "The Ventura" and "Futuro" houses by Matti Suuronen in Finland all employed similar systems casting fiberglass reinforced plastic components for producing building system kits. Units or panels could simply be snapped or bolted together streamlining construction [Fig. 11].²⁶

George Candilis proposed "Hexacube"²⁷ in the early 1970s employing matching and stackable fiberglass reinforced shells to form dwellings. The cube facilitated clustering while hexagons were used to match cube faces together. The basic unit was a moulded half cube [Fig. 12], which could be employed as the upper or lower part of the cube. Each 5m³ cube was moulded with half-hexagonal shaped openings, which formed full hexagons when the half cubes were matched. The hexagon opening acted as the "Hexacube's" reproductive organ; their alignment and subsequent affixing made it possible to achieve multiple arrangements. The openings

26. Author, "Prefabrication experiments - 177 - Geometries - 08 - Hexacube and plastics in architecture" Accessed on November 6, 2019, <http://prefabricate.blogspot.com/2018/10/prefabrication-experiments-177.html>.

27. "Prefabrication experiments - 177 - Geometries - 08 - Hexacube and plastics in architecture"

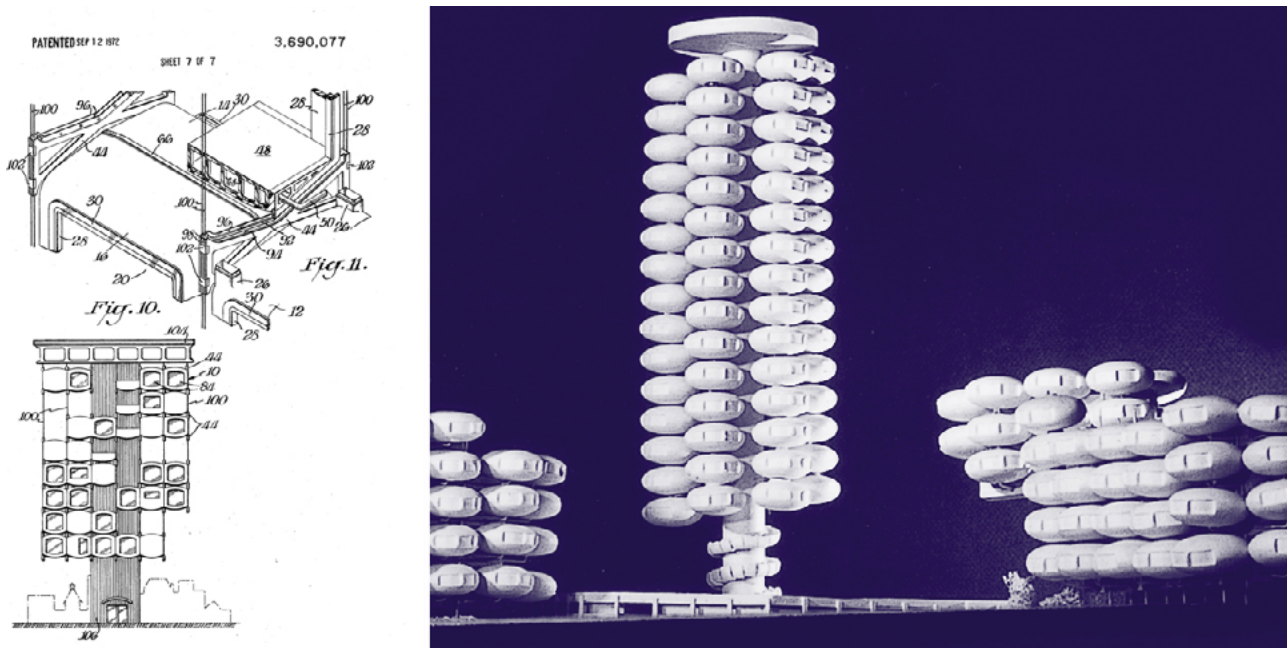


FIG. 11 Plastic Kits for housing: Source: Author's collection

could be adapted with a series of facades or functional hexagonal shaped units, varying function and appearance. A series of accessories, rectangular prisms half the size of the cube programmed by function, hygiene, storage, kitchen or other services, could be plugged into the basic unit creating an infinite number of patterns and uses. Each half cube could be piled for efficient delivery, eight deep, as one would stack plastic utility chairs. The cube's edges were tapered and chamfered to facilitate casting and recasting using the same moulds.

Dubigeon Plastics produced Candilis and Anja Blomstedt's "Hexacube" in 1972. Although only a marginal number of units were produced, the system showcased a manner in which knowledge transfer from the plastics industry to architecture made it possible to fabricate objects, architecture, and even cities with similar processes.

These plastic shell kits underscored the development of an imminent hypermobile architecture of transposable pod clusters and aggregations. As polymer chemistry progressed these types of product oriented building systems became more prevalent. Glass reinforced plastic was the main material constituent of the pod aesthetic. Socially, demographic shifts, new modes of transportation and the space race supported the representation of agile, adaptable and flexible future urban systems. The capsule epitomized a future where the social fabric commanded an interchangeable architecture. Patented systems²⁸ by Kisner or Casoni and Casoni's circular "Rondo" housing pods (Vogler 2015) presented the plastic pods as components in towering megastructure kits, each pod completely eliminating any individualization, as each capsule was identical to its neighbour's.

28. John D. Dalglish and Clinton E. Kisner "United States Patent no. US3690077A - Building Construction" June 29, 1954.

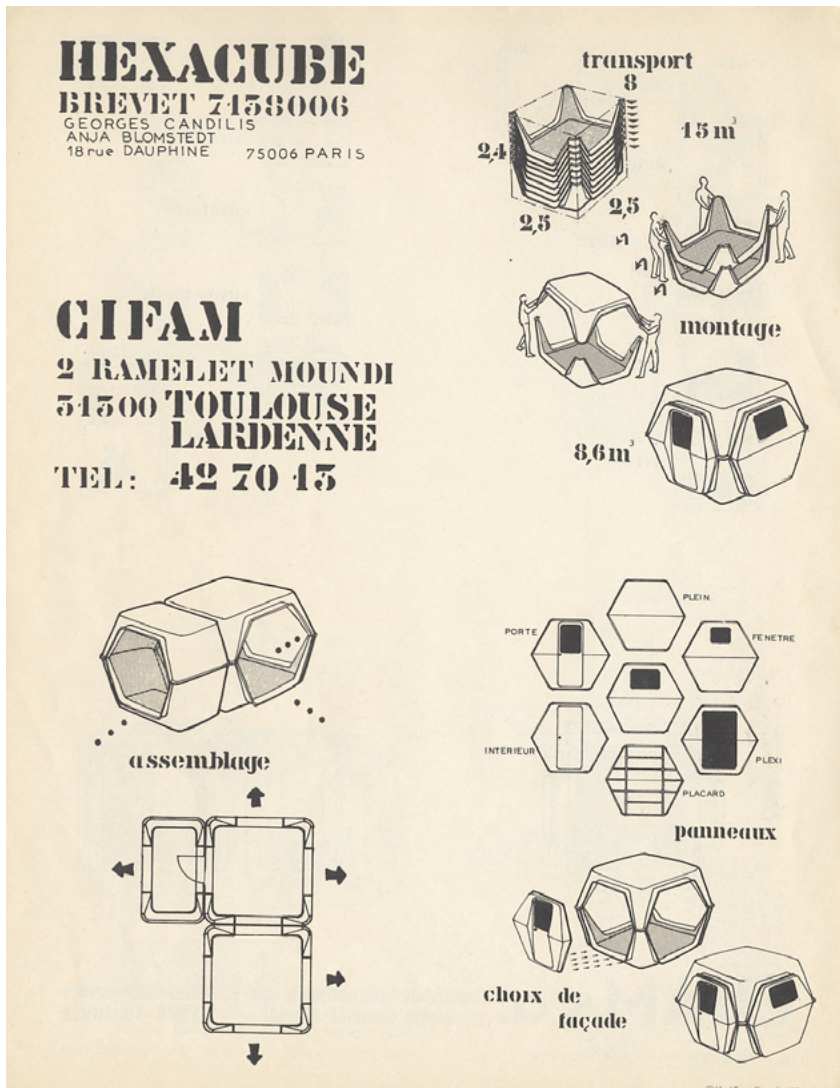


FIG. 12 Hexacube. Source: Author's collection

The kit progressed from a vision of an industrialized house to the image of a cell-based industrialized city. The steel skeleton was replaced by a towering infrastructure into which integrated components could be plugged and unplugged.

3.0 Discussion and conclusion

Designed for assembly, the kit of parts predates modernity in architecture and related more to craft than industry as cutting parts to make them fit together requires a high level of shared knowledge about tools and materials. Industrialization put the power of this knowledge in the factory and assembly by bolts or nails democratized construction. Through this dissemination throughout architectural media the ideal of modular coordination made it possible to reach a type of kit construction for the production of dwellings but also for the production of newness in architecture.

“The Case Study House Program”, “The Standard of Living Package” and plastic shell construction while not specifically linked together, certainly trace of vector which proposed the kit as a basis for a new architecture and as a tool for lowering costs, living better, and enjoying the flexibility and mobility of the modern house. As its potential for reforming architecture and everyday construction became marginalized, the kit rhetoric infiltrated architectural media, education and design methodologies. It no longer was seen as a uniquely efficient system to be assembled for the masses to mitigate the post-war housing shortages but could be a way of systemically reforming architecture’s production at every scale.

One of the most convincing attempts at defining agile building kits at every scale through modularity was proposed by Swiss designer Fritz Haller.²⁹ Well known for his association with manufacturer USM for a line of modular furniture, Haller applied his modernist education to develop a scalable construction system applicable to three building types in the 1960s. The “Mini” for houses and residential lightweight construction, the “Midi” for intermediate commercial grade construction and a long spanning “Maxi” version of the component-based system for large structures and a more theoretical systems for urbanism. The skeletal steel systems employed a similar approach. Prefabricated elements for columns, girders, main beams and panels based on a modular 60cm / 120 cm grid normalized construction details and simplified coordination while permitting multiple and adaptable functional and spatial patterns. Haller also applied this integrated vision to city structures [Fig. 13] idealizing as Konrad Wachsmann and Charles Eames did in the USA a type of light-

29. Adam Hubertus “Fritz Haller: Systems and Prefabrication” *Detail journal*, (April 2015) : 292.

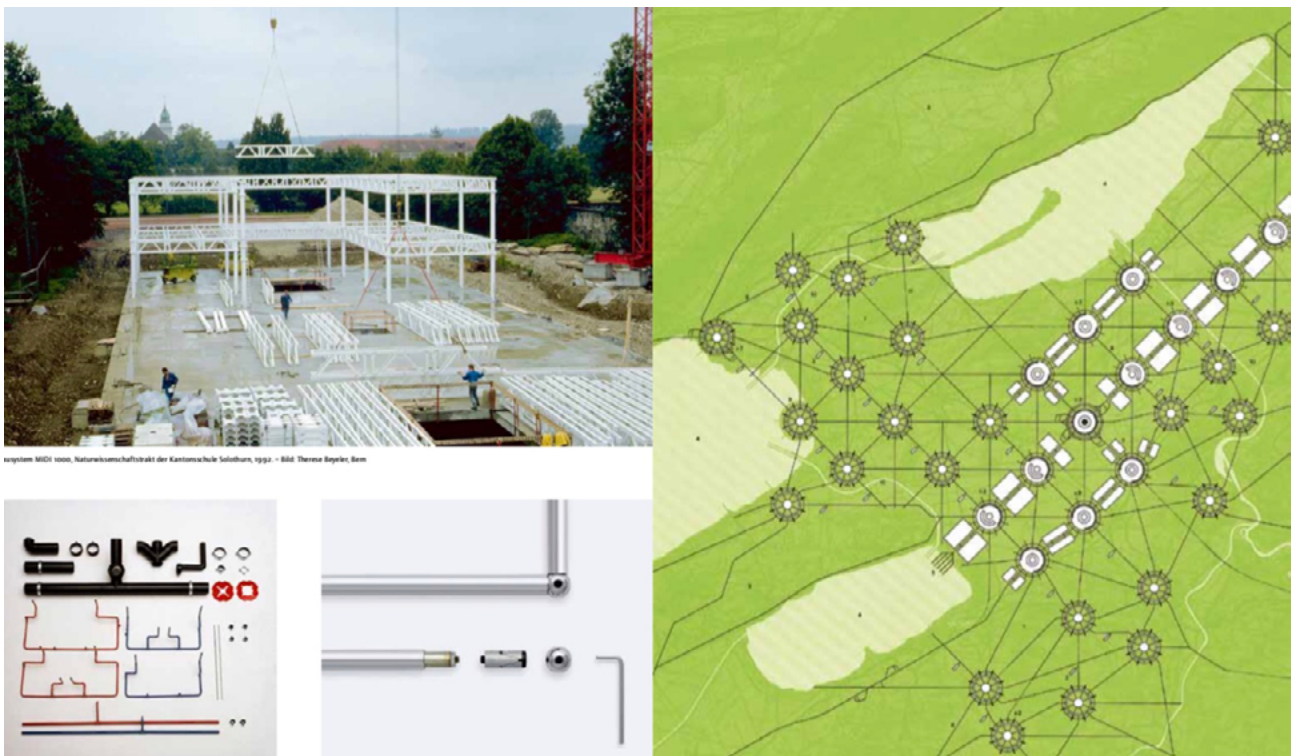


FIG. 13 Fritz Haller's territorial kit. Source: Authors' collection

weight structuralism adapted to any use. Haller's systems express the architectural media's influencing power internationally, elevating the kit as a tool for building at every scale and in any context.

The kit of parts is not just an object in architecture but a mediatic instrument, indicative of the interaction between architectural, construction, industrial and military 20th century histories. The Industrialization of architecture and construction remain elusive to this day as construction methods are mostly conservative, the architecturally designed kit however endures as a type of architectural propaganda. Within the do-it-yourself, hacker and open-source ideologies, the modular, flexible, adaptable, kit-of-parts has become the reflection of a new type of architectural adaptability, "The Wikihouse"³⁰ project presented by Alistair Parvin allows for anyone to download, share, cut their own version of the kit. A heuristically share knowledge gained from the crowd, reforms building culture from an industrially produced kit to a type of crowd sourced, amended, enriched and perfected kit. Digitilization of construction has brought production back into the hands of the many returning the kit to its conceptual roots: a social product and production for the globalized construction of housing.

30. "About Wikihouse," Wikihouse, accessed on June 26, 2019, <https://www.wikihouse.cc/About>

Building Silicon Valley. Corporate Architecture, Information Technology and Mass Culture in the Digital Age

Lina Malfona

Associate professor in architecture
DESTeC Department, University of Pisa
lina.malfona@unipi.it

Lina Malfona (1980), an architect and a scholar with a Ph.D. in Architectural and Urban Design, studied at Sapienza University of Rome under Franco Purini, with whom she worked from 2005 to 2012. Since 2008, she has been both teaching as a visiting professor in Architectural Design Core Studios and working as a postdoctoral research fellow at Sapienza University of Rome and Cornell University GSAPP (Ithaca, NY). Malfona has been guest and visiting critic at Columbia University GSAPP, Cornell AAP, ENSA Paris Belleville, Harvard GSD, RISD, Politecnico di Milano and Syracuse University, among others. In 2018, she has been appointed Associate Professor in Architectural Design at the University of Pisa.

Lina Malfona has pursued her research thanks to a number of prestigious post-doctoral research fellowships, among which a Fulbright Grant as a Visiting Scholar at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. In 2017-18 she carried out her research thanks to the CCA Visiting Scholarship (Montréal, Canada) and the Library Grant from The J. Paul Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles, US), while in 2015, she was awarded a grant as Visiting Fellow at the ATCH Center at the School of Architecture, The University of Queensland.

As a scholar, Malfona authored a number of essays and monographs on matters related to the history, theory and criticism of architecture, focusing on the relationship between architectural form and urban space. Over time, she analyzed the form of the city as a critical and political device for social and architectural innovation, and recently she is working on the impact of the digital revolution on architectural and urban design, theory, and critique. Among her books, *Il tracciato Urbano* (2012); *Tra Roma e il Mare* (2014); *Building the Landscape* (2018) and *Antonio Sant'Elia. Il Manifesto dell'Architettura Futurista* (edited with Franco Purini). Her writings have been published through Il Poligrafo, Gangemi, Quodlibet, and in *Ananke, Anfione e Zeto*, *Ardeh*, *The Avery Review*, *PLOT* and *Rassegna di Architettura e Urbanistica*, among others.

ABSTRACT

The examination of the greatest technopolis in the world is a way of exploring how an architectural as well as cultural, economic, and urban—or better, suburban—phenomenon, linked to a specific framework, has affected an international context. By studying Silicon Valley's phases of development, from its period of militarization during the Cold War to the era of counterculture and then of cyberculture, we can reread the history of information technology's centers of production that have contributed to broadcast the Valley's architectural and political image. Starting from the headquarters of Varian Associates—designed by Erich Mendelsohn and erected in Stanford Industrial Park in 1951—and moving through the campuses that consolidated the image of creativity for which Silicon Valley became well-known in the Eighties, we will be able to have a retrospective look at the physical as well as virtual organization of the first IT corporations which supported the rising of the most powerful medium, the internet. This paper's origin point is the examination of three texts written by the historian Reyner Banham between 1980 and 1987, and in particular the essay “La fine della Silicon Valley” [The end of Silicon Valley], published only in Italian in *Casabella*. References to facts, considerations, and events, taken from Banham's texts, pepper this study like a parallel story that problematizes this area, highlighting both its technological heroism and its approaching demise.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9662>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Lina Malfona



KEYWORDS:

Mass Culture; Information Technology; Corporation; Creative Work; Campus

Silicon Style. The words of Reyner Banham

In his article “La fine della Silicon Valley” [The End of Silicon Valley], published in *Casabella* in 1987, Reyner Banham expresses a position that is, by that point, far from the optimistic view of hi-tech that had characterized his early essays, where he painted Silicon Valley not only as a physical location but also as enlightened industrial consciousness.¹ This early position describes the immaterial nature of corporation, somehow recalling the Deleuzian point “in a society of control the corporation has replaced the factory, and the corporation is a spirit, a gas”².

The historian devoted three essays to the examination of this area, published in quick succession between 1980 and 1987. The first essay dates back to the year in which the Valley’s economy began to show signs of malaise, so much so that Banham noted that the time had come to stop and pin down the current state of Silicon Valley’s corporate vision and hi-tech architecture. During that exact year, the San José Museum of Art unveiled the exhibition “Architecture for Industry in the Santa Clara Valley,” which highlighted, as Banham wrote, “the requirements, problems and successes of the special kind of architecture that grows in the Fertile Crescent.”³ The information on the exhibition—that can be found in the 1980 article, which was published in the local magazine *New West*—was removed when the text underwent small cuts and interpolations for its 1981 republication in *The Architectural Review*. Therefore, historians never investigated this fairly significant event in the history of Silicon Valley’s corporate architecture; it was indeed never even cited.⁴ And yet, in this very article in *The Architectural Review*, Banham published part of the material on display in the exhibition, like photographs and relative blueprints of the offices of IBM, Qume, Alza, Digital Equipment, and Dysan, six of the

1. See Reyner Banham, “The Architecture of Silicon Valley,” *New West*, n. 5 (September 22, 1980): 47-51; Reyner Banham, “Silicon Style,” *The Architectural Review*, no. 169 (May 1981): 283-90; Reyner Banham, “The Greening of high tech in Silicon Valley,” *Architecture 74* (March 1985): 110-119; Reyner Banham, “La fine della Silicon Valley,” *Casabella*, no. 539 (October 1987): 42-43.

2. Gilles Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control,” *October*, Vol. 59 (Winter, 1992): 3-7, 4.

3. See Reyner Banham, “The Architecture of Silicon Valley,” *ibid.*, 48. The exhibition opened on September 2, 1980, and the archival material regarding the exhibition is currently housed in the History San José (HSJ) Research Library and Archive. The other corporations on display in the exhibition were: Adp Dealer Services, Fairchild Camera and Instrument, Hewlett-Packard (2 buildings), IBM (General Products Building), Intel (2 buildings), I.S.S. Sperry Univac, Memorex, Rolm, Syntex, Varian Associates, Xerox and Wyle Distribution Group.

4. There is a mention of the exhibition in Banham’s last article about Silicon Valley, “La fine della Silicon Valley” [The End of Silicon Valley], but it was only published in Italian, and it was ignored by American historians.

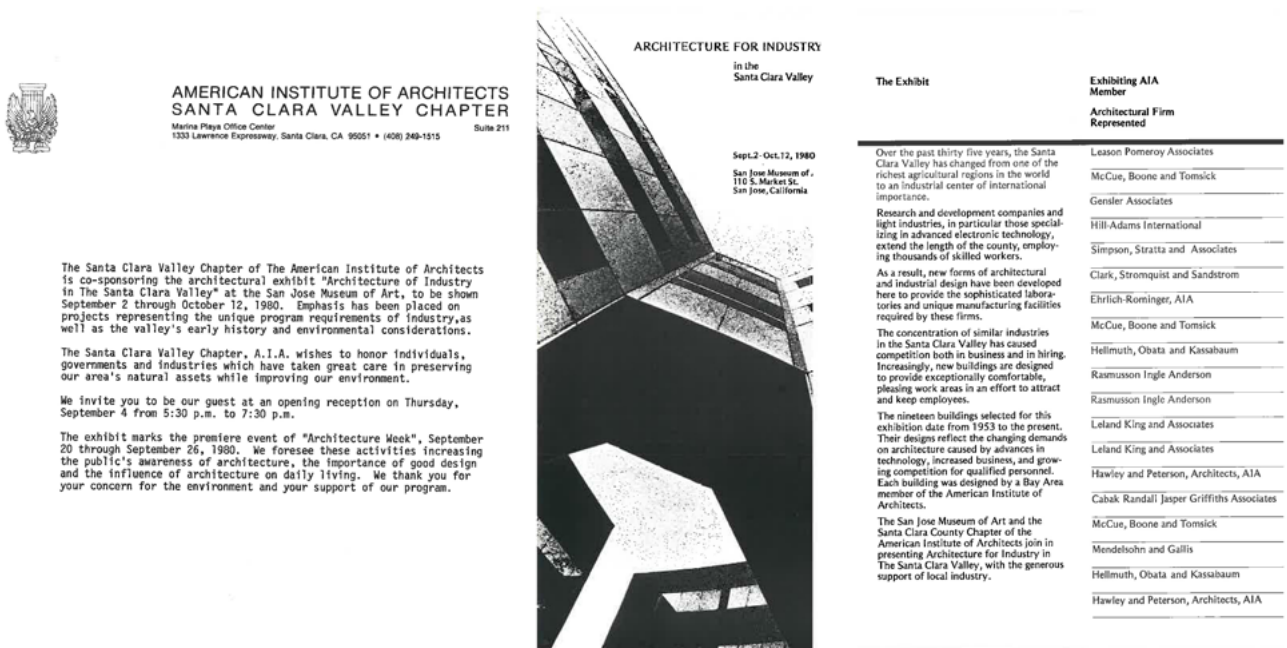


FIG. 1 Letter of invitation from AIA, Santa Clara Valley Chapter; Brochure for the exhibition “Architecture for Industry in the Santa Clara Valley”, 1980; List of the invited offices (courtesy Research Library and Archive, History San Jose, unpublished)

nineteen companies selected for the display of the “Santa Clara Valley” section of the American Institute of Architects. [Fig. 1]

In 1985, the magazine *Architecture* published Banham’s second text, a very meticulous investigation of the most representative and controversial architectural styles of an area with such powerful economic sway that it would soon impose its taste on the rest of the world... “What happens on your 18th birthday?” Banham wrote sarcastically. “Daddy gives you a Porsche?”⁵

Campbell High School’s conversion into a shopping center, the Rose-Croix University’s Egyptian revival architecture and the kitschy style of San José’s Winchester House of Mystery are merely a handful of examples of what Banham had sardonically defined as “Silicon Style”—a style that probably fascinated him precisely because of its strong contradictions. But how did Reyner Banham’s interest in this area develop? The English historian, who spent a large part of his life in the United States, was particularly attentive to the relationships between architectural form, technology, and mass culture, along with a special interest in digital industry. We need only think of the books that Banham published in the Sixties and Seventies—like *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960) and *Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment* (1969)—and of his re-discovery in the Fifties of the Italian machinist avant-garde, of Futurism, which Banham brought to the attention of anglophone and international scholarship with a particular focus on the activities of Antonio Sant’Elia. Throughout his life, Banham was the author both of polemical, journalistic texts and of essays written from an expert’s point of view, which proposed new readings of architectural history revolving around its mechanistic aspects.⁶ Perhaps Banham was overly enthusiastic about the possibilities offered by technology, but he was prophetic in understanding that these new possibilities would signify a revision of the relationships between architecture and trade, between autonomy and heteronomy within the discipline.

5. Reyner Banham, “The Greening of high tech in Silicon Valley,” *ibid.*, 119.

6. See Marco Biraghi, “Swinging Banham Revisited,” in *Reyner Banham. Architettura della Seconda età della macchina. Scritti 1955-1988*, ed. Marco Biraghi (Milano: Mondadori Electa), 2004.

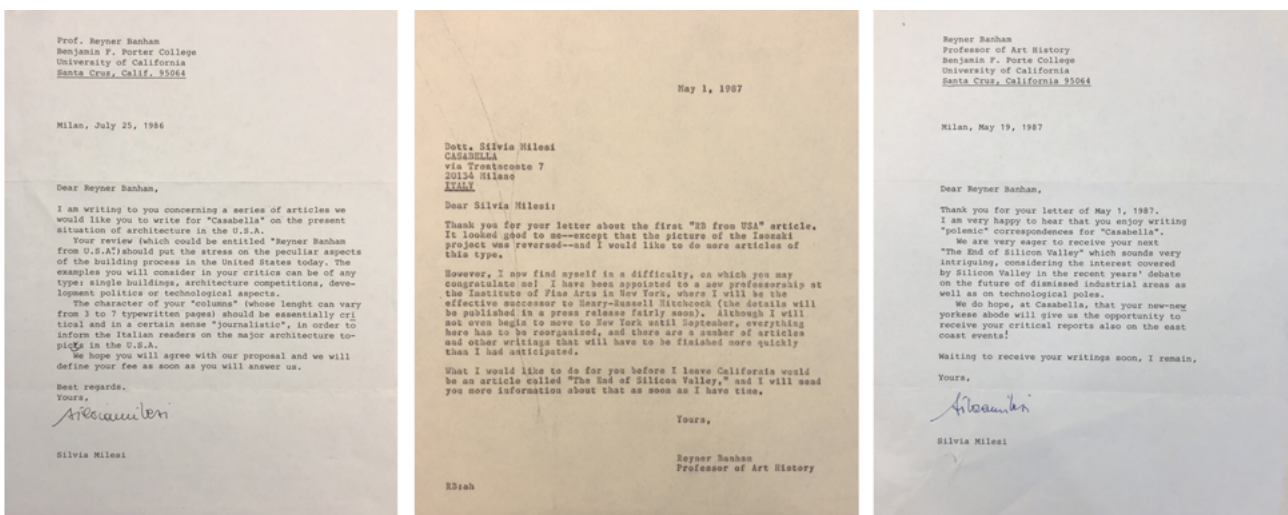


FIG. 2 Correspondence between Reyner Banham and Silvia Milesi about the article “The End of Silicon Valley”

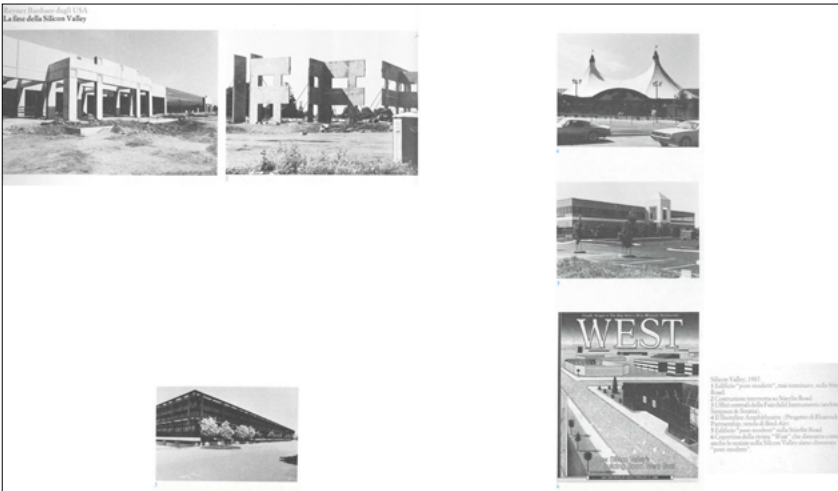


FIG. 3 Buildings in ruin on Stierlin Road; Post-modern building on Stierlin Road; Fairchild Building; Shoreline Amphitheater; New West, journal cover (photo by Reyner Banham, published in “La fine della Silicon Valley”, *Casabella*, n. 539, October 1987, 42-43, 42)

Banham’s third text on Silicon Valley was commissioned by Silvia Milesi (*Casabella*), as we know from the letter that Banham wrote to her in 1987 to accompany the typewritten draft of the article, which was never published in English. Banham sent the original text, “The End of Silicon Valley,” to Milesi, along with the cover of an issue of the journal *New West* from February 2, 1986, which demonstrated, according to Banham, how the coverage of Silicon Valley had become, like its architecture, feeble and post-modern! [Fig. 2]

In what turned out to be his last article on this subject, Banham described Silicon Valley as a spectral *geography* in ruins, made up of an enormous corpus of disintegrating or unfinished postmodern buildings that become relics before completion, and that are “ultimately derived from the works of Michael Graves and Aldo Rossi.”⁷ Out of this selection of buildings, Banham focuses on certain pre-existing buildings like the Shoreline Amphitheater, which bears the traces of its counterculture roots in the Bay Area, and the remains of militarization—like the Moffett Airfield, the hangars and NASA’s Ames Research laboratories—that remind us of how, throughout the Cold War, the Valley became a true command and defense center on the Pacific. The text is accompanied by a series of photographs taken by the author, in which one can observe the area’s state of decay. [Fig. 3]

What appears to be a landscape in ruins is quickly joined by the image of a landfill, since, as Banham writes, the Santa Clara Valley⁸—termed “Silicon Valley” starting in 1970—was “consecrated” to gigantic landfills:

The buried garbage ferments and produces large quantities of methane gas [...] and some of it filters up through the grass and on still, wind-less nights, enough gas has been known to collect to produce fires and explosions when some unsuspecting member of the audience flicks his Bic lighter and goes to apply the flame

7. Reyner Banham, “The End of Silicon Valley” [from the Banham’s manuscript, unpublished] (The Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Special Collections), published in Italian as: “La fine della Silicon Valley”.

8. The Santa Clara Valley started out as arable land for San Francisco, first accessible through the ancient path known as El Camino Real and the port at Alviso and, later, through the railway line that went between the financial and port center of San Francisco and the agricultural capital of San José. In the twentieth century industrialization began in the Santa Clara Valley, starting with the small-time farm owners that later grew into a hierarchical organization able to control the industrial sector. Meanwhile, the San Jose Chamber of Commerce incentivized the construction of military structures, Mountain View and Palo Alto became the main residential centers in the area and Stanford University was founded in 1891. In 1956, William Shockley was awarded the Nobel Prize for the invention of the transistor, which signaled a step forward in the development of semiconductors which, in turn, are used to make *chips* (consolidated highly integrated processors). In 1970 Don Hoefler, a reporter from *Microelectronics News*, coined the term “Silicon Valley” - that is, the geographical area in which *chips* were made from semiconductors like silicon.

to a cigarette or joint of marijuana... These apocalyptic moments, when fire springs from the ground like some Old Testament vision of Divine Vengeance, are very appropriate – symbolic even – to the present condition of Silicon Valley. What we can be seen along Stierlin Road is in many sense, the End of Silicon Valley”⁹

9. Reyner Banham, “The End of Silicon Valley,” *ibid.*, 42.

This apocalyptic and, at the same time, desecrating image is able to present a few contradictions inherent to Silicon Valley: suspended between the utopian ambitions of the digital age, which will drive it to become the world’s largest technopolis, and the pragmatic nature of its buildings’ architectural style. The opposition between reality and simulation, between physical separation and virtual connection, between the image of the dissolution of the city into the landscape of ruins and the apparition of new monuments are crucial aspects of the Silicon Valley phenomenon. Along with the image of a territory in ruins, Reyner Banham highlighted the



FIG. 4 Simpson, Stratta & Associates, Fairchild Building, Mountain View, end of 60s-1993, exterior and interior view (City of Mountain View Public Library, Computer History Museum Archives)

presence of a few meager monuments. One building in particular caught his eye: that of Fairchild Instruments, one of the first companies to emerge in the area, modeled after Eero Saarinen’s John Deere headquarters and Craig Ellwood’s Xerox Corporation headquarters in El Segundo. In the last part of his 1987 article, Banham weaved the praises and at the same time denounced the abandonment of the Fairchild Building, and through this condemnation he criticized the rapid ascent of the area, along with the relative lack of awareness shown by the companies that contributed to its expansion [Fig. 4]:

“Built in 1967 – barely twenty years ago, sic transit gloria silicon-vallensis! – [...] [the Fairchild Building] was the first modern building in the Valley to express a sense that good design might be an essential part of company policy and corporate image, and these corporate pretensions are clear. [It] seems an appropriate marker of the end of Silicon Valley, for the point in time where the Valley and its unrestrained industrial culture must finally assess their own position in a history they have tended to ignore completely,

preferring to pretend that there was no yesterday, just as they have built as if there were no tomorrow”¹⁰.

With these words, Banham seems to underline a certain degree of immaturity in the industrial culture of the area. Indeed, the image of Silicon Valley never crystallized around a definite urban form, making it possible to preserve the cultural dynamism that allowed for the birth of the first start-ups. However, this sense of optimism—encouraged by the engineering professor, dean and subsequently provost of Stanford University, Frederick Terman¹¹—quickly took the form of a futurist attitude characterized, in other words, by the juvenile, restless desire that the future become the present immediately. In this way, the partial nature of Silicon Valley’s architectural styles, along with their ludic and extravagant appearance—the “Silicon Style” that Banham referred to in 1981—are obvious signs of disconnect from the modernist tradition of the East Coast’s corporate offices, a model established by Eero Saarinen.¹² In Banham’s 1985 article, “The Greening of Architecture of Silicon Valley,” he was already insisting on this reading, concluding with a sense of disenchantment as good architecture either disappeared, readily replaced by kitsch, or survived only to be “reused,” as in the case of Campbell High School, a classic-style building that was converted into a shopping center. On the other hand, the Valley’s buildings that were designed in a kitschy architectural style are rigorously preserved as tourist destinations, as in the case of the Winchester Mystery House, a late nineteenth-century mansion that is similar to a Disneyland attraction, a kind of paradigmatic example of egocentrism and formal excess.¹³ It is not easy to alter the Valley’s flat, horizontal nature, but crudely creative attempts are made: suburban streets are “boutiquified,” writes Banham, while certain disproportionately large monuments are erected, as in the case of the enormous steel statue “to the eternal memory” of the Virgin Mary, known sarcastically as “Our Lady of Non-Erasable Memory.”

All this has nothing to do, then, with the “quiet moderation” and informality that Lewis Mumford noted as the unique characteristics of Bay Area architecture. According to Mumford, West Coast architects managed to reconcile mechanical and human, multicultural and indigenous elements: they absorbed the lessons of science while joining it with human needs and respecting both nature and topography, according to the teachings of Frederick Law Olmsted.¹⁴

And yet there is another building, owned by Stanford University, that Banham mentions and that can be compared to the glorious modernist tradition of the Bay Area. It is the prototype of SCSD System, a sober, Miesian structure designed by Ezra Ehrenkantz that was, at that time, used as a credit union. But Banham insists on specifying that “This, however, is not ‘the real Silicon Valley.’ Nothing quite like this aloof elegance and elitism will be seen again in almost 60 miles of valley!”¹⁵ Because the real

10. Reyner Banham, “The End of Silicon Valley,” *ibid.*, 43. The highlighted text is from Banham. Inspired by the work of Eero Saarinen, Simpson, Stratta & Associates from San Francisco designed the Fairchild Building in the end of the sixties. Unfortunately, it was demolished in 1993. The Fairchild Building got the “American Institute of Steel Construction Awards for Excellence” and it was published on the journal *Modern Steel Construction* (Volume 8, Number 3, Third Quarter 1968, 14).

11. He is considered the Silicon Valley’s father, his actions laid the groundwork for the development of Stanford University and the birth of hi-tech companies like David Packard and William Hewlett’s HP.

12. See Louise A. Mozingo, *Pastoral Capitalism: A History of Suburban Corporate Landscapes* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2011), 44-99.

13. See Langdon Winner, “Silicon Valley Mystery House,” in *Variations on a Theme Park: Scenes From The Few American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 31-55.

14. See Lewis Mumford, “The Architecture of the Bay Region,” in *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region*, exhibition at the Museum of Art, Civic Center, San Francisco, September 16, October 30, 1949, unpaginated.

15. Reyner Banham. “The Greening of high tech in Silicon Valley,” *ibid.*, 112.

Silicon Valley is presented as a fully postmodern composition made up of architectures that cite and reposition modernist syntaxes, with a set of variations that range from complete anonymity to an excess of signs, until they reach a pastiche of deconstructivist, neo-futurist and pop styles.

To some extent, Silicon Valley can be read as the epitome of the theme park, the cyburbia made up of multinational corporations, where the concept of main street is replaced by an invisible worldwide tangle of economic relations. According to Michael Sorkin, three characteristics mark this kind of illusory and globalized cities: a generic and a-geographic urbanism; the obsession with technological as well as physical surveillance and segregation; the architecture of deception or, the empire of simulation.¹⁶ Silicon Valley, then, has countless faces: on the one hand, it looks like a ghost town, where companies' buildings hide in a flourishing but congested landscape entirely lacking any elements of urban scale; on the other hand, it appears as the new Las Vegas of electronics and cyberculture, a fake city of signs and billboards in capital letters. If, in the past, the Valley was the monument to a nation's technological ambitions, today it appears as the museum of those ambitions: the illusory city of technology that comes up with products that will be manufactured elsewhere. What, then, will become of Silicon Valley? Will it become a geographic region populated by new monuments, ever more armored and representative of an architectural style at the mercy of the free market? Or will it survive merely as the physical deposit, the dispersed archive and museum of digital culture?

16. See Michael Sorkin, "Introduction. Variations on a Theme Park," in *Variations on a Theme Park: Scenes from the Few American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), XI-XV.

Local Roots of a Global History

Silicon Valley is a techno-industrial complex that developed without any form of urban planning throughout an area measuring 70 x 15 km. It appears to be the epitome of what Manuel Castells and Peter Hall defined as a "technopolis," a private settlement erected near establishments—like universities and research institutes— that promote the birth of an information economy. Information economy is characterized by complex organizational forms, where the horizontal nature of the network replaces the verticality of the bureaucratic apparatus and opens up possibilities of global development. However, Castells and Hall's global model of the information economy is not always able to cut across national borders; national governments, in most cases, still retain their status as major players in new strategies of international competition. In fact, according to Anna Lee Saxenian, the foremost expert of Silicon Valley's economic history, the area's development occurred hand-in-hand with other factors, including the advantages supplied by geography, the presence of the university, the atmosphere of encouragement surrounding new enterprises, and the benefits of clustering and financial contributions

from the government, a “regional advantage” according with her words.¹⁷ The Santa Clara Valley’s transformation from a mostly agricultural settlement into the capital of the semiconductor industry and, subsequently, into the largest center of hi-tech enterprises in the world has become one of the most imitated cases of regional development in the field of hi-tech. Furthermore, Silicon Valley represents a rare case of the integration of intellectual and financial resources: Stanford University, in particular, has been identified as the key agent of the process that occurred between the federal government (which supplied research funds), industry, and the university.¹⁸ Finally, the Valley’s history cannot be examined without considering the fact that, during the postwar era, this part of California became a hub for technological research on data processing, aeronautics, electronics, aerodynamics and rocketry, all through the Department of Defense. The Santa Clara Valley’s regional development is often compared to the analogous phenomenon that took place around Boston and Route 128, although the technological community in California, based on the idea of competition, differs greatly from the technological complex that developed in Massachusetts, which was characterized by strongly defined hierarchies. Route 128 developed around MIT, which in 1918 carried out a technological plan to encourage large corporations to become a source of financial support. Professor Vannevar Bush obtained government funding for the university’s military research, revolutionizing the relationship between science and administration and turning MIT into the primary center of national research. Starting in the Fifties, MIT founded a number of laboratories to conduct research on defense—above all, on the study of long distance radar, digital processors and alarm systems for aerial defense—and hired 5,000 scientists and engineers. In 1975, with the development of the minicomputer industry and the 100,000 workers employed along Route 128, people were talking about a “Massachusetts Miracle.”¹⁹

The development of the Santa Clara Valley, on the other hand, began when the company Hewlett-Packard (HP) was founded in 1937, supported by Frederick Terman, the provost of Stanford University. Terman wanted to strengthen the relationship between academia, government, and industry on the West Coast by exporting the model employed by Vannevar Bush, his mentor at MIT. Thus, through a cultural transfer from the East to the West Coast, he created a community of technician-scholars and set a series of contracts, funded by the federal government, in motion, in order to subsidize the completion of local companies and university laboratories. Frederick Terman firmly believed that the advantages of a location near an excellent academic center were superior to those of a location near markets or centers of material production or manufacturing. In 1951, therefore, he created the Stanford Industrial Park, which functioned as connective tissue between the university and local companies. In 1953, Varian Associates was the first company to move

17. See Anna Lee Saxenian, *Regional Advantage: Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

18. See Robert Kargon, Stuart W. Leslie, Erica Shoenberger, “Far Beyond Big Science: Science Regions and the Organization of Research and Development,” in *Big Science: The Growth of Large Scale Research*, eds. Peter Galison, Bruce Hevly (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992): 334-354.

19. See Anna Lee Saxenian, *Regional Advantage: Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128*, *ibid.*, 11-33.

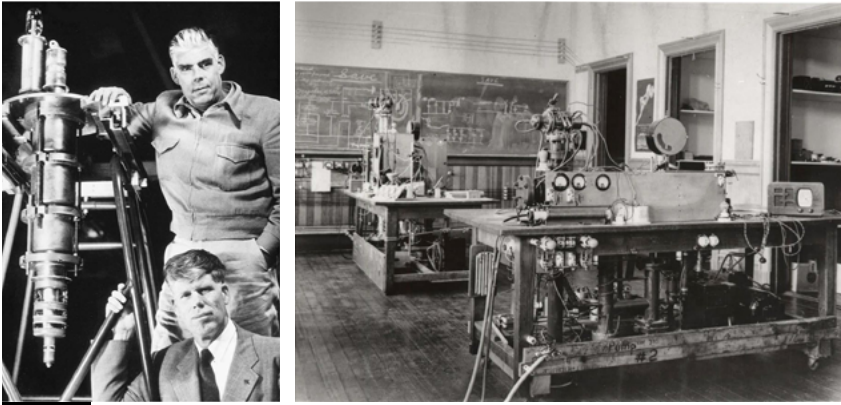


FIG. 5 Russell and Sigard Varian; Room 404, experimental laboratory, Stanford University, 1940s

its Research & Development (R&D) center into the Stanford Industrial Park, paying rent to the university and hiring young Stanford graduates in physics and electromechanical engineering [Fig. 5]. After Varian Associates, the aerospace company Lockheed also established a research laboratory in Stanford Industrial Park, as did IBM, Raytheon, Westinghouse, Philco-Ford and IIT, subsequently. In 1954, William Shockley, one of the inventors of the transistor, left AT&T's Bell Laboratories and established the Shockley Transistor Corporation—which later became the Fairchild Semiconductor Company—in Palo Alto, funded first by the Air Force, and then by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (which later became NASA). NASA had a privileged role and position in the Valley, since it rented the area of Moffett Field (Sunnyvale) for its Ames Research Center, which became an important hub for aerospace research. As is widely known, this sector expanded the Valley's technical infrastructure, brought funding to local supply companies, and caused the emergence of a number of startups for the manufacture of technologies from microwaves to medical instruments. In 1970, the Xerox Corporation established its research center in Palo Alto and that very year the Santa Clara Valley, thanks to the strong presence of manufacturers of the semiconductors that were the foundation of all electronic devices, became Silicon Valley.

Beyond the establishment of Silicon Valley as a techno-industrial complex, it is deemed necessary to consider that Santa Clara Valley witnessed the meeting of three types of utopias: the spiritual one of California's Spanish missions, small religious communities in which both intellectual activities and commerce flourished; the social and collectivist utopia of counterculture, which developed in the Bay Area from the Sixties onward; the technological utopia of cyberculture, in opposition to postwar militarization, from which both hacker culture and startups originated. Analogously to the widespread model of the farm, the missions were a series of twenty-one religious outposts created by the Spanish Franciscan Order to spread Christianity throughout the American population between 1769 and 1833. These structures, which became an underlying architectural reference for college campuses, were above

all a model for settlement and organization: a concentrated system of productive activity surrounding a spiritual center.²⁰ In this regard, it is interesting to note how the term *clerical*, which is used to describe office work, highlights how the monastic organizational model—a clerical one, in fact—was the origin of the bureaucratic system. So much so, in fact, that the segregation of spiritual centers like monasteries is analogous to that of the US corporate campus [Fig. 6]. The design of Stanford University indeed drew on Spanish missions, as educational and utopian communities, and the domestic tradition of California’s ranch houses, structured around a central patio. Stanford University’s masterplan was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted (1888) to be a linear system made up of a series of patios, surrounded by a double ring of individual buildings and connected by a complex system of colonnades. When Leland Stanford commissioned the project to Olmsted, he expressed the desire to come

20. See Karl F. Brown, Ray Floyd, *California Missions. A Guide to the Historical Trails of the Padres* (New York: Garden City Publishing & Co., 1939); see also Karen J. Weitze, *California’s Mission Revival* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1984): 19-24.

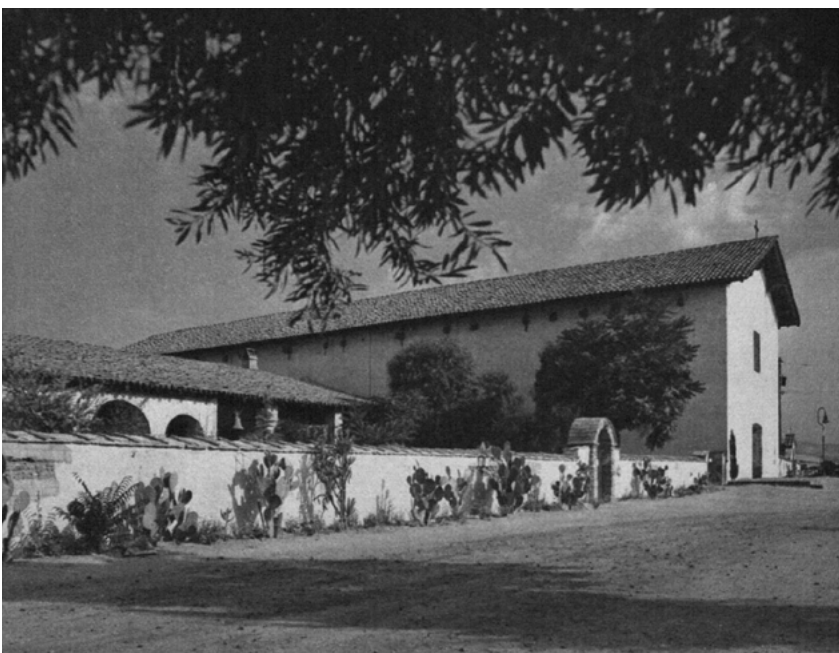


FIG. 6 Mission de San Miguel Arcángel; Santa Inés, Cloister

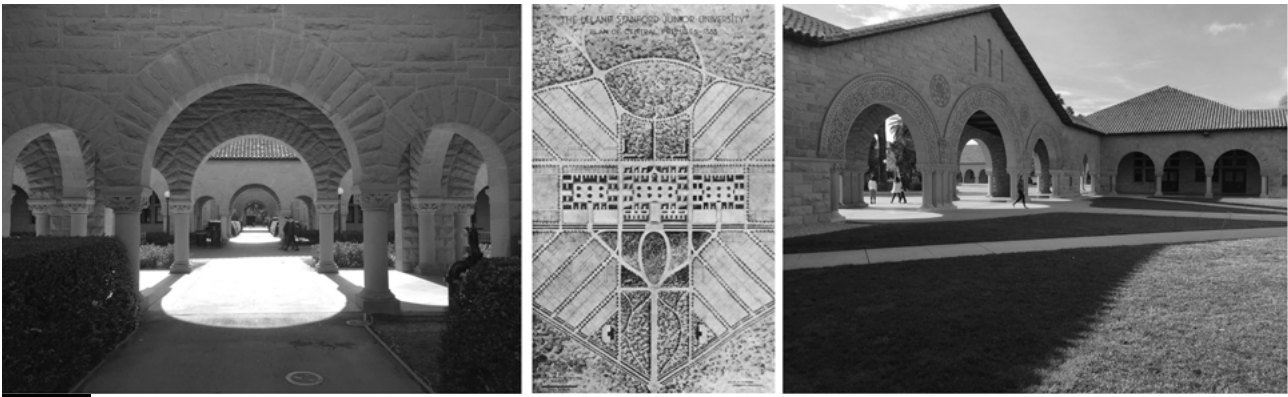


FIG. 7 Stanford University (photos by the paper's author); Frederick Law Olmsted, Stanford University Masterplan, 1888

up with a distinctly Californian complex that was directly inspired by the architectural style of the missionary fathers' churches and early buildings. The campus' planimetric configuration and the use of thick, massive walls and colonnades seem to derive from the aforementioned models. [Fig. 7]

Besides Christian community and academic campus, starting in the 1960s more than 10,000 communes emerged. Rebelling against the military-industrial complex and mass culture, the commune members gave life to a revolution that favored the birth of digital culture: information technology and cybernetics could potentially have created an alternative model for them. The contribution of the charismatic Stewart Brand, a Stanford University graduate, was fundamental for this movement, in that it became the link between the hippie movements and the technological experimentation that was occurring in Silicon Valley. Similarly, the ethos of the commune members was fundamental for Brand's *Whole Earth Catalog* (1968-72), the revolutionary instrument intended to give each individual the possibility to autonomously oversee his or her own education. The *Whole Earth Catalog*, in fact, became a sort of informational machine, a primitive digital platform, almost an ancestor of Google.

Many groups of scientists that gravitated around Stanford University embraced the commune members' theories, seeing computers as instruments for changing thought, and thus as social instruments. Along with a few activists, these scientists began to conceive of computers as a personal technology, especially when Steve Jobs began presenting personal computers as instruments of countercultural change. An important chapter was the episode of the Free University of Palo Alto, a university without a physical location, which emerged during the sixties as the initiative of a few Stanford students. In this free symposium of thought, teaching was understood to be the free exchange of ideas and teachers were graduates who offered lessons on their area of specialization. According to the Free University vision, knowledge has to be shared in a horizontal manner, with the aim of toppling any form of hierarchy, thus students are free to decide the topics of their classes and the barriers between students and teachers are finally broken down.²¹

21. See "Free University of Palo Alto Started by Graduate Students," *The Stanford Daily* 148, issue 51 (4 January 1966).

Despite the counterculture movement's decline in the Seventies—when technology became an instrument of power and the communitarian utopia was transformed into ideology—the concept of interactivity, as both a technological interface capable of simulating the exchange of information and a moment of sharing and cooperation, was seized by the nascent digital culture. We only have to think of the initiatives organized by the New Games Foundation, the movement that promoted in the seventies cooperative and non-competitive play.²² These initiatives seem to have contributed to broadcast the teamwork model, what would later be defined as the HP Way, developed on the campuses of hi-tech companies and based on boosting interaction and social life as a way of increasing productivity.²³

22. See New Games Foundation, *New Games Book* (Main Street Books, 1976).

23. See David Packard, *The HP way: how Bill Hewlett and I built our company* (New York: Harper Business, 1995).

From College to the Factory. Corporate Architecture 1950s-1980s

The origins of the corporate campus can be traced back to the romantic idea of a college surrounded by a natural landscape. The term campus derives from the Latin, meaning a place far from the corruption of the city and defined by specific behavioral expectations. Drawing inspiration from this model, the *corporate campus* positions itself as a synthesis of the distant city. Complexes like the Bell Telephone Laboratories in Holmdel and the IBM Manufacturing and Training Facility in Rochester, both designed by Eero Saarinen, are domestic or homelike workspaces, where researchers, engineers, and employees are kept far away from issues of traffic and distraction. But although on the one hand corporate isolation recalls the idea of professional integrity, on the other it reinforces an elitist culture derived precisely from the tradition of the college campus, of which the corporate campuses seem to be the extension.

According to Louise Mozingo, the suburban corporate office expresses the idea of a pastoral capitalism, in that the term pastoral was used for the first time by Frederick Law Olmsted to evoke a natural, familiar, and calm atmosphere, intended as an instrument of social order and based on Jefferson's model.²⁴ Thomas Jefferson was a key character in formulating the idea of the American campus, meant to be an "academic village," a little urban experiment, that transfers medieval English universities' model of the *collegiate* overseas. The college's autonomous nature seems to be a characteristic unique to the American university, which takes Jefferson's University of Virginia as its architectural as well as social model, a kind of second home and a miniature version of the city itself.²⁵ Similarly, the campus of the digital technology firm, which can be perceived as a proper building-city, inhabits this same models.

24. See Louise A. Mozingo, *Pastoral Capitalism: A History of Suburban Corporate Landscapes*, *ibid.*, 1-19.

25. See Paul V. Turner, *Campus, An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press and New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1984): 215-248.

However, the West Coast campus distances itself from the elegant elitism of the East Coast tradition, replacing the canonical with the experimental and the hybrid. One example of this can be found in the community

college, a typically Californian model meant to serve commuter students and thus lacking dormitories, which was developed near major highways in the Sixties and Seventies.²⁶ Unlike the typical Ivy League campus, the community college has an anti-monumental, informal appearance, probably tied to the counterculture phenomenon or perhaps simply intended to be more open to the city and to vehicular traffic. Wurster, Bernardi, and Emmons' Center for Advanced Research in Behavioral Sciences (1954) and Ernest J. Kump's Foothill College (1962) are two such examples.²⁷ If the latter is a sort of picturesque, rural village, whose buildings sport saddle roofs that look at Erich Mendelsohn's Luckenwalde Hat Factory, the Center for Advanced Research takes inspiration from Mendelsohn version of the Bay Region Style: the Varian Associates Building.²⁸ William Wilson Wurster was the dean of the Architecture School while Erich Mendelsohn was teaching at the University of California Berkeley, and the weight of the German master teaching is evident in the configuration of the buildings in the Center for Advanced Research: they are grouped around patios, whose centrality is underlined by the presence of wide porticos. [Fig. 8]

Erich Mendelsohn designed the first of three buildings erected for Varian Associates, the first company to move to the Stanford Industrial Park, but this building—which ended up becoming one of the most significant architectural presences in Silicon Valley—was neglected even by scholars like Reyner Banham²⁹. He glossed over the building, describing it as simply “a boring structure with an irredeemably '50s-ish wave canopy over its entrance.”³⁰ [Fig. 9] However, Banham's position on the architecture of this building was partially modified in the historian's reply to a letter from a California architect, who specified that the building that Banham had mistakenly attributed to the German master had instead been designed by his associate, Michael Gallis:

26. See Paul V. Turner, *Campus, An American Planning Tradition*, *ibid.*, 286-291; Gwendolyn Wright, “The Virtual Architecture of Silicon Valley,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 54, no. 2 (November 2000): 88-94.

27. See Paul V. Turner, *Campus, An American Planning Tradition*, *ibid.*, 286-290; Gwendolyn Wright, “The Virtual Architecture of Silicon Valley,” *ibid.*, 88-94.

28. In a letter dated November 7, 1947, Mendelsohn wrote: “The World University on the hills of Berkeley uses the shore of San Francisco's Bay for water sports and social activities. All colleges, grouped around open patios form architectural entities.” *Erich Mendelsohn: Letters of an architect*, ed. Oskar Beyer (London, New York, Toronto: Abelard Schuman, 1967): 171.

29. The Bauhaus architect, who spent the last years of his life as a refugee in San Francisco, planned the campus with Michael A. Gallis (the designer of the other two buildings erected for Varian Associates) between 1951 and 1953, but the campus was only completed after Mendelsohn's death.

30. Reyner Banham goes on to assert that this is not the only building in the Valley to be designed by a master of the Modern Movement, since Frank Lloyd Wright's Hanna House (1937), a “delightful” residence with a hexagonal plan, is enclosed within Stanford University's campus. Reyner Banham, “The Greening of high tech in Silicon Valley,” *ibid.*, 111.



FIG. 8 Wurster, Bernardi, Emmons, Center for Advanced Research in Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto 1954-60 (UC Berkeley, Environmental Design Archives)



FIG. 9 John Savage Bolles, Douglas Baylis, IBM Cottle Road Campus, San Jose, 1958 (Sourisseau Academy for State and Local History, History San José)

“Reyner Banham is mistaken in his attribution to Erich Mendelsohn of the Varian Associates building illustrated in the March issue (page 111). This was designed, after Mendelsohn’s death in 1953, by his associate, Michael Gallis. Before this was built, Mendelsohn designed the Varian Administration building that still stands facing El Camino Real. It was, however, a bit of an oddity because it is a one-story pitched roof building with redwood exterior - Mendelsohn rather uncomfortable trying to come to terms with the Bay Region style.

Reyner Banham responds: I thank Christopher Arnold for clarifying something that I (and not alone) have always found confusing on the territory, since the single-story block is such an “oddity” that it looks even less like Mendelsohn than the Gallis block does”³¹.

Mendelsohn’s building was the first element in what should have been Varian Associates’ large complex, which in the end was only partially completed. In the last years of his life, Erich Mendelsohn dedicated himself to planning this factory of the digital age, conferring the dignity of a place

31. Christopher Arnold, “Letters. Mendelsohn in Silicon Valley”; Reyner Banham, “Reyner Banham responds”, *Architecture 5* (1985): 16.

of shared labor upon what could have been a simple industrial establishment. From the original sketches and the planimetric view the building looks like a block gathered around a vast central court, like a factory-city or a monastery; however, from the streetview the building appears quite delicate, as if the architect had wanted to channel the lightness of the Bay Region Style canonized by Lewis Mumford. The building is placed diagonally with respect to the surrounding plot of land, probably for aesthetic reasons, but the choice may also be functional, since the nearby HP buildings, built a little later, follow the same orientation.

We know relatively little about this building, apart from Mendelsohn's sketches, collected by Bruno Zevi. The axonometric sketch of the complex in particular is very similar to its completed form; however, it shows a system of differently sized flat roofs, with natural light entering into the long building from the ceiling as well as from the sides. It is similar to the cross section of a cathedral, which seems to be the building's source of inspiration. Actually, it is probable that the building utilizes the planimetric characteristics of Spanish missions, whose strong presence in the area must have been notable to a European planner. This building does seem to be made up of a large hall and a cloister from which certain more delicate wings expand outwards. The planimetric sketches reveal a profound uncertainty, characteristic of the initial phases of a work, when the architect's mind is torn between a floor plan with one courtyard or with multiple courtyards, between a symmetrical building or an off-kilter one, between a serial design—covered, perhaps, by an industrial roof that would make it look like a factory—or the closed plan of a convent. And yet, the final choice confirms the central nature of the courtyard and the complex's planimetrics seem to recall those of a spiritual center, made up of communicating, interconnected elements and traced by deep porticos and by the courtyard itself. On the contrary, external views of the building do not detach it too much from its context: in fact, according to the planners, the establishment was intended to have a human feeling rather than an industrial one, with a colonnade surrounding its entire perimeter and a low, saddle roof, used as a space for machinery.

The only information we have about the complex is provided by Erich Mendelsohn's wife, Louise, who, in a long account on her husband's life and work, wrote:

"Energy for the University of California, on the Berkeley hill, and the Varian Plant on grounds belonging to Stanford University. Both Varian brothers are dead now. They were two geniuses: during the war they invented the *klystron tube* which made radar possible.

When they approached Erich Mendelsohn to ask him to build for them, they had a little shed and asked Erich Mendelsohn to enlarge it. They manufactured the tubes they had invented themselves and after a short

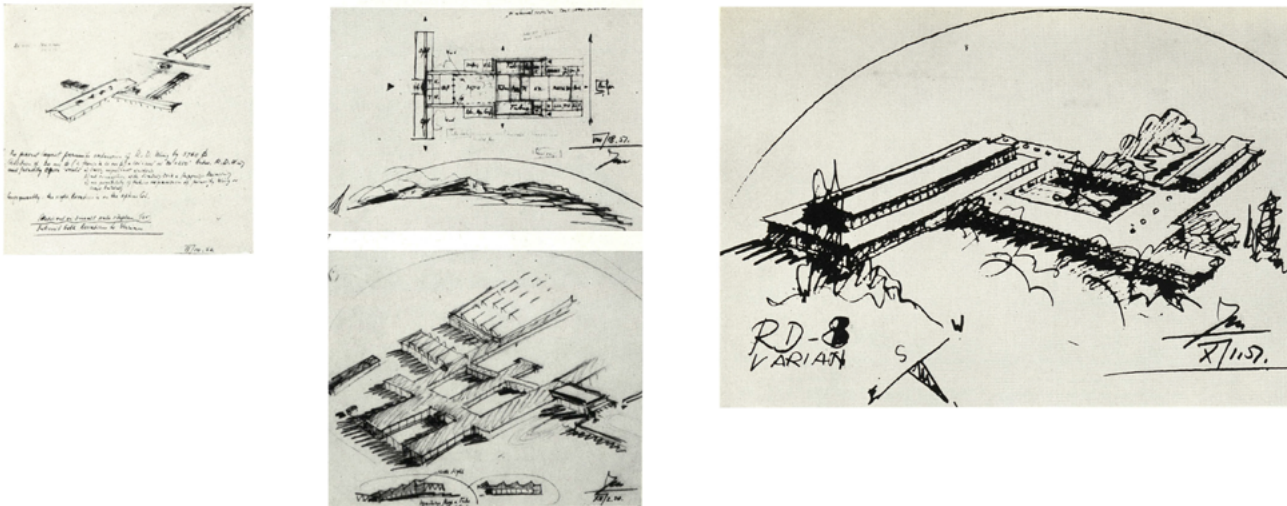


FIG. 10 Erich Mendelsohn, Varian Laboratories in Palo Alto, 1951-53, sketches

time production became so overwhelming that they had to build a plant. They applied for a piece of ground on the vast property owned by Stanford University. For the first time, the administrators overlooked their principle not to lease property for industrial purposes, but they insisted on a building which would not alter rustic atmosphere of the grounds. The property leased to the Varian Brothers was on the far edge of the University grounds and entirely treeless and exposed to great heat during the summer months. Erich Mendelsohn conceived the plant, which consisted of administrative offices, research laboratories and the actual manufacturing plant. For the second time in his long career, Erich Mendelsohn used sloping roofs as a protection against the heat, as he had done in Palestine for the Agricultural School in Rehovoth. The buildings were very successful – suited to the climatic conditions, fine in proportion and fitting to the demands of the University”³².

The Varian Associates Building is a testament to the Valley’s first phase of development, when one single complex housed various buildings: administrative offices, research laboratories, and the manufacturing plant. [Fig. 10] This integration of multiple activities within a single organism appears to be one of the unique characteristics of the corporate campus—a characteristic that would disappear over time, as the manufacturing plants began to be removed from the Valley and relocated elsewhere. Thus, the corporate campus ended up regressing into the corporate office; in other words, a simple office building without research laboratories or manufacturing plants. This was one of a number of substantial transformations that IT companies’ campuses underwent in the age of the Internet.

In 1970, the Xerox Corporation established its research center in Palo Alto and the new Xerox PARC (Palo Alto Research Center) campus was designed by the HOK firm (Hellmuth, Obata + Kassabaum), which in those years was one of the foremost architectural firms in the world. It spe-

32. Bruno Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn: The Complete Works* (Basel, Boston: Birkhäuser, 1999): 278-279.

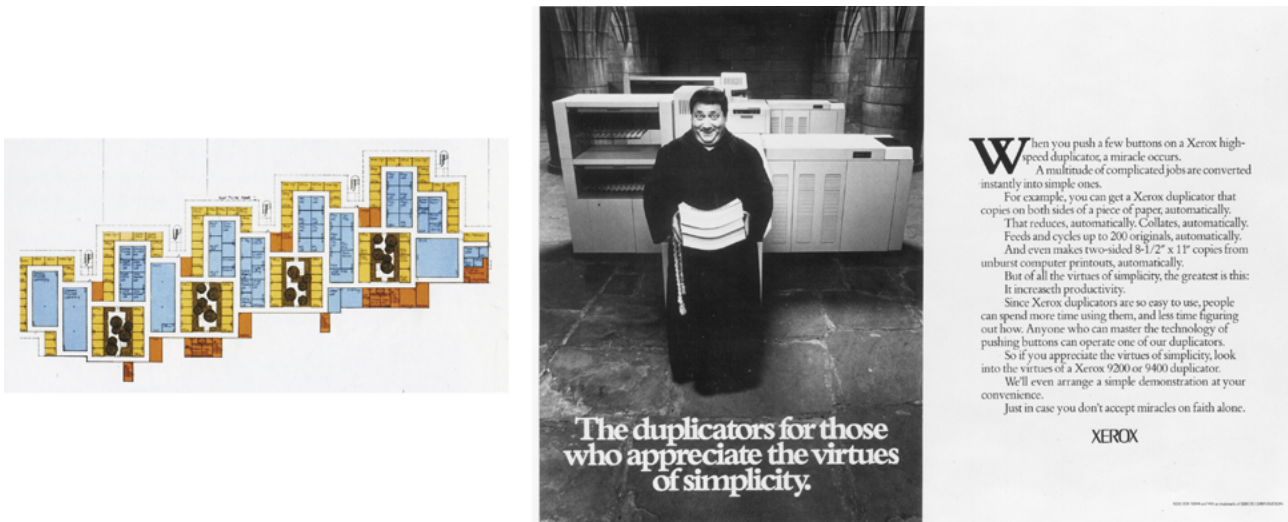


FIG. 11 Hellmuth, Obata + Kassabaum, Xerox PARC, 1970; Xerox advertisement

cialized in designing corporate buildings but was also known for more contained, local structures, like the Stanford University Library, erected in 1965. PARC was where Xerox's major inventions were developed, like the computer mouse, the laser printer, the Ethernet router, and the Graphical User Interface (GUI) for what would become the first PC model, the "Xerox Alto" (1973). Steve Jobs, along with a few members of his team, visited the building on Coyote Hill Road in 1979 for a demonstration of Xerox products and, in particular, the graphic interface of the "Xerox Alto".³³ The PARC campus looks like a fortress made of unpainted, unfinished concrete that unfolds around four tree-lined courts, conceived of as social spaces, surrounded by offices and large conference rooms. One side of the building is embedded in the ground, and the other surveys the vast Santa Clara Valley from above, facing out toward the flourishing landscape through a series of sloping terraces that only partially take away from the building's massive size. The configuration of the campus perfectly corresponds to its functional plan, almost reaching a sort of hyper-rationalization of the workspace.³⁴ Indeed, the campus reflects an organizational model that is no longer widespread but is extremely efficient, where teamwork is subordinate to individual work, which is made possible thanks to a large number of small cubicles for each worker. [Fig. 11]

During the sixties and the seventies, the corporate campus built in Silicon Valley was mostly designed in accordance with modernist guidelines, but emptied of the heroism that had set the campus masterpieces apart.³⁵ These buildings were characterized, formally and spatially, by what Banham had termed the "Eliot Noyes/Museum of Modern Art Vision,"³⁶ in reference to the IBM Laboratories in Santa Teresa (MBT Associates, 1975-77), which had been designed according to the ideals of abstraction, neutrality, and compositional purity. Consider also the IBM Manufacturing and Administration Building of Cottle Road, in San José (also known as the Advanced Research Building), that the architect John

33. After this visit, Jobs stated: "If Xerox had known what it had and had taken advantage of its real opportunities, it could have been as big as IBM plus Microsoft plus Xerox combined - and the largest high-technology company in the world." Malcolm Gladwell, "Creation Myth. Xerox PARC, Apple, and the truth about innovation," *The New Yorker* (May 16, 2011): 14.

34. We can attribute this, in part, to the strict seismic code regulations along the San Andreas Fault line: in fact, the building survived the 1989 earthquake.

35. We are referring to the Research and Development (R&D) Buildings of Varian Associates, Fairchild Instruments, Xerox PARC, Hewlett-Packard, and IBM.

36. Reyner Banham, "Silicon Style," *ibid.*, 284.

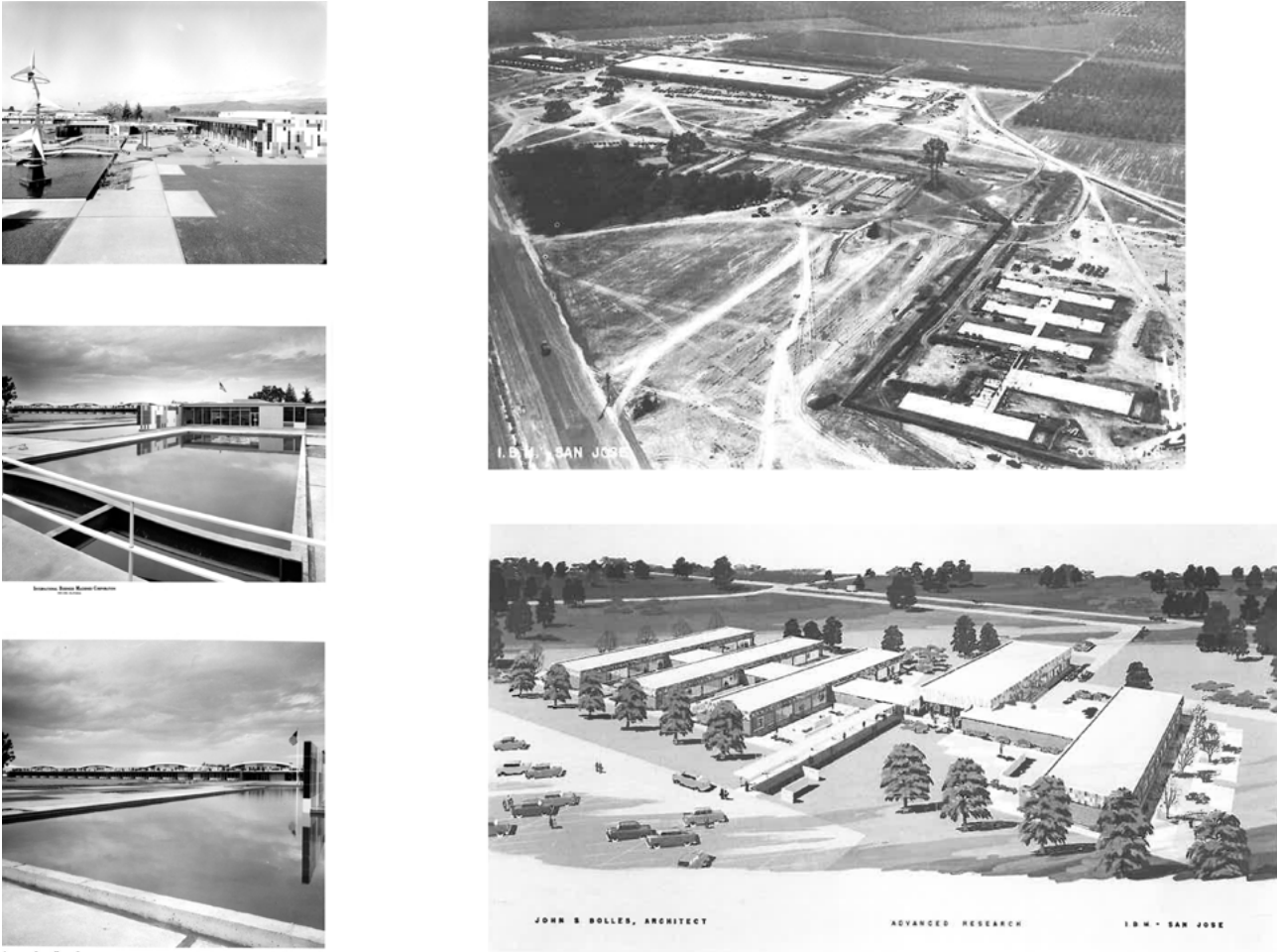


FIG. 12 John Savage Bolles, Douglas Baylis, IBM Cottle Road Campus, San Jose, 1958 (Sourisseau Academy for State and Local History; History San José)

Savage Bolles designed in 1956-58 together with the landscape artist Douglas Baylis. This campus was organized around five interconnected buildings made of iron, cement panels, and glass, with vast brick and ceramic surfaces.³⁷ The campus was certainly, in those years, an experimental workplace based on the figure of the worker and the integration of internal spaces and the external landscape, both natural and artificial. In fact, the complex was organized around patios in which gardens were located. Furthermore, it was surrounded by basins of water and dotted with a collection of sculptures by Bay Area artists Bob Howard and Gurdon Woods. A suspicious fire destroyed the building in 2008, when it had just passed into the hands of the large commercial chain Lowe... “Sic transit gloria siliconvallensis,” Banham would have exclaimed yet again! [Fig. 12]

During the Eighties and Nineties, the headquarters of emerging IT corporations began to be designed according to postmodern guidelines: from utilitarianism to ludic transgression, from geometric deconstructivism to pop.³⁸ In this phase of Silicon Valley architecture, the models of the American college campus, the productive villa, and the Spanish mission became a merely conceptual, vaguely taxonomic point of reference. As we will see, in certain cases this extreme creativity slides into the extreme

37. John Harwood, *The Interface. IBM and the Transformation of Corporate Design, 1945-76* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011): 118-119.

38. 3Com, the current headquarters of Marvell Semiconductor Inc., was designed in 1979; Sun Microsystems was founded in 1982 and acquired by Oracle in 2009, while, in 2011, its headquarters were bought by Facebook; Silicon Graphics Inc. was also founded in 1982, with its headquarters in Mountain View. In 2004 that building was ceded to Google Alphabet Inc., and Silicon Graphics Inc. moved to the nearby Crittenden Technology Center Campus, designed by STUDIOS.

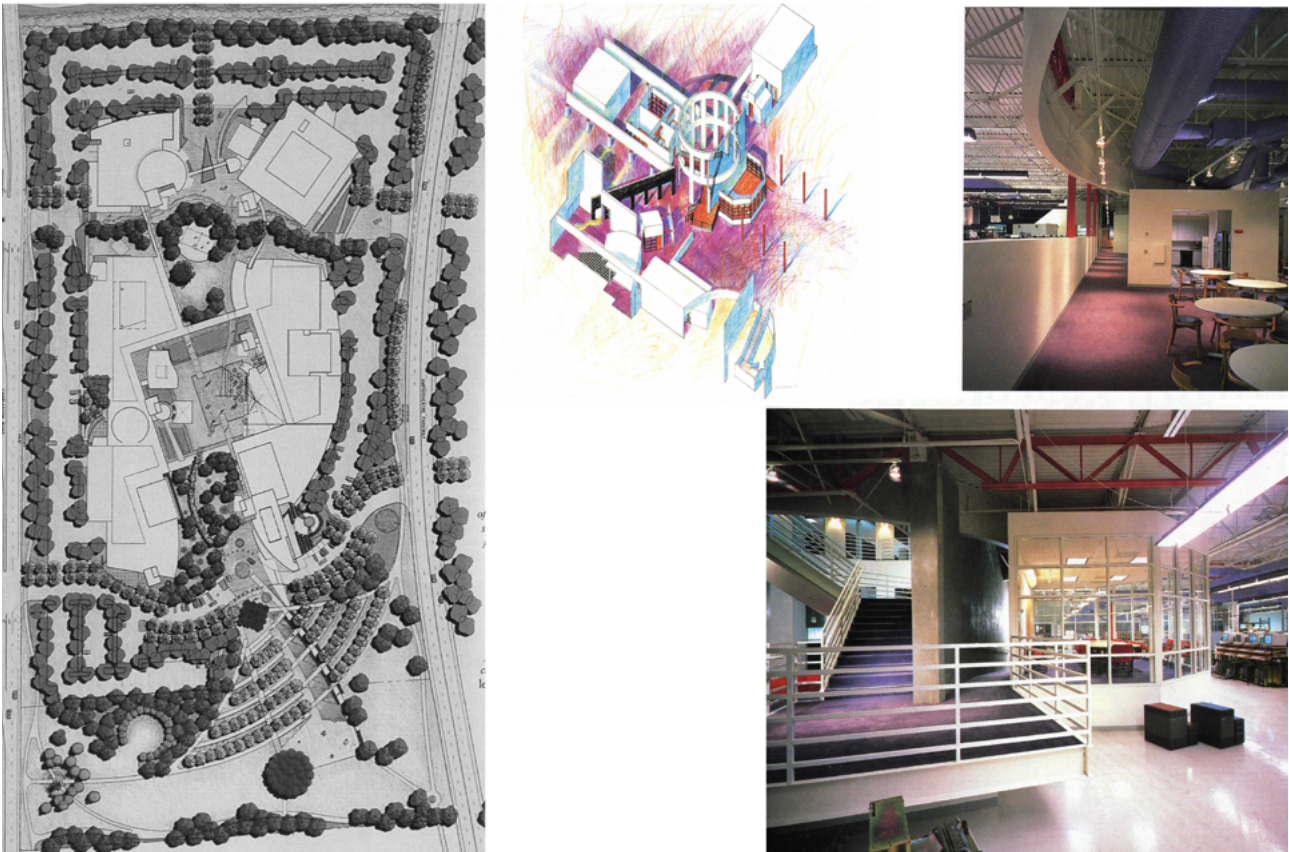


FIG. 13 STUDIOS Architecture, Google Headquarters (ex Silicon Graphics SGI), Mountain View, 1997, aerial view, sketches and interiors

individualism of formal solutions marked by excess, where design renounces any relationship with the area's cultural roots, and architecture becomes a kind of gadget. Added to the formal excess is the use of a symbolic, not a metaphorical, language, that recalls either the form or internal structure of the tech industry's products, or software engineering, from the computer's motherboard to the bureaucratic systems for archiving files or the very components of a processing unit. But we must also specify that these designs were contrasting the sprawl that characterized the Valley with a decidedly urban framework. In most cases these campuses were, in fact, structured according to a spatial organization based on precise formal principles: they were, in a way, micro-cities that were, in some cases, rigorously planned and laid out.

The architecture firm that was most involved in designing digital technology companies' buildings in the Eighties and Nineties was STUDIOS, the author of both 3Com and Silicon Graphics Inc.'s headquarters. Both of these campuses are made up of juxtaposed and deconstructed buildings, rotated and distorted masses, put together in a panoply of colors and a collage of various materials. The campuses' atmospheres are casual, and creativity and efficiency compensate for the apparent lack of hierarchy.

Silicon Graphics Inc.'s North Charleston Campus, in Mountain View, which currently hosts the Googleplex—the most characteristic section of Google's offices—is a cluster of buildings surrounding a square courtyard,

a space full of concentrated creativity and theatricality. The campus is located near the Shoreline Amphitheater, an arena for rock concerts “donated by the legendary Bill Graham, who in 1957 in San Francisco was the hero of the hippie ‘Summer of Love’”: this serves as a testament to the Valley’s involvement in the creative and rebellious season of counterculture.³⁹ It would seem that from the amphitheater’s stretched-out tent and its tall spires took inspiration the histrionic design of what became Google’s campus in 2004, where even the design of the floor recalls the curves of the amphitheater’s arena [Fig. 13]. Even if SGI corporate campus seems to be dictated by pure formalist caprice, its interiors are hyper-structured planimetric designs. Despite formal exuberance, the plans are rigorously and intricately organized and anchored to almost scientific geometrical and compositional rules. It is interesting to reference what Aaron Betsky writes about this campus, and, more in general, this studio’s controversial work: “there is a method to their madness,” according to Betsky. “STUDIOS Architecture has concentrated on isolating the moments where the routines of everyday life give way to rituals that give meaning to such drudgery.”⁴⁰ However, the balance between rules and programmatic exceptions, so central to the work of the “New York Five” who inspired STUDIOS, tends to become excessively off-kilter in the California firm’s work. What happens as a result, then, is that both the hierarchical principle and the structural, geometric, and circulatory grid that are at the base of these designs are lost in the final product: Betsky terms this excessive and redundant style “office Baroque”.

After the postmodern breeze, corporate campus starts to be intended as a large factory, opening up to a less formal design. Since the space of the campus becomes more and more oriented toward the production of capital flows, the parameters of its design are largely dictated by economic concerns. Therefore, both big and small companies—and especially startups—require spaces that are affordable, expandable and, above all, able to be quickly completed. Companies’ headquarters and locations, in fact, change about every two years and sometimes companies rent spaces in industrial parks, only carrying out interior remodeling. Even Google, the big corporation par excellence, transferred its headquarters to Sun Microsystems’s campus in 2004 and renovated the spaces designed by STUDIOS with a new and appealing remodel carried out by Clive Wilkinson Architects, the firm that built the headquarters of the famous Los Angeles advertising firm TBWA Chiat Day.

It is possible to have a brief overview on the changes that occurred in corporate campus design from 2000 onward, just summarizing some of the design strategies adopted in order to renovate industrial buildings. The insertion of workspaces detached from the warehouse’s external shells and treated as free-standing offices is the most frequent strategy. These little studios, following the model of the ancient *studiolo*, or the box

39. Reyner Banham, “La fine della Silicon Valley,” *ibid.*, 42 [from the Banham’s manuscript, *unpublished*] (The Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Special Collections).

40. Aaron Betsky, “Introduction,” in *STUDIOS Architecture: Selected and Current Works*, ed. STUDIOS Architecture (Mulgrave, Victoria: Images Publishing, 2002): 10.



FIG. 14 Clive Wilkinson Architects, TBWA Chiat Day, Los Angeles 1998; Antonello Da Messina, San Girolamo nello studiolo, 1474-75



within the box, are formal devices with great visual impact, marking the internal space rather than subdividing it, creating individual and collective microspaces for small group meetings or break times [Fig. 14]. Corporate design turns into performative design: the factory is set up, rather than designed, in order to guarantee maximum flexibility to the workplace, which is characterized by empiricism and theatricality, where the structure is dynamic and where the stairs—following the prophecy of the Futurist poet Volt—are replaced with toboggans, slides, and roller coasters.⁴¹ [Fig. 15] In so doing, the large warehouse becomes a creative factory and this new look displays the character that the company wishes to communicate and broadcast. The “creative” character can be compared to the “eco-friendly” component that was in vogue starting from the Sixties, when the front exteriors of corporate offices were shielded by walls of trees and even the interiors were enriched by the presence of greenhouses and gardens. It is possible to see these interior gardens in the Bell Labs Building in Holmdel, designed by Eero Saarinen in 1966, as well as in the further Qume Corporation in Santa Clara, designed by Hawley and Peterson in 1980, whose interior space echoes the Roche-Dinkeloo’s Ford Foundation building.⁴² This use of green expressed, according to Banham, a kind of trickery: the new face of power, in fact, carried with it a new, flattering image of the campus, “a new and less intimidating face on an industry whose links to power may not appeal to the current preferences for softened technology and a simpler society.”⁴³ Similarly, the creativity that is presumed to be present in these dynamic-looking and performative workplaces is a communication strategy in the hands of the corporations

41. Vincenzo Fani Ciotti (known as Volt), “Del funambolismo obbligatorio o aboliamo i piani delle case,” *L’Italia futurista*, no. 37 (January 15, 1918); Vincenzo Fani Ciotti, “La casa futurista. Indipendente - Mobile - Smontabile - Meccanica - Esilarante,” *Roma Futurista*, no. 81-82 (April-May 1920).

42. As for Qume Corporation, see Reyner Banham, “Silicon Style”, *ibid.*, 288; Reynold Martin, Kadambari Baxi, *Multinational City. Architectural Itineraries* (Barcelona: Actar, 2007): 1.10-1.13; as for the Ford Foundation Building, see Kenneth Frampton, “A House of Ivy League Values,” *Architectural Design* (July 1968): 305-11.

43. Reyner Banham, “Silicon Style”, *ibid.*, 288.

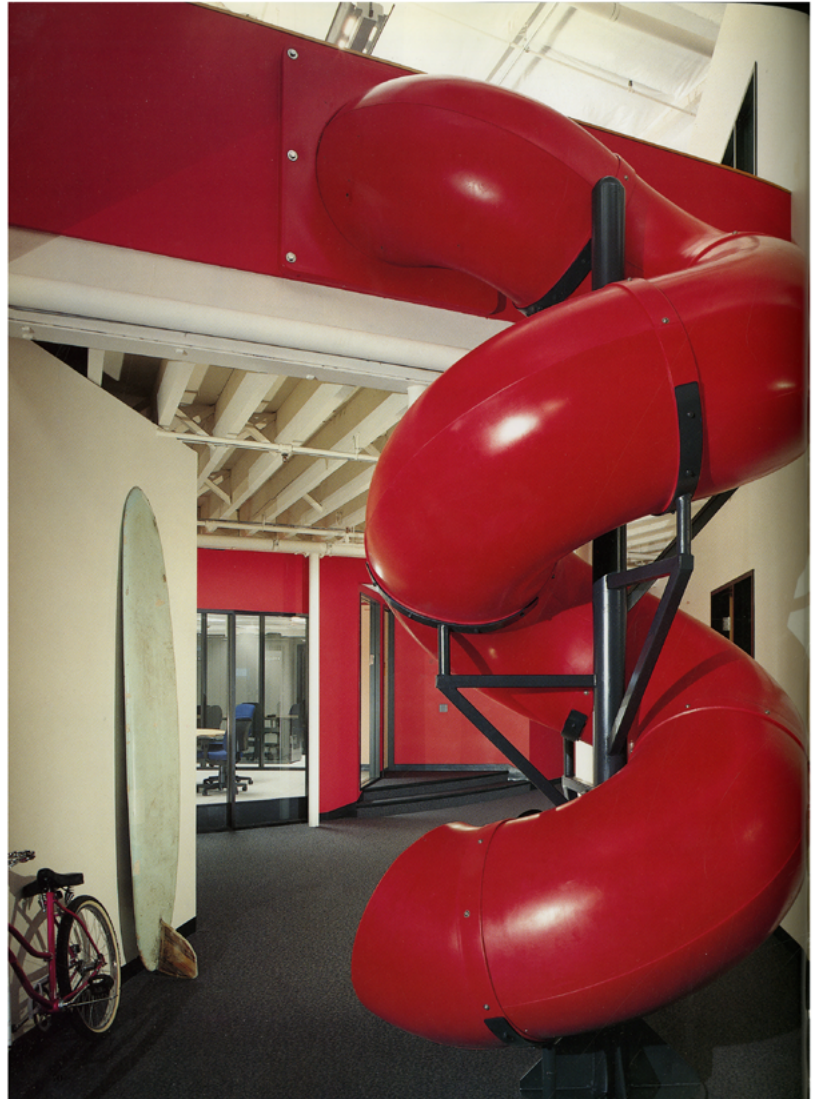


FIG. 15 STUDIOS Architecture, Excite Headquarters, Redwood City, 1997-98, plan and interior

that have a monopoly on information. They still need the physicality of a hyper-technological monument or a workplace of talent like the Futurists' "tumultuous shipyard", in order to promote the company's products. But what happens when such a forceful trademark—for instance that of Facebook or Apple—meets an equally forcefully authorial design?⁴⁴

Conclusions

In the postwar period, architecture becomes a universal language, controlled by the new communication technologies, and buildings no longer represent an institution, as they did in the past, but rather a corporate philosophy that prioritizes functional, technological, and media necessities. From the first building erected on the land of the Stanford Industrial Park to the most recent buildings completed in Silicon Valley, the organizational structure of the new campus of digital age has noticeably changed. Since corporate productivity is seen as a variable that depends on workers' level of satisfaction with their social lives, the corporation needs to provide

44. See Lina Malfona, "The Apple Case. Architecture, Global Market, and Information Technology in the Digital Age," *Ardeth*, no. 03 (Fall 2018): 53-75; see also Lina Malfona, "The Circle: Geographies of Network vs. Geometries of Disjunction," *The Avery Review*, issue 30 (March 2018), accessed December 3, 2019, <https://averyreview.com/issues/30/the-circle>.

the conditions that make a satisfying social life possible. The corporation does so through the transformation of the campus' very architecture, by creating meeting places within the workplace and providing access to a series of activities that are "offered" to the worker, such as free meals, vacations, and parties organized by the company, according to what is termed "The HP Way."⁴⁵ With their cafeterias and gyms, these campuses recall the atmosphere of college, with the same desire to reap the benefits of innovation, competition, and collaboration.⁴⁶ On further examination, however, both the collective nature of the work environment, which gives up the isolation of the individual office, and the message of "serious fun" transmitted by the interiors—where there is no lack of basketball courts, fitness clubs, and playground—become a corporate ploy to attract workers. In this way, the metaphor of "one big family" is used to broadcast the image of a campus intended as a creative factory.⁴⁷

This new kind of creative factory distances itself from the mechanization and the rationalization which characterized both the Albert Kahn's factories and the Fairchild Building, the most representative building of Silicon Valley's first architectural wave.⁴⁸ That industrial image has given way, in these new buildings, to the performative, ludic, and bluntly creative, which can only be celebrated through the definitive schism between an outside that becomes a mediating screen and an inside that is constantly in the making. Is this schism the last expression of the long-lasting conflict between architectural design and capitalism? Can architects still have a critical role inside the information age? This study leaves certain questions unanswered, and the reader is called to reflect on these questions.

45. The HP Way had many precedents, consider for instance the Bell Laboratories in Murray Hill (East Cost), where in the 1950s and 1960s were already available cafeterias, amenities and collective facilities, according to the words of A. Michael Noll. See A. Michael Noll, *Memories: A personal History of Bell Telephone Laboratories*, Copyright © 2015 A. Michael Noll, accessed July 15, 2019, https://ethw.org/w/images/1/1e/Memories_-_A_Personal_History_of_Bell_Telephone_Laboratories.pdf.

46. See Cathy Lang Ho, "Silicon Valley", *Metropolis* (October 1995): 70-72, 88.

47. Rather than voluntarily giving up the isolation of individual offices, the increase in personnel and the subsequent lack of space in the Fifties forced corporations to adopt more flexible configurations, using mobile partitions and eliminating private offices. See Richard Sennett, *Building and Dwelling. Ethics for the City* (London: Allen Lane, 2018), ch. "Tocqueville in Technopolis"; Nikil Saval, *Cubed. A Secret History of the Workplace* (New York, Doubleday, 2014).

48. See Jean-Louis Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform. Designing and Building for the Second World War* (Paris: Editions Hazan, 2011); Nina Rappaport, *Vertical Urban Factory* (New York: Actar Publishers, 2015).

A Window on the United States. The Image of American Architecture in West Germany's Journals: 1947-1962

Marta Bacuzzi

Politecnico di Torino
marta.bacuzzi@polito.it

Department of Architecture and Design, PhD Student, PhD programme in Architecture,
History and Project.

ABSTRACT

This article aims to explore how American architecture was presented throughout the pages of two main architectural journals published in West Germany in the very first years after the end of World War II. The selected journals, *Baukunst und Werkform* and *Baumeister*, are independent magazines with opposite positions – the first is extremely oriented towards modernity and the latter is deeply conservative. Although they cannot be considered as part of the cultural Cold War program, they testify how, in this particular period, it was impossible to avoid knowing, measuring and confronting the transatlantic world. Starting from two opposite points of view, these journals reflect the German reception of the American architectural culture.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9678>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Marta Bacuzzi



KEYWORDS:

Post-War Germany; Americanism; Architectural Journals; Baukunst und Werkform; Baumeister

Introduction

The complexity of the postwar period could not be understood without taking into account the contribution of mass media in the consolidation of the new global context, which was starting to emerge from the second half of the Twentieth Century. This article addresses this topic by tracing the circulation of ideas, theories and models from the United States to West Germany during the early postwar years. According to numerous studies on the two phenomena of Americanism, intended as a natural transfer of ideas within a certain disciplinary field, and Americanization, intended as the result of specific institutional policies, it is possible to determine a large influence of the American architecture in the European postwar reconstruction¹. In the intricate context of the transatlantic relations, professional journals played a crucial role in the diffusion of both imaginaries and practices. In fact, alongside the various publications intentionally intended as vehicle of exchange, like exhibitions catalogues² or periodicals, such as *Der Monat*³, *Die Neue Zeitung*⁴ and *Die Amerikanische Rundschau*⁵, it is important to take into account independent professional journals in order to assess the actual penetration of the American architectural culture in West Germany building practice.

In the early post-war period, a considerable number of independent journals either started to publish again or were newly founded⁶ and this article provides a detailed analyses of two: *Baukunst und Werkform*⁷ (*BuW*), the journal of the post-war modern par excellence⁸, and *Baumeister*⁹ (*BM*), an extremely conservative and traditionalist journal¹⁰. Since they were not directly bounded to any institution¹¹, the two editorial boards¹² could express their respective positions without any restriction or imposition. Therefore, studying the way in which the United States were presented in these particular journals gives a very realistic perception of the national discussion on overseas architecture. Starting from some simple questions, such as: how deep was the knowledge of the US architectural theory and practice? To which topics was given major attention? Which authors and projects were the most published? it is possible to compare the different attitudes of the two journals, recognizing the impact of the American architectural culture not only in terms of reception/assimilation, but also in terms of rejection. In fact, after identifying the most relevant themes, the most recurring ideas and the most prominent authors it is possible to measure their influence, or, on the contrary, to observe the production of opposing forces and elements of reaction or resistance.

The time frame that has been taken into account for this research spans from 1947 to 1962. These dates could sound unusual, considering that the focus of this work is intended to be on the very first years after the end of World War II, during the reconstruction, at the beginning of the Cold War. However, it is hard to tell exactly when the 'reconstruction' started and ended, or what can be precisely considered the 'post-war period'.

1. The role of the American culture in the development of modern architecture has been subject of a large number of studies, starting from the two seminal works: Jean-Louis Cohen and Hubert Damisch, eds., *Américanisme et modernité. L'idéal américain dans l'architecture* (Paris: EHESS/Flammarion, 1993); Jean-Louis Cohen, *Scenes of the World to Come. European Architecture and the American Challenge, 1893–1960* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995). On the same topic see the numerous publications of the German Historical Institute of Washington DC, such as: *From Manhattan to Mainhattan: Architecture and Style as Transatlantic Dialogue, 1920–1970* (GHI Bulletin, Supplement 2, 2005). For more national-oriented publications see, among others: Fraser, Murray and Joe Kerr, *Architecture and the 'Special Relationship': The American Influence on Post-War British Architecture* (Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 2007); Paolo Scrivano, *Building transatlantic Italy: architectural dialogues with postwar America* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Caroline Maniaque-Benton, *French encounters with the American Counterculture, 1960-1980* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

2. See Elizabeth Mock, *In USA erbaut 1932-1944* (Wiesbaden: Metopen-Verlag 1948), which was the catalogue of the German version of the MoMa exhibition 'Built in USA' of 1944, and Mary Mix, *Amerikanische Architektur seit 1947* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1951), which was the catalogue of the German version of the exhibition 'Contemporary architecture in the United States' organized by the American Institute of Architects in Havana, 1951.

3. Magazine intentionally aimed to construct a bridge between German and American intellectuals, financed through the 'confidential funds' of the Marshall Plan and CIA's capitals. See Francis Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999), 30.

4. The complete header of this periodical is *Die neue Zeitung. Eine amerikanische Zeitung für die deutsche Bevölkerung*.

5. See Erwin J. Warkentin, *The History of U.S. Information Control in Post-War Germany: The Past Imperfect* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2016).

6. Among the most important ones, see: *Bauen und Wohnen* (1946-1981), *Deutsche Bauzeitschrift* (1953-...) and *Deutsche Bauzeitung* (1921-1944, 1948-...) and *Bauwelt* (1910-1944, 1952-...).

7. Published in Düsseldorf from 1947 to 1962, when it was absorbed by *Deutsche Bauzeitung* (DBZ).

8. See Hartmut Frank, "La tarda vittoria del Neues Bauen. L'architettura tedesca dopo la Seconda Guerra Mondiale", *Rassegna* 54, (1993): 58-76.

9. Founded in München in 1902, still publishing nowadays. The publication was interrupted from 1944 to 1946.

10. See Torsten Schmiedeknecht, "Postwar editorial conversations in Germany" in Andrew Peckham and Torsten Schmiedeknecht, eds., *Modernism and the Professional Architecture Journal* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 32-55.

11. Unlike *Der Architekt*, affiliated with the BDA (Bund Deutscher Architekten), or *Werk und Zeit*, official journal of the Deutsche Werkbund.

12. In the observed time frame, BM editors were Rudolf Pfister (1947-1954) and Paulhans Peters (1959-1991), while *BuW*'s one were Alfons Leitel (1946-54), Ulrich Conrads (1954-1957) and Hartmut Rebitzki (1957-1962).

Periodization is always arbitrary¹³, but I symbolically decided to use the lifespan of the journal *BuW*, that was founded in 1947 and was absorbed by *DBZ* in 1962.

This article has been divided into different paragraphs, according to the major topics that emerged from the analyses of all the issues published by the two journals in the selected time frame. Each paragraph gives an idea of the journals' positions on the analyzed topic (the first part focuses on *BM* and the second one on *BuW*) and it follows a chronological order, so that it is possible to identify, in some cases, a change in their approach throughout time.

Architecture and Urban Planning in the USA

The general topic of American architecture and urban planning is addressed by a large group of *BM*'s articles which clearly reveals the conservative point of view of the journal. The article "Internationales und Regionales Bauen"¹⁴ by Hans Strobel, for instance, proposes a long reflection on the cultural roots of the two opposite approaches of regionalism and international style in architecture. The article ends with a direct attack on the extreme simplification promoted by the supporters of modern architecture, labeled as a neutral glazed shell. The author blames what he openly defines as '*Amerikanismus*', a phenomenon which, starting from the First World War and with a strong intensification after World War II, spread out in Europe, described as the victim of a senseless fascination for this "poor model without tradition".

A similar position can be found in the article "Ein Stadtbaurat sah Amerika mit offenen Augen"¹⁵ in which the author states that study journeys to the United States are becoming more and more frequent, not only among students but also among architects, who enthusiastically report their experiences to friends and colleagues. The journey of Professor Rudolf Hillebrecht, chief planner of the city of Hannover, on the contrary, gives back a series of negative considerations on the American architectural panorama, starting from the fact that most people live in temporary houses and do not seek stability, that the 80% of the houses are built of wood, that many apartments in the skyscrapers of the big cities are empty, that there are huge problems in traffic management and that America might be considered as a land of endless possibilities, but it is also the land of wasted opportunities. At the end of the description a comment of the editorial board concludes that this article finally gives a different opinion, far from what is usually published in newspapers and magazines, namely an idealized vision of America, presented as a model from which Europe has only to learn: "We are always ready to learn from abroad, but we must not fall into the 'barbed wire psychosis' that has spread since the end of the war: the tragic circumstances that led some German architects

13. The most common time frame adopted to study the reconstruction begins from 1945 (end of the war) and includes the whole Fifties, however if the focus is more on 'planning' the time frame should to be restricted from 1942 (first great air raid on Lübeck) to 1950/51 (approval of most of the *Wiederaufbauplanen*); nevertheless, if considering the actual reconstruction the time frame might include the *Wirtschaftswunder* or even expand further (Cologne finished rebuilding its Romanesque churches only in 1985). On the matter of periodization see, among others, Klaus Von Beyme, *Der Wiederaufbau. Architektur und Städtebaupolitik in beiden deutschen Staaten* (München: Piper Verlag, 1987), 340; Jeffry M. Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War. The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), xvi- xviii.

14. Hans Strobel, "Internationales und Regionales Bauen", *BM*, Heft 5 (1953): 337-339.

15. "Ein Stadtbaurat sah Amerika mit offenen Augen", *BM*, Heft 9 (1953): 610.

to emigrate in the United States must not diminish our culture, pushing us to import one that does not belong to us. And this has nothing to do with politics, nor with nationalism”¹⁶.

The position of Hillebrecht¹⁷, one of the most influential urban planners in West Germany, has to be contextualized according to his personal history and to his role in the debate on the postwar urban recovery. His previous activity in the office of Konstanty Gutschow and in Albert Speer’s *Wiederaufbaustab* during the period of National Socialism¹⁸ could be one of the reasons which motivated him to warn his colleagues against an uncritical application of the American model. On the other hand, Hillebrecht was extremely open to learn from abroad and made numerous study trips, not only in the US but also throughout Europe and even in the Soviet Union. As a result, his plan for the city of Hannover played a crucial role in the German debate around the concept of *Stadtlandschaft*¹⁹ and became a successful model.

The negative image of the American metropolises presented in the pages of *BM* is echoed by other articles like, “Bauprobleme und Verkehrsfragen in New York”²⁰, reporting that the heart of the city, Manhattan, is increasingly transforming into a *Bürostadt*, a city of offices, where fewer and fewer people are living, while a huge amount of workers (about 15 million people live between New York and its surroundings, almost a tenth of the entire population of the United States) are daily crossing it, causing enormous problems in traffic management.

Nevertheless, it is also possible to find articles reporting about positive practices, like “Niederlegung der amerikanischen Slums”²¹: the text opens by stating that the degraded, obsolete and dilapidated neighborhoods of the Baltimore suburbs are accountable for 45% of the city’s total expenses and only for 6% of its revenue and are the place where about half of the total crimes perpetrated in the city are registered. US government allocated one billion dollars to clear these slums, which spread on the fringes of America’s most populous cities. Due to the construction boom of the last few years, the problem has been delayed for a long time and has become really difficult to solve, also considering that the inhabitants often oppose to demolitions. However, Eisenhower’s Housing Advisory Committee conducted a detailed survey in ten cities, which demonstrated that after clearing the slums, revenues would increase up to ten times and the total expenses would be completely compensated in about 15 years, showing that the investment in the solution of this problem can actually become an extremely profitable economic strategy.

The approach of *BM* is certainly not representative of the general account of the American architecture that was given by the majority of the German architectural journals of the time. An article by Hans Frommhold, published on *DBZ* with the evocative title “Building in America. Small

16. “Ein Stadtbaurat sah Amerika mit offenen Augen”, *BM*, Heft 9 (1953): 610, translation by the author.

17. On Rudolf Hillebrecht see Ralf Dorn, *Der Architekt und Stadtplaner Rudolf Hillebrecht. Kontinuitäten und Brüche in der deutschen Planungsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 2017).

18. On the continuity between National Socialism and the postwar period see, among others, “Entnazifizierung der Architekten und der Architektur?”, a paragraph in the book of Klaus von Beyme, *Der Wiederaufbau: Architektur und Städtebaupolitik in beiden deutschen Staaten* (München: Piper Verlag, 1987), 47-59.

19. See, among others, Andrea Maglio, *Berlino prima del Muro. La ricostruzione negli anni 1945-1961* (Benevento: Hevelius, 2003).

20. W. Schweisheimer, “Bauprobleme und Verkehrsfragen in New York”, *BM*, Heft 5 (1957): 330-331.

21. W. Schweisheimer, “Niederlegung der amerikanischen Slums”, *BM*, Heft 2 (1956): 110.

World – USA – Metropolises – Skyscrapers”²², illustrates a much more common view. The article opens with the consideration that traveling has now become so easy that the world seems to have become smaller. It follows a numerical comparison between the United States and Germany in terms of Countries’ surface and number of inhabitants, concluding that in America everything is on a different scale. The American metropolises, which have reached their current state surprisingly fast if compared to European cities, show recurrent characteristics: the orthogonality of the urban fabric (with the disadvantage of monotony and the advantage of an easy possibility of orientation), the vertiginous vertical growth of the central areas, problems in traffic management and degradation of peripheral areas. The skyscraper, defined as the most representative typology of American architecture, is actually the main object of the article, which proceeds with a description of the various structural typologies, coatings, dimensions, construction costs, staircases, elevators, escalators and air conditioning systems, accompanied by a rich repertoire of images.

This visual myth of Manhattan is not only to be found in the articles, but is additionally stressed throughout advertisement, where skyscrapers act as a symbol of modernity or intricate highways are used to signify dynamism and speed. Moreover, this kind of European fascination is fostered by American architectural Journals as well, where articles like “Europe Emulates American Skyscrapers”²³ state that “impressed by the efficiency and drama of the US skyscrapers, many European architects have been building their new apartment and office structures up to 20 stories high. [...] At first glance, this “baby skyscrapers” look like typical North or South American structures”.

In the journal *BuW* is similarly possible to find rather naive and simplistic articles, such as: “Eine Reise in die USA”²⁴, which portrays a journey to New York, Pittsburg and Detroit of the French architect Raymond Lopez, who describes his impressions about these cities and their new skyscrapers; or “Brief aus New York”²⁵, a letter with a list of enthusiastic considerations on New York City and, by the same author, “Brief aus Amerika”²⁶ another letter which briefly illustrates the use of laminated wood in American architecture. But these are only sporadic episodes, and the journal usually addresses the topic with a more detailed approach. For example, articles like “Neue Tendenzen im amerikanischen Städtebau”²⁷ offers a comparative description of the differences between Europe and America about the renewal of city centers. The article considers the two case studies of Chicago and Detroit as positive experiences from which Europe could learn.

Urban Planning is definitely a crucial theme. In the article “Großstädtische Planungsaufgabe”²⁸, after some general considerations, Ludwig Hilberseimer²⁹ describes his work for the city of Detroit and in particular the Plan for the South Side, the ‘Gratiot Redevelopment Project’ and the ‘Hyde Park Project’. On the same issue, the article “Verkehrter Verkehr”³⁰

22. Hans Frommhold, “Bauen in Amerika. Die Kleine Welt - Die USA - Die Großstädte - Die Wolkenkratzer”, *DBZ*, Heft 3 (1953): 15-21.

23. “Europe Emulates American Skyscrapers”, *Architectural Forum* (December 1951): 203.

24. Raymond Lopez, “Eine Reise in die USA”, *BuW*, Heft 7 (1957): 381-383.

25. W. Schweisheimer, “Brief aus New York”, *BuW*, Heft 3 (1958): 160-62.

26. W. Schweisheimer, “Brief aus Amerika”, *BuW*, Heft 8 (1959): 456-457.

27. “Neue Tendenzen im amerikanischen Städtebau”, *BuW*, Heft 7 (1955): 404-410.

28. Ludwig Hilberseimer, “Großstädtische Planungsaufgabe”, *BuW*, Heft 1 (1957): 13-18.

29. Ludwig Hilberseimer, one of the most influential figures of modern architecture and urban planning in the Twenties, author of numerous publications and professor at the Bauhaus, emigrated in the United States in 1938, where he became, thanks to his connection with Mies van der Rohe, a professor at the Illinois Institute of Technology and then director of the Department of City and Regional Planning. On the American production of Hilberseimer, see Francesca Scotti, *Ludwig Hilberseimer. Lo sviluppo di un’idea di città: il periodo americano* (Milano: Libraccio, 2008).

30. Martin Wagner, “Verkehrter Verkehr”, *BuW*, Heft 1 (1957): 48-51.

by Martin Wagner³¹ illustrates what Europe can learn from the USA about the increasing traffic issues, a topic which is further developed in "Verkehr und Stadt"³². The article traces a history of the role of transportation in shaping the cities. A large number of examples from the USA are here described to highlight the impact of the increasing use of automobiles on the cities.

The two authors, Ludwig Hilberseimer and Martin Wagner, are both German architects who spent the second half of their careers in the United States, but, unlike other figures who belonged to this group of emigrated architects, such as Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe or Richard Neutra, their American production has been less influential with respect to the German one. Nevertheless, they can be considered as Key figures, who acted as transatlantic bridges: in fact, their positions on urban planning radically changed after their arrival in the US. The redefinition of their research horizons started from dealing with traffic issues and with a profit-oriented urbanization: "The cities of our industrial age have not yet found the pattern adequate to their potentialities, according to their function and technological development. [...] The very forces which made those cities grow seem to be now working toward their destruction"³³. Presenting problems as starting points for improvements is in line with the approach of *BuW*, which offered them his pages as fertile ground for discussion.

Shifting from the urban to architectural scale is important to mention that the journal hosted one of the most intense debates, later denominated 'the Bauhaus debate', which started from an article by Rudolf Schwarz³⁴ on Functionalism in architecture and stimulated a number of reactions published in and outside the journal³⁵.

The energetic and fruitful environment of *BuW*, as well as its propensity to value even critical opinions, is fostered by many articles, like "Amerikanische Architektur unter den Zeichenstift genommen von Saul Steinberg"³⁶. A selection of Steinberg drawings is presented by an introduction that explains how architecture is usually portrayed by words and photographs, highlighting only the positive features of the building and avoiding mentioning any critical issue. On this regard Steinberg's sketches, drawn as a reaction to the MoMa exhibition *Built in USA*³⁷, are prized for their sharp and provocative meaning.

Another unusual way chosen to portray US architecture is the one of the monographic issue *BuW* Heft 7 1953, which is entirely dedicated to the American architect Bruce Goff. In the editorial introduction, *Anmerkungen zur Zeit*, Ulrich Conrads explains that the decision to dedicate the whole issue to this particular architect should be considered as a response to the position of Joseph A. Barry, who described 'a war between Europe and America' in two articles published on an American journal two

31. Martin Wagner, chief planner of Berlin in the Twenties, emigrated in the United States in 1938, where he remained until his death in 1957. In the US he became professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Design thanks to his connection with Walter Gropius, but, lacking built work, his American production remained mainly theoretical. On the profound changes of Wagner's approach on urban planning after his American exile, see Álvaro Sevilla-Buitrago, "Martin Wagner in America: planning and the political economy of capitalist urbanization", *Planning Perspectives*, 32, n. 4 (2017): 481–502.

32. Kurt Leibbrand, "Verkehr und Stadt", *BuW*, Heft 7 (1957): 406-413.

33. Ludwig Hilberseimer, *The Nature of Cities: Origin, Growth, and Decline. Pattern and Form. Planning Problems* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1955), 13-14.

34. Rudolf Schwarz, "Bilde Künstler, rede nicht", *BuW*, Heft 1 (1953): 9-17.

35. On the debate launched by Schwarz, see: Ulrich Conrads, Magdalena Droste, Winfried Nerdinger and Peter Neitzke, *Die Bauhaus-Debatte 1953. Dokumente einer verdrängten Kontroverse* (Braunschweig, Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1994); Paul Betts, "Die Bauhaus-Legende: Amerikanisch-Deutsches Joint Venture des Kalten Krieges," in Alf Lütke, Inge Marslock, and Adelheid von Saldern, eds., *Amerikanisierung: Traum und Alptraum im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996), 271-4; Christian Borngäber, *Stil Novo. Design in den 50er Jahren. Phantasie und Phantastik* (Frankfurt: Dieter Fricke, 1979), 23-4; Joachim Petsch, "Die Bauhausrezeption in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den fünfziger Jahren", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar*, 26, Heft 4/5 (1979): 433-437.

36. Wolfgang Clasen, "Amerikanische Architektur unter den Zeichenstift genommen von Saul Steinberg", *BuW*, Heft 6 (1953): 316-321.

37. Originally published in Saul Steinberg, "Built in USA. Postwar Architecture 1945-1952", *ArtNews*, 51 (February 1953): 16-19.

months earlier³⁸. Barry accused the architects of the international style - referring to Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier in particular - of aggressively imposing their own aesthetic principles without taking into account the specificities of the different places. He invites the other modern architects to stand up against this 'dictature': on this regard Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture is indicated as the alternative to follow, as the true American national style. By dedicating this issue to Goff, *BuW* editorial board wishes that architecture will no longer be praised or attacked according to any kind of *Blut un Boden* feeling, or because it is 'miesian' or 'wrightian', but for its actual features. Conrad explains that there isn't any war between the two extreme positions of the so-called 'international style' and a hypothetical 'national anti-style': good architecture has probably to be found in a 'third position', far from any dogmatic approach. The selected works by Goff, - this is the first collection of Goff's projects, as pointed out in a letter written by the author himself, where he explains to be very proud to see that the first large publication on his work was published in Germany³⁹ except for some religious building, mostly portrays examples of organic housing.

Another very peculiar point of view on American architecture is offered by the article "Das Geld des Lebensversicherungsgesellschaften baut amerikanische Städte"⁴⁰, where it is claimed that there is no other kind of actor that, thanks to the investment of private capital, had a greater influence on the appearance of American cities as much as insurance companies. In fact, the boom in the American construction industry after the Second World War was mostly financed by insurance companies, which injected huge amounts of money into the real estate market. It is not only their role in operations of building speculation, but also the architecture of their own office buildings, often of great quality, such as the Phoenix Life Insurance Company in Hartford (Conn.) by Harrison & Abramovitz, that occupy a prominent place in shaping the skyline of American cities.

The role of the architect

In both *BuW* and *BM* is possible to observe a profound interest in the US bureaucratic apparatus, concerning not only the building practice but also the figure of the architect himself. In *BM* a large number of articles was published on this topic, especially at the beginning of the Fifties. For instance, "In Amerika gibt es keine Bau-Bürokratie!"⁴¹ offers an overview of the weaknesses in the law system that regulates American architecture: too outdated and backward-looking in some cases and too detailed and arbitrarily diversified from city to city in others, it is conceived as an obstacle instead of an helpful tool. Next to this kind of undetailed and almost provocative texts, in the same journal it is not rare to find articles that offer comparisons of countries, like "Die Ausübung des

38. Joseph A. Barry, "The Trend to Enrichment", *House Beautiful*, 95 (May 1953): 134-138; Joseph A. Barry, "Report on the Battle Between Good and Bad Modern Houses", *House Beautiful*, 95, (May 1953): 270.

39. Bruce Goff, "Brief an meine deutschen Freunde", *BuW*, Heft 7 (1953): 333.

40. "Das Geld des Lebensversicherungsgesellschaften baut amerikanische Städte", *BuW*, Heft 4 (1962): 214-216.

41. "In Amerika gibt es keine Bau-Bürokratie!", *BM*, Heft 2 (1950): 102.

Architekten-Berufs in den USA, England und Frankreich"⁴², which compares the different models and paths to get the title of architect in England, the United States and France. The same comparative approach is used in "Die ethischen Grundlagen des Architektenstandes"⁴³, in which the analyzed countries are England, USA and Germany and the focus is on the role and the duties of the architect in the society, according to the different law systems. In these cases, the tone is more neutral and the goal is just to give an idea of different approaches, rather than to express any judgement.

An article published the following decade in *BuW*, "Über die Ausbildung von Architekten in Nordamerika"⁴⁴, reveals again the totally different approach of this journal: by exploring the American model, the intention is to open a debate on how to educate architecture students. The article begins by tracing a history of the education of architects in Europe, starting from the Middle Ages and proceeding until the affirmation of study journeys, which in the Twentieth Century began to have the United States as one of the most preferred destinations. The second part is mostly dedicated to the analysis of the American schools' system, explaining every detail, from the structure of a typical study plan, to the requirements to become professor. The author gives a very accurate description, highlighting both the strengths and the gaps of the US system.

Shifting from education to the actual practice, *BM* published in 1957 a very dense article, "Planen und Bauen in USA"⁴⁵ written by W. Henn, professor at the University of Braunschweig, back from a long journey in the United States. The main thesis of the article is that, what allows American architects to shape their 'extraordinary buildings admired all over the world', is the technical organization of their design firms. The work group, in fact, is not only composed by architects, but also by structural engineers, who are experts in reinforced concrete or steel constructions, heating engineers and other kind of specialists, all gathered 'under the same roof'. For example, Albert Kahn studio counts more than 320 employees and is even possible to find some, whose staff exceed 500 units. This variegated structure in terms of competences, combined with a massive use of electronic calculators, allows American architects to manage extremely complex projects. Moreover, their firms are able to assemble, year after year, a sort of catalogue of already-tested construction details that can be reused, fastening the design process and allowing the saved time to be reinvested on new technological solutions, or on other kind of improvements. According to Henn, this scientific organization, however, often affects the architectural quality of the project. The text focuses then on other topics, such as the industrial architecture, characterized by large buildings on one level, completely artificially illuminated and ventilated, or residential architecture, where the dream of a single-family house is addressed with new neighborhoods entirely composed by poor-quality

42. "Die Ausübung des Architekten-Berufs in den USA, England und Frankreich", *BM*, Heft 4 (1950): 228-230.

43. Bernhard Gaber, "Die ethischen Grundlagen des Architektenstandes", *BM*, Heft 6 (1950): 390-392.

44. Article published in two parts: "Über die Ausbildung von Architekten in Nordamerika", *BuW*, Heft 5 (1961): 248-250 and *BuW*, Heft 6 (1961): 352-344.

45. Article published in three parts: Walter Henn, "Planen und Bauen in USA", *BM*, Heft 1 (1957): 33-35, *BM*, Heft 2 (1957): 98-99 and *BM*, Heft 3 (1957): 174-178.

prefabricated houses. Nevertheless, Henn identifies in prefabrication the future of architecture and states that it is only a matter of time before Europe will adapt to the American model. The article concludes with a provocative statement: the consumer culture has taken hold so much in America that people not only frequently change their cars and homes, but even the New York's skyscrapers will soon show a new 'make-up', totally changing the image of the city.

The first part of the same text, the one showing the benefits of scientific organization in architectural bureaus, was also published in *BuW*, in an article entitled "Amerikanische Ingenieur- und Architekturbüros"⁴⁶. Both of these texts are fragments of a book⁴⁷ by the same author, which offers a very accurate survey on the US architectural firms, analyzing every detail, from their professional ethics to their insurance coverage.

BuW insists on the importance of teamwork presenting different practical examples as well. On this regard one issue published in 1957 is almost entirely dedicated to 'The Architects Collaborative'⁴⁸ and their works. The article describes the origins and the operating principles of TAC⁴⁹, the architectural team funded by Walter Gropius in 1945, although the focus is mostly on their work and on the different typologies of their buildings.

The article "Von der Zusammenarbeit eines Teams"⁵⁰, instead, analyses the topic from a different point of view. Starting from a single building, the General Life Insurance Company in Hartford Connecticut by S.O.M., the focus is not anymore just on the structure of one architectural firm, but portrays a discussion between the different actors involved in the construction process (G. Bunshaft as architect, F. B. Wilde as client, F. Knoll as interior designer and L. Beall as graphic designer)⁵¹.

Housing

A first specific reflection on US residential construction appears in *BM* with an article entitled "Wie wohnt der Amerikaner?"⁵², which gives an overview of the different types of houses, starting from a differentiation between modern buildings - widespread only in the big cities of the West Coast and North-East - and traditional buildings. The article highlights details such as the fact that most of traditional homes are furnished in 'the typical American kitsch taste' or that the chromatic range of the interiors totally differs from the European one and is directed towards strong and brilliant colors, while artificial light always prevails over the natural one. The article concludes by stating that, in general, American residential architecture is increasingly oriented towards modernity, according to two main strands: that of 'German style', so-called by Americans themselves, to be understood as the ideal continuation of the Bauhaus school, and the one driven by romantic slogans such as 'return to organic constructions' and 'nature is our model', introduced by Frank Lloyd Wright.

46. Walter Henn, "Amerikanische Ingenieur- und Architekturbüros", *BuW*, Heft 6 (1960): 332-334.

47. Walter Henn, *Aluminum in der Architektur der USA* (Düsseldorf: Aluminum Verlag, 1960).

48. "The Architects Collaborative", *BuW*, Heft 12 (1957): 683-713.

49. On the works of Gropius and TAC see Arnold Körte, *Begegnungen mit Walter Gropius in "The Architects Collaborative" TAC* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2019).

50. "Von der Zusammenarbeit eines Teams", *BuW*, Heft 7 (1959): 351-357.

51. The article is the translation of the one firstly published in the American journal *Industrial Design*: Wilde, Bunshaft, Knoll and Beall "The Team Approach: A Round-Table Discussion Reveals how Connecticut General Got Just What it Wanted from Designers", *Industrial Design*, 5 (September 1958): 48-57.

52. Brigitte D'Ortsey, "Wie wohnt der Amerikaner?", *Baumeister*, Heft 4 (1951): 252-254.

Frank Lloyd Wright is certainly the most recurring name among American architects in the pages of *BM* and he is always defined as the most important master overseas. For instance the article "Zwei Schüler von Frank Lloyd Wright bauen Einfamilienhäuser"⁵³, after presenting Wright as *Seniorchef*, describes the work of some students and the kind of 'primitive' architecture, with a very bare, but certainly not economic appearance, which emerges from the single-family house projects presented in the following pages. An overview of the master works appears on the occasion of his death in the article "Zum Tod von Frank Lloyd Wright"⁵⁴, while an entire article is dedicated to the "Guggenheim Museum, New York"⁵⁵, presented as one of the most important buildings of the Century.

Coming back to the theme of housing, the article "Amerika _ Unmodern"⁵⁶ illustrates the surprising number of colonial houses, with echoes ranging from the Georgian to the Palladian style, especially in the Southern states. A wide variety of examples is proposed in terms of place, dimensions and type, highlighting, the painted wood coating and the typical grid framed windows.

With the two articles "Neue amerikanische Gartenmöbel" and "Neue amerikanische Leichtmöbel"⁵⁷ *BM* finally highlights some positive features, namely the innovative American design for indoor and outdoor furniture. It is emphasized that the extremely functional design, respectively by Van Keppel-Green and Charles Eames, is able to adapt to the 'modern Kleinwohnung' with comfortable, light and economic and solutions, already introduced in the offices and now ready to penetrate even the living rooms and the outdoor spaces.

American furniture is portrayed in *BuW* as well: "Amerikanische Serien- und Einzel Möbel"⁵⁸, focusing on Charles Eams and Eliel Saarinen, and "Amerikanischen Möbel"⁵⁹, inaugurate a long series of articles dedicated to Knoll International: "Knoll International. Ein Beitrag zum neuen Wohnstil"⁶⁰, "Farbe und Form als Mittel der Heilung"⁶¹, "Neues von Knoll"⁶² and "Creationen"⁶³. In an issue dedicated to schools and children facilities, moreover, an article on school furniture praise American examples for both classroom arrangements and design of desks and chairs.

Returning to housing, the *BuW* article "Siedlungs- und Wohnungsbau in den USA"⁶⁴ outlines the differences between the European and the American housing models, both in terms of urban arrangements and internal organization. The author is not only describing, but also trying to explain the reasons behind these different developments: for instance, in Europe there are mostly multiple-stories housing complexes, while in the US it is possible to find a great number of one-story houses because the new settlements are built further away from cities, thanks to a higher rate of motorization and a better traffic management. The role of the housewife is also a relevant factor in designing the new kind of American homes:

53. Rudolf Pfister, "Zwei Schüler von Frank Lloyd Wright bauen Einfamilienhäuser".

54. "Zum Tod von Frank Lloyd Wright", *BM*, Heft 6 (1959): 410-411.

55. "Guggenheim Museum, New York", *BM*, Heft 2 (1960): 98-100.

56. Matthä Schmölz, "Amerika _ Unmodern", *BM*, Heft 2 (1952): 101-104.

57. "Neue amerikanische Gartenmöbel" and "Neue amerikanische Leichtmöbel", *BM*, Heft 6 (1950): 374-376.

58. "Amerikanische Serien- und Einzel Möbel", *BuW*, Heft 1 (1949): 88-89.

59. "Amerikanischen Möbel", *BuW*, Heft 1 (1949): 90.

60. "Knoll International. Ein Beitrag zum neuen Wohnstil", *BuW*, Heft 3 (1956): 140-142.

61. "Farbe und Form als Mittel der Heilung. Aus der Einrichtung des M.D. Anderson Hospitals und Krebinstituts in Huston. Entwurf und Ausführung Planungsabteilung der Knoll Associates, Inc., New York", *BuW*, Heft 1 (1957): 44-45.

62. "Neues von Knoll", *BuW*, Heft 3 (1958): 152.

63. "Creationen", *BuW*, Heft 8 (1958): 456-458.

64. Fritz Jaspert, "Siedlungs- und Wohnungsbau in den USA", *BuW*, Heft 5 (1954): 293-301.

first of all, a one-story house is faster to clean; then, there is no more separation between the kitchen and the living room, so that she can watch over the children while cooking. The author's survey goes from the urban scale to the architectural detail and what he is describing are huge new peripheral settlements, like Holmes Run Acres and Levittown.

On the role of the housewife in the design of kitchens we can find another article, "Planung von Küchen für Wohn- und Ledigenheime"⁶⁵, which shows a number of possible solutions and arrangements, focusing again on the American model⁶⁶.

BuW also published different specific projects of American housing units, presented among other international examples in dedicated issues. The main protagonist in this case is Richard Neutra: in fact, *BuW* not only dedicated an entire issue to his work in 1955⁶⁷ and published many times his luxurious Californian houses⁶⁸, but also praised the approach of his architectural firm. In the article "Einige Innenräume"⁶⁹ many different projects are illustrated to demonstrate the advantages of designing every aspect of the project, from the structure of the building to customized furniture, without delegating anything to external specialized firms.

Shopping

Shopping centers proved to be one of the most representative typologies of American architecture even among the pages of *BM*, above all because of their discrepancy with respect to European models. The article "Neue Warenhaus-Architektur?"⁷⁰ reflects on the possible evolutions of commercial architecture. In particular, the author claims that in Germany, and generally in Europe, this typology of buildings tends to have a very thin structural grid in order to obtain the maximum glazed surfaces, which is functional to the display of goods. On the contrary, in America occurs the exact opposite phenomenon: almost inexistent openings and large walls that act as billboards, leaving to artificial lights and air-conditioning systems the task of offering comfortable spaces for shopping. The author also highlights some innovative parking solutions, such as the one in the Milliron's shopping center in Los Angeles by Gruen and Krummeck, located on the roof of the building.

The theme of advertising is again addressed in the article "Blick über den Zaun auf Geschäfts- und Ladenbauten"⁷¹, where, in addition to a series of images of American shops, there is a reflection on the fact that the advertising signs have interestingly transformed entire city fragments, otherwise anonymous and insignificant, especially at night. The article concludes by urging the architects in charge of designing a shop to deal in detail with its sign. The second part of the article, published in the subsequent issue, provides the description with formal and aesthetic suggestions, showing, in this case, European examples as well.

65. Karl-Heinz Schelling, "Planung von Küchen für Wohn- und Ledigenheime", *BuW*, Heft 5 (1956): 272-276.

66. On the diffusion of the American 'domestic landscape', see Beatriz Colomina, *Domesticity at War* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007), Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) and Ruth Oldenziel and Karin Zachmann, eds., *Cold War Kitchen. Americanization, Technology, and European Users* (Cambridge, Mass./London: The MIT Press, 2009).

67. *BuW*, Heft 6 (1955).

68. See, for instance, Richard Neutra, "House Joseph Staller in Bel Air, Californien", *BuW*, Heft 9 (1957): 505-508.

69. "Einige Innenräume", *BuW*, Heft 7 (1959): 351-357.

70. Matthä Schmölz, "Neue Warenhaus-Architektur?", *BM*, Heft 8 (1951): 522-525.

71. Matthä Schmölz, "Blick über den Zaun auf Geschäfts- und Ladenbauten Baumeister", published in two parts: *BM*, Heft 7 (1952): 468-471 and Heft 8 (1952): 620-623.

In an article dedicated to "Westmount Shopper's Park"⁷² *BM* published a detailed description of what is a 'regional shopping center'. This typology is presented as a decisive turning point for traffic congestion problems in city centers, offering a safe and easily accessible place, equipped with services and parking lots. The text deals with the fact that this new way of shopping, together with the invention of refrigerators, has radically changed the life of the American housewife, who is now shopping only once a week. The description then moves on to the specific building of Westmount Park, a center designed for 75 thousand inhabitants, which contains a bank, a hairdresser, a restaurant and a laundry, in addition to 42 shops. On the other side of the car park there are also a theater, a restaurant, a library and a polyclinic. The article concludes with other general considerations, such as the description of the project phases and the actors involved in the construction of the building.

72. "Westmount Shopper's Park", *BM*, Heft 1 (1959): 2-5.

BuW addressed the same theme in the article "Roosevelt Field – ein regionales Zentrum im New Yorker Umland"⁷³, where the authors explain the planning activities behind the construction of a regional shopping center, showing how it is connected to the surrounding cities and how its dimension are determined by studying distances and potential customers. The focus is on the roles of both the public and private actors of the decision-making process.

73. Harold L. Wattel and Rita D. Kaunitz, "Roosevelt Field – ein regionales Zentrum im New Yorker Umland", *BuW*, Heft 9 (1959): 500-508.

Office Towers

High rise is certainly one of the most representative themes related to the imagery of American architecture. *BM* confronts the topic with articles like "Bürohochhaus 666, Fifth Avenue New York"⁷⁴, which illustrates that there are two types of office towers: those commissioned by a single company, which invests in the architectural quality of every single detail to convey the idea of opulence and power, and those built to be rented, where every wasted square centimeter means less income for the owner. The tower presented here, designed by Carson and Lundin, belongs to the second category, and from the drawings it is possible to perceive how the aim of the project is to exploit all the available surfaces. In fact, the vertical elements, from the internal layout to the partition walls and the external cladding, have to be as thinner as possible in order to gain more floor area.

74. "Bürohochhaus 666, Fifth Avenue New York", *BM*, Heft 5 (1958): 321-323.

A greater attention is given to the construction technologies related to skyscrapers. For instance, the article "Entwicklungen im Stahlskelettbau"⁷⁵ proposes a history of tall buildings that, starting from the Chicago school, traces the development of steel framed structures. "Stahl im Bauwesen der USA"⁷⁶ narrows the focus on contemporary American buildings. The article analyzes some of the reasons of the success of this structural solution in the United States and not in Germany, including the lower costs of

75. "Entwicklungen im Stahlskelettbau", *BM*, Heft 4 (1957): 214-216.

76. "Stahl im Bauwesen der USA", *BM*, Heft 4 (1957): 217-222.

oil and electricity for heating, as well as differences in terms of climate and urban fabric. The article also reviews some technological innovations related to this typology, such as the 'Curtain Wall' and the 'Q-Floor'.

Concerning the materials, *BuW* offers instead an in-depth view on the use of aluminum, not only in high rise buildings. The article "Aluminium in Amerikanische Bauwesen"⁷⁷ explains how aluminum is one of the most used materials in the American construction industry, especially in warehouses and industrial complexes, but also in office buildings, such as the 666-Fifth Avenue and the Thisman-Bürohochhaus. This material is used in prefabricated houses as well: in the 'Viking Houses', produced by the National Homes Corporation, it is the main material for walls and roof. In 1959 this company produced about 24 thousand prefabricated aluminum houses, whose price could range from 8750 to 20 thousand dollars, with surfaces up to 1700 square meters.

"Der Baustoff Aluminium und seine Legierungen"⁷⁸ addresses again the different possible uses of this material, from claddings to structures. The article aim is to give an overview of the most innovative technological solutions and, beyond some examples from Germany, England and France, most of the presented buildings are from USA.

BuW attention to specific material and innovative technological solution is also to be found in the article "Ein Konstruktionssystem für Hallenbauten"⁷⁹, dedicated to the reticular steel system employed in the construction of light coverings in hangars, a technology, developed by Konrad Wachsmann⁸⁰ for the IIT Chicago.

Concerning the office typology, *BuW* portrays different case studies, but in an issue dedicated to this topic the only American office tower is the Seagram Building⁸¹. Mies van der Rohe is one of the main protagonists of the American architecture presented by the journal, which published an entire issue⁸² and several other articles⁸³ dedicated to his work.

Among the articles on individual buildings the "N. 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza"⁸⁴ by S.O.M. is described as the main example of the new typical towers with a structural steel frame, which redesigned the New York skyline. Nevertheless, the most interesting contribution about the office tower typology is "Vergleichende Betrachtung deutscher und ausländischer Beispiele"⁸⁵, which compares three towers, the Mannesman Hochhaus in Düsseldorf, the Grattacielo Pirelli in Milan and the Inland Steel Tower in Chicago, with particular attention to the technical aspects. The focus is on the different structures, not only in terms of materials and technologies but also of their behavior under wind loads.

77. W. Schweisheimer, "Aluminium in Amerikanische Bauwesen", *BuW*, Heft 5 (1960): 285.

78. Karl-Heinz Schelling, "Der Baustoff Aluminium und seine Legierungen", *BuW*, Heft 6 (1956): 326-335.

79. Konrad Wachsmann, "Ein Konstruktionssystem für Hallenbauten", *BuW*, Heft 9 (1954): 549-562.

80. On Konrad Wachsmann, another German emigrated architect famous for his pioneering works on prefabrication, see, among others: Marianne Burkhalter and Christian Sumi, eds., *Konrad Wachsmann and the Grapevine Structure* (Zürich: Park Books, 2018); Dietmar Strauch and Bärbel Högner, *Konrad Wachsmann: Stationen eines Architekten* (Edition Progris, 2013).

81. "Das Seagram-Gebäude in New York", *BuW*, Heft 10 (1960): 543-545.

82. "Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Bauten und Entwürfe 1911-1948", *BuW*, Heft 3 (1949): 10-40, composed by four articles: Philipp Johnson, "Leben, Entwicklung und Werk": 12-15; Louis Schoberth, "Wirkung gegen die Zeit": 16-24; Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, "Einige Aphorismen über Architektur und Form": 25-30; "Das Technologische Institut Chicago": 31-40.

83. Werner Blaser "Mies van der Rohe, Chicago 1938-1956. Stahl- und Glas-Architektur", *BuW*, Heft 1 (1957): 19-25.

84. "N. 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza", *BuW*, Heft 1 (1962): 30-36.

85. "Vergleichende Betrachtung deutscher und ausländischer Beispiele", Heft 4 (1957): 202-208.

Industry, Services and Hotels

Although the design of industrial plants does not play a privileged role among the American typologies presented in *BM*, it is the subject of some extremely positive articles. For example, in "General Electric Company Schenectady, New York. New Turbine Building"⁸⁶ the new plant designed by the Stone and Webster Engineering Corporation, is described as representative of the 'typical American industrial typology', developed on a single level and whose main features are: artificial lighting and air-conditioning systems, due the impossibility of having natural light and ventilation in such large spaces; parking lots for employees with a surface equal to that of the plant itself; administrative buildings placed in multiple-story buildings.

Saarinen's "General Motors Technical Center"⁸⁷ is instead described as a model of technical perfection on the one hand, and of great architectural quality on the other; while the article "Ausbesserungswerk für Eisenbahnwaggons in Louisiana"⁸⁸ praises the coverage of a wagon repair plant, considered the evolution of Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome.

On *BuW* the first article addressing a theme slightly related to industrial architecture is "Besuch in dem Aromstadt Oak Ridge"⁸⁹. The 'Oak Ridge atomic city' was built in 1942 as a secret settlement to accommodate the scientists and military experts working on the development of the atomic bomb and the article describes it in detail. Accessible from 1949, the site was still surveilled by the police in 1954, although it was completely updated with every service and facility (shops, restaurants, school, cinema, etc.), necessary to turn it into a 'normal' city. The atomic-related architecture is again addressed in 1959⁹⁰, when an article highlights the differences between nuclear plants in England (Hinkley Point, Calder Hall, Hunterston and Chapelcross)⁹¹ and in the USA (Dresden and Schippingport)⁹².

Concerning common industrial architecture, it is possible to find articles like "Produktionsgebäude der Sawyer Biscuit Company in Melrose Park, St. Louis"⁹³, which praises the S.O.M. fabric for the 'Horizontalfluß-System' with internal rails, used to move the product throughout the production phases within the factory.

Regarding services there are no articles related to the American world in *BM*, except for a single text, entitled "Neue Schulhausbauten in Amerika und Europa"⁹⁴, which proposes two models of school buildings, one in Geneva and one in the rural town of Clarksville (Albany, New York), presented as extremely different examples, but both considered to be valuable lessons for German architecture. In one case it is a professional institution of a large city, built according to a consolidated and traditional functional scheme; in the other, instead, a very small school presented as positive example because the commonly considered ideal solution

86. "General Electric Company Schenectady, New York. New Turbine Building", *BM*, Heft 9 (1955): 590-91.

87. "General Motors Technical Center", *BM*, Heft 2 (1957): 65-73.

88. "Ausbesserungswerk für Eisenbahnwaggons in Louisiana", *BM*, Heft 10 (1959): 632-634.

89. W. Peiner, "Besuch in dem Aromstadt Oak Ridge", *BuW*, Heft 7/8 (1954): 389-392.

90. Karl-Heinz Schelling, "Probleme der Energiewirtschaft", *BuW*, Heft 11 (1959): 607-610.

91. "Atomkraftwerke in England", *BuW*, Heft 11 (1959): 611-616.

92. "Atomkraftwerke in den USA", *BuW*, Heft 11 (1959): 617-620.

93. "Produktionsgebäude der Sawyer Biscuit Company in Melrose Park, St. Louis", *BuW*, Heft 11 (1958): 626-629.

94. "Neue Schulhausbauten in Amerika und Europa".

of having big South-East openings is here replaced by the use of small North-facing windows.

In *BuW*, on the contrary, there are many examples of American schools⁹⁵, but it is in the hospital typology that the United States really appear as a benchmark. In an issue entirely dedicated to hospitals⁹⁶, several American examples⁹⁷ are presented. The attempt is to delineate the peculiarities of health care institutions, as well as propose strategies for correct planning, taking into consideration the most diverse aspects, from the urban scale to the details of designing operating rooms. The article "Vergleich den Beleuchtungsstandards in Krankenhäusern"⁹⁸, for instance, compares the lighting standards of the different kind of hospitals' rooms in terms of lux, in America and in Germany. The article concludes that American standards are higher than German ones, highlighting the fact that the United States are not just taken into account as a term of comparison, but also represents an ideal to be followed. *BuW* also covers other kind of services, like museums⁹⁹ and airports¹⁰⁰, but no remarkable American feature is described in the articles.

Shifting to accommodation facilities, *BM* attention is given to the category of motels¹⁰¹, where the American model is considered the most advanced in terms of rooms aggregation schemes, distribution, pedestrian and car accesses, parking lots and rooms' design. Hotels, on the other hand, are only portrayed by a single design example, the "Hilton Hotel, Istanbul"¹⁰² by S.O.M., praised for its absolute modernity, which does not renounce the Turkish national roots, becoming a model of perfect balance between the two polarities.

BuW didn't publish any specific article on the features of American hotels, although it is possible to find some case studies¹⁰³ presented among others. Nevertheless, *BuW* is interested in the American model for a completely different typology: that of embassy buildings. The article "Von der Rapresentation des Staates"¹⁰⁴ introduces the general topic, but particular attention is given to US examples¹⁰⁵: the article "'New Look' diplomatischer Missionen der USA"¹⁰⁶ praise some new American buildings (Eero Saarinen in London and Gropius with TAC in Athen¹⁰⁷) as architectures that were inspired by the *genius loci*, but they didn't bend to it, maintaining their modern features.

News

Another interesting portrait of the United States emerges from the *Notizen und Nachrichten* section, composed by short announcements of few lines, placed at the end of each issue. Paradoxically, the attention on the United States in this section is much higher in *BM* than in *BuW*.

95. See *BuW*, Heft 12 (1957); Heft 1 (1961); Heft 9 (1962).

96. *BuW*, Heft 4 (1956).

97. Geogr Kohler, "Untersuchungen uber den Krankenhausbau", *BuW*, 4 (1956): 190-203. Hospital in Canton (New York) by S.O.M. and R. Cutler: 193; Hospital in Greenwich (Connecticut) by S.O.M., R. Cutler and G. Bunshaft: 194; Veteran's hospital in Brooklyn by S.O.M. and G. Bunshaft: 195; Mayo-Clinic in Rochester (Minnesota) by Ellerba & Co.: 199. Kaiser Foundation Medical Center in Walnut Creek, California By C. Mayhew, C. J. Sly, G. M. Simonson, W. L. Olds and S. R. Garfield.

98. "Vergleich den Beleuchtungsstandards in Krankenhauern", *BuW*, Heft 4 (1956): 216.

99. Philip Johnson, "Das neue Museum fur das Munson William Proctor Institute", *BuW*, Heft 6 (1958): 306-307.

100. "Der Internationale Flughafen Idlewild Bei New York", *BuW*, Heft 2 (1962): 88-90.

101. "Motels", *BM*, Heft 4 (1957): 41-48.

102. "Hilton Hotel, Istanbul", *BM*, Heft 8 (1956): 535-541.

103. Ludwig Schweisheimer, "Luxus Hotelbauten in Miami", *BuW*, Heft 9 (1960): 520.

104. Hartmut Rebitzki, "Von der Rapresentation des Staates", *BuW*, Heft 6 (1959): 303-307.

105. US Embassy in Accra (Ghana) by Harry Weese & Associates, US Embassy in New Dehli by Edward Durrell Stone and US Embassy in Karachi (Pakistan) by Richard Neutra.

106. "'New Look' diplomatischer Missionen der USA", *BuW*, Heft 6 (1959): 313-322.

107. previously published in *BuW*, Heft 12 (1957).

The news deal with a huge variety of different topics, as showed in the examples below. For instance “Amerikanische Versandwohnhäuser zum Selbstbauen”¹⁰⁸, literally ‘American shipped-houses for self-construction’, addresses the theme of prefabrication: thanks to the Superior Homes company, with 2500 dollars it is possible to receive the material necessary to build a five-room wooden house and, with the addition of only 50 cents, a manual with the plans of 21 houses and 38 room combinations. A sarcastic editorial comment follows: “Peferct! Finally, here we are! The money to pay the architect will now be spared; because for 25 cents he could never deliver 38 combinations of houses.”

108. “Amerikanische Versandwohnhäuser zum Selbstbauen”, *BM*, Heft 8 (1950): 543.

It is also possible to find a series of announcement addressing the theme of Americanization, such as: “Amerikanische Gelder für Flüchtlingswohnungsbau”¹⁰⁹, which notifies the allocation of funds from the Ford foundation for the construction of housing for refugees from the Soviet occupation zone; and “Bauhilfe durch das amerikanische Flüchtlingshilfsprogramm”¹¹⁰, in which it is stated that 300 thousand dollars have already been allocated to provide shelter to the refugees from East Germany and that the American Foreign Aid Office (Amerikanische Amt für Auslandshilfe) will provide additional 380 million Marks for direct and indirect support measures.

109. “Amerikanische Gelder für Flüchtlingswohnungsbau”, *BM*, Heft 3 (1953): 194.

110. “Bauhilfe durch das amerikanische Flüchtlingshilfsprogramm”, *BM*, Heft 5 (1955): 326.

Another common kind of announcements regards study journeys to the United States: for instance, “Studienreise nach dem USA”¹¹¹, which indicates that the Office for International Professional and Study Travels of Tübingen (Büro für internationale Fach- und Studienreisen) organizes for the third time a trip to the United States for architects and engineers, aimed at visiting the most important buildings of modern American architecture, as well as four leading universities; moreover, while visiting different construction sites, it will be possible to gather information on the construction technologies adopted in the United States. The same office published a full-page announcement on *BuW* as well.¹¹²

111. “Studienreise nach dem USA”, *BM*, Heft 8 (1955): 548.

112. “Studienreise”, *BuW*, Heft 9 (1954): 579.

One of the most widely spread kind of announcements are on the achievement of records. For example, “Das höchste Gebäude der Welt”¹¹³, where it is proclaimed that the tallest building of the world, the Empire State Building, will be replaced by a 486 meters high 80-story tower, built by the New York Central Railway System Society; or “Den nördlichste Hotel der Erde”¹¹⁴, which declares that the northernmost hotel on earth will be built by the Danish state in Søndre Stømfjord, on the West Coast of Greenland, as an airport stopover on the airline connecting Copenhagen to Los Angeles; and “Ein neues Höchsthaus”¹¹⁵, stating that in the city of St. Louis, whose tallest buildings are of maximum five stories, a tower of 120 floors with 18 floors of underground garage will be built at an estimate price of 200 thousand dollars.

113. “Das höchste Gebäude der Welt”, *BM*, Heft 11 (1954): 751.

114. “Den nördlichste Hotel der Erde”, *BM*, Heft 11 (1954): 750.

115. “Ein neues Höchsthaus”, *BM*, Heft 6 (1956): 426.

Finally, it is not rare to find different kinds of announcements strictly related to architecture, for instance “Amerikanische Bauprojekte”¹¹⁶, which reports a list of a great American building sites: the construction, in Boston, of a Motel and Hotel with the largest underground car park in the world; the demolition of the “Chinese Wall of Philadelphia”, a “horrible elevated railway”, in order to build a Penn Center, with shops and hotel rooms for the worth of 100 million dollars; the construction, in New York, of two new skyscrapers facing Central Park; and the construction of two new neighborhoods in Washington and Chicago.

Most of the news clearly reflects the topics analyzed above, like “Amerika baut gläserne Schulen”¹¹⁷ which informs of the construction of a school with entirely glazed classrooms in New Orleans; or “Auch in USA: Vermehrtes Interesse am Ziegelbau”¹¹⁸, which illustrates that even in America, as in the Federal Republic of Germany, the number of brick buildings is growing, as demonstrated by the 30% increase in their production in the first half of 1950, compared to the previous year; and “Baustatistik in the USA”¹¹⁹, which reveals that 10 million housing units have been built since the end of the war in the United States, housing 35-40 million people and employing one million workers. On the same topic “Amerikanischer Wohnungsbau”¹²⁰ states that 1.35 million housing units were built in 1959, according to a survey conducted by interviewing entrepreneurs from 35 different countries: this growth in the residential sector is to be explained as a result of the economic boom and of the ease in obtaining mortgages. Likewise, the following announcement, entitled “In den USA”, affirms that the 60% of American families live in single-family homes, whereas in 1940 only the 43% could afford it.

Conclusions

The image of the United States that emerges from the study of *BM* mirrors the editorial slant, showing a certain aversion against the modernist aesthetic. However, even this journal could not avoid participating in the debate on US models, which certainly represents one of the essential themes in the early years of the Cold War. Despite the general propension to highlight the critical features of the examined aspects, there is no lack of texts with an informative tone, when not even enthusiastic. The major criticisms are on the ineffectiveness of traffic management, the diffusion of a consumer culture and the sacrifice of the architectural quality in favor of an excessive prefabrication, especially in housing. The organization of American architectural bureaus, instead, is perceived as a positive model, although, in some cases, an excessive technicization is brought into question.

On the other hand, *BuW* offered a much closer and variegated look on US architecture, without presenting it neither as a model, nor as

116. “Amerikanische Bauprojekte”, *BM*, Heft 7 (1954): 471.

117. “Amerika baut gläserne Schulen”, *BM*, Heft 2 (1959): 111.

118. “Auch in USA: Vermehrtes Interesse am Ziegelbau”, *BM*, Heft 11 (1950): 754.

119. “Baustatistik in the USA”, *BM*, Heft 9 (1955): 710.

120. “Amerikanischer Wohnungsbau”, *BM*, Heft 11 (1959): 752.

something to reject: this journal gave space to multiple visions and always sustained the importance of confrontations, instead of following a pre-fixed idea or imposing a univocal position.

In both journals, however, it is possible to detect a major attention to certain typologies, which emerged as specifically representative of the American architecture: the skyscraper and the shopping mall are on the top of the list, but housing is also a highly investigated topic. Industrial buildings, hospitals and schools have been deeply explored as well, while other kinds of facilities are just sporadically addressed. Aluminum and structural steel are confirmed to be the most emblematic materials of the contemporary American context.

The awareness of the cultural debt that the American architectural culture owes to European models emerges in various texts in both journals, however they acknowledge the development of a technical advancement and of a new formal language, directly ascribable to the United States.

Although starting from the same premises, *BM* constantly stresses out a trait of 'otherness' and clear distinction between the architectural imaginaries of the two shores of the Atlantic: America is considered as a remote and foreign entity. In addition, the tendency to express personal opinions rather than attempting to provide an objective and complete description, can be considered as a sort of declaration of intents, intentionally and directly aimed to contrast the penetration of American models. In this sense, *BM* is extremely refractory to the phenomenon of Americanism, which is openly discussed in some articles¹²¹. Rare to be found are the traces of Americanization, just mentioned in the announcements section.

121. See note 14 of the present article.

BuW, on the other hand, reveals a profoundly different attitude, in which is possible to detect some traces of the rising global culture. The America of this journal is much closer to Europe. Since the early Fifties it is possible to notice an attitude of openness and curiosity towards the United States, that are even physically 'closer'¹²², thanks to the great strides of the transportation industry. Emblematical on this regard is the fact that in *BuW* monographic issues on a certain topic the American examples are often present in an equivalent number to the ones of other European Countries.

122. This perception is clearly expressed in "Die Kleine Welt", see note 12 of the present article.

In conclusion, despite the different attitudes of the two journals, it is possible to identify an undeniable penetration of the United States in the German architectural debate of the Fifties. Either if considered as an influential model or a neutral term of comparison, or even a threat to fight, overseas architecture actually played a crucial role in the most heterogeneous architectural circles of the post-war Germany.

Spanish Post-War Architecture in Portuguese Magazines (1946 – 1970) – the cases of *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas)* and *Arquitectura*

Paulo Tormenta Pinto

University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE-IUL) and DINAMIA-CET,
Lisbon, Portugal
paulo.tormenta@iscte-iul.pt

Alexandra Saraiva

University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE-IUL) and DINAMIA-CET,
Lisbon, Portugal
saraivaalexandra@gmail.com

João Paulo Delgado

University of Porto Faculty of Architecture (FAUP),
Centre for Studies in Architecture
jpdelgadoarq@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The article deals with the publication of Spanish architecture in Portuguese mass-media during the post-war period. By focusing on two major titles, i.e. the *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação Reunidas* and the *Arquitectura* magazines, the article traces the architectural, cultural, and political ties, but also the shifts, between the two Iberian countries, in a period that spans from the upsurge of the Spanish Civil War to the outbreak of the 1970s. In other words: from the raise of Franco to the death of Salazar. The article shows that, as early as January 1946, the new Spanish architecture was considered by Portuguese architectural magazines as a relevant subject, namely by the publication of the works authored by the Coderch and Valls team. Cumulatively, the article argues that this importance was linked to the long-lasting and well-documented relationship between Portuguese publishers and the Italian *Domus* magazine, made through the patronage of Italian architect Gio Ponti.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9835>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Paulo Tormenta, Alexandra Saraiva, João Paulo Delgado



KEYWORDS:

Architectural media coverage, Spanish post-war architecture, Portuguese post-war architecture, Portuguese architectural magazines

Paulo Tormenta Pinto was born in Lisbon, Portugal in 1970. Graduated in Architecture from the University Lusíada of Lisbon in 1993. Master's degree through the 'La Cultura de Metropolis' program at the Polytechnic University of Catalonia, in 1996. PhD from the Polytechnic University of Catalonia concluded in 2004. An FCT grant recipient for postdoctoral research at ISCTE-University Institute of Lisbon 2010-2013. Full Professor at the Department of Architecture and Urbanism, ISCTE-University Institute of Lisbon since 2017. President of the Department of Architecture and Urbanism, 2007-2010. Director of the PhD program between 2011-2017. Director of the Integrated Master's Degree, between 2017-2019. Research fellow at DINÂMIA'CET-IUL, since 2010. He integrates the research team of project "The Spanish Architecture in the International Media – Publications, Expositions, Congresses (Frist part: 1940-1975)", coordinated by Antonio Pizza de Nanno. As an architect, he has been a partner at the architectural firm Domitianus-arquitectura Lda since 2005. His work has been distinguished several times, receiving the INH Award 2002; IHRU Award 2012; and the Teotónio Pereira Award 2016.

Alexandra Saraiva was born in Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal, in 1972. Architect (1995) and Master of Architecture (2008) by Universidade Lusíada Porto. PhD in Architecture from University of Coruña (2011). Professor at Universidade Lusíada Porto, since 1996. Master's thesis adviser in architecture. Researcher (2007-2015) at the Territory, Architecture and Design Research Centre (CITAD), with published articles in international conferences context. In 2015 integrates DINÂMIA'CET-IUL from ISCTE, as post-doctoral researcher, with FCT Post-Doctoral Grant (SFRH/BPD/111869/2015), under the supervision of Prof. Paulo Tormenta Pinto, for the investigation development of "The monumentality revisited - Hestnes Ferreira, between intemporality European and North American classicism (1960-1974)".

João Paulo Delgado was born in Angola, in 1963. He is an architect graduated from the Lisbon School of Architecture (FAUTL) in 1986, with a Master's degree in Contemporary Architectural Culture from the same school, obtained in 1998. Gained his PhD degree in Architecture at the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE-IUL) in 2015. Lectured at the Porto Lusíada University School of Architecture from 1991 to 2014, holding both design seminars and lecture-based classes in architectural and urban design, regional and town planning, and building technology. Currently, he is Assistant Professor at the Universidade da Beira Interior's Department of Civil Engineering and Architecture, and FCT grant recipient for a postdoctoral research project at the Porto Architectural School Research Centre (CEAU/FAUP), where he is Associate Researcher.

Introduction

This article aims at presenting and debating the Spanish architecture disclosure in Portuguese magazines in the period following the Second World War. This period was marked in Spain by a new anthropological awareness, probing the limits of the Modern Movement, and thus planting the seeds of a fresh theoretical crop. In the late 1940s, Spanish architects turned to Mediterranean culture and identity to find their main sources and subjects. The Spanish Pavilion for the 1951 Triennale of Milan, commissioned to José Antonio Coderch by Gio Ponti, may be considered as a key moment in the process of revealing to international audiences the potentialities of that ‘uncontaminated’ environment, and of presenting it as the foundation of a resilient new architecture, one that was able to persist beyond the *zeitgeist*.

The 3rd series of the magazine *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas)*, henceforth referred as *APCER*, and the third series of the magazine *Arquitectura* are here used as cases studies to understand the process of penetration of this new approach in Portugal. *APCER* was published between 1935 and 1952, covering the begging of Portuguese dictatorship and the period around World War II. Its editorial line can be defined by a conservative interest in Portuguese production, having Italy as a major international reference, contrasting with the lack of curiosity from what was happening in Spain¹. *Arquitectura* magazine, published from 1957 to 1974, mirrored a new era of rapprochement between the two Iberian countries, based on a fruitful sharing of experiences, counting with the proximity between Nuno Portas, Oriol Bohigas, Carlos de Miguel and Carlos Flores as its main asset.

The Spanish architecture influence in the Portuguese context is an issue that remains open, especially in the years following the Second World War II. On the opposed side, the scenario is different. The reputation of some Portuguese figures in Spain, has been study in academic works, such as in the thesis of Nuno Correia, Tiago Lopes Dias and Joaquim Moreno, among others. Correia² adresses the importance of the Pequenos Congressos de Arquitetura (Small Congresses of Architecture), to reveal internationally the Portuguese Production. Lopes Dias³, studied the relations between Nuno Portas and the Spanish reality of the 1990s and the importance of his contacts to built his theoretical approach on architecture. Moreno studied the periodical *Arquitecturas Bis*⁴, addressing the magazine’s interest by figures as Siza Vieira. In this sense this article aims at contributing to clarify exchanges between Spain and Portugal, gathering data that allow to explore the idea of a common ideological agenda involving Iberic architects, in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

This article has two parts – the first debates *APCER* magazine in its two stages. The first stage encompasses the beginning of the Spanish

1. Paulo Tormenta Pinto, “Portuguese Architecture and Ceramics and Edification (Reunited) – 1935-1945. Discourse and Ideology, the case of the Spanish Civil War”, in *VIII International Congress of the History of Modern Spanish Architecture – Architectural magazines (1900-1975): Chronicles, manifestos, propaganda*, ed. José Manuel Pozo (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2012), 311-318.

2. Nuno Correia, “O Nome dos Pequenos Congressos – A Primeira Geração de Encontros em Espanha 1959-1967 e o Pequeno Congresso de Portugal” (Master’s thesis, Univeritat Politècnica de Catalunya, 2010).

3. Tiago Lopes Dias, “Teoria e desenho da arquitectura em Portugal, 1956-1974: Nuno Portas e Pedro Vieira de Almeida” (PhD thesis, UPC, Departament de Teoria i Història de l’Arquitectura i Tècniques de Comunicació, 2017).

4. Joaquim Moreno, “Arquitecturas Bis (1974-1985): From Publication to Public Action” (PhD thesis, Princeton University 2011).

Civil War and the end of World War II, a phase that, at first sight, seems to fall out of the time range of the study. Nevertheless, it is crucial to understand this moment, in order to identify the reasons behind the gap that separated Portugal from Spain, and, above all, to fully grasp the connections between *APCER* and Gio Ponti. This linkage, as the second stage of this part shows, would be instrumental in the dissemination of the work of Coderch and Valls, occurred in the next phase of the magazine. The second part presents and discusses the importance of the *Arquitectura* magazine, linking it with the influence of the 'Pequeños Congresos de Arquitectura'.

Even though the subject does not concern the scope of this article, it has to be emphasized that this period corresponded to a reciprocal interest of Spanish architects towards Portugal, particularly in the case of Álvaro Siza and his first projects. Thus, for instance, these were published in the *Hogar y Arquitectura* magazine, from Madrid, directed by Carlos Flores, in its January/February 1967 issue⁵. The piece was complemented with critical analysis to Siza's work, by Pedro Vieira de Almeida, and with an article covering the newest generation of Portuguese architects, by Nuno Portas.

5. Carlos Flores, "La obra de Álvaro Siza Vieira", *Hogar y arquitectura: revista bimestral de la obra sindical del hogar* 68 (January/February 1967): 34.

APCER magazine – the difference between covering Italian and Spanish architecture (1936-1946)

As the name suggests, *APCER* resulted from the fusion, occurred in 1935, of two former publications, *Arquitectura Portuguesa* (*Portuguese Architecture*) and *Cerâmica e Edificação* (*Ceramics and Edification*). The magazine was one of the few architectural publications in Portugal that strived to cover Portuguese architectural and industrial production on the threshold of the Estado Novo regime. One year after the merger and corresponding with issue 13-14 of April-May 1936, the playwright Thomaz Ribeiro Colaço (1899-1965) and the industrial ceramist Júlio Martins became joint editors of the magazine. They both found there the ideal forum to present and to deepen their respective positions, thus consolidating a cycle that would last for a decade. They used *APCER* articles and editorials as an opportunity and a platform for their respective personal agendas: while Martins kept focus in his industrial 'empire',⁶ Colaço used *APCER* as a political podium to express his conservative, nationalistic bias. Colaço's journalistic talent, together with his social and family background and literary sharpness, contributed to the prominent position he took in the magazine.

6. Paulo Tormenta Pinto and João Paulo Delgado, "Technological changes and architecture: the case of *APCER* magazine, Portugal 1935-45" in *Structures and Architecture: Concepts, Applications and Challenges*, ed. Paulo J. S. Cruz (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 1359-1366.

Colaço was a stern supporter of the far-right National-Syndicalist Movement, whose members, known as the Blue Shirts, deemed Salazar as too moderate and dull. The movement, created in Lisbon in 1932 by a group of students, was inspired by the successes of Mussolini, his Italian fascists, and their black shirt uniform. Regardless of the differences in

tone and grade, Mussolini and his Italian fascism were also an important inspiration for the Portuguese Estado Novo⁷. These circumstances may explain why there was in Portugal a leaning towards Italy that did not correspond to a similar orientation towards Spain. Despite the geographical proximity, there was a marked cultural and political distance between the two Iberian countries. The detachment may be traced to a historical mistrust following the Restoration in 1640, which was considered by most Portuguese as the last epic moment of affirmation against their peninsular counterparts. It was also due to an ambiguous stance regarding the Spanish Republican regime, led by Manuel Azaña since 1931, and to the Spanish Civil War, ignited on July 17, 1936⁸.

In August 1936, immediately after the *Pronunciamento*, Colaço used the pages of *APCER* to debate the situation in Spain, marking the first time this happened in the magazine. In an editorial entitled 'O Delírio Espanhol' (The Spanish Delirium), Colaço addressed the outbreak of the Spanish conflict, with the provision that 'the pages of this magazine [were certainly not] the appropriate setting to comment extensively on what was happening in Spain', although the subject had assumed 'such proportions that to a greater or lesser degree [it would reach] all fronts', even architecture itself. For Colaço, 'the teaching of eight centuries' of history could hardly allow the Portuguese to be encouraged to join in 'one voice, [and] to fully [share] a vital interest for Spanish nationalism.' However, this was not the issue at stake, but rather 'an internationalism of the Left.' Colaço believed that the problem was rooted in the concept of internationalism and what the idealistic implementation of the Left could mean. Contrary to the opinion of the ultra-conservative factions, to which he belonged, Colaço argued perversely and provocatively that a leftist regime would fragment and weaken the Spanish society. This situation 'opened immense and unique possibilities and horizons' for the Portuguese Empire to hypothetically extend its borders within the Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, he claimed, 'before a powerful, orderly and strong Spain (like the one many Portuguese nationalists [desired]...), stronger barriers would inevitably [be encountered]' to the redefinition of the European map to Portugal's advantage⁹. [Fig. 1]

At some extent, this twisted ambiguity may also explain the contrast between the scarcity of Spanish projects published in the pages of *APCER* during this phase, on the one hand, and the abundance of Italian ones, on the other. From August 1937 until January 1945 the magazine would print twenty-five different articles regarding Italian architecture, which means an average of just above three articles per year. The case of Gio Ponti requires a detailed examination, as no other Italian architect was so widely published by *APCER*. Seven of its issues featured four Ponti's projects. The Montecatini Office Building alone was systematically and thoroughly published in four consecutive 1939 issues, from April until July,

7. António Costa Pinto, *The Blue Shirts. Portuguese Fascists and the New State* (New York: SSM-Columbia University Press, 2000).

8. Paulo Tormenta Pinto and João Paulo Delgado, "The Inspiration from the South of Europe in the 3rd series of the magazine *The Portuguese Architecture and Ceramics and Edification (Reunited) – 1935-1951*", in *10th International Congress on the History of Modern Spanish Architecture: Imported and Exported Architecture in Spain and Portugal (1925-1975)*, ed. by José Manuel Pozo (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2016), 535-542.

9. Thomaz Ribeiro Colaço, "O Delírio Espanhol," *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas) (APCER)* 17 (August 1936): 5-6.



FIG. 1 Thomaz Ribeiro Colaço. "O Delírio Espanhol." APCER 17 (August, 1936): 5-6.

amounting to a total of seventeen pages¹⁰. The tone of these articles was enthusiastic and laudatory, and 'boldness' and 'grandeur' were the most common adjectives used to depict the building. Moreover, APCER editors frequently underlined their close connection to Ponti. In the first issue dedicated to Montecatini, they felt they had to 'express the gratitude for the honor from which [Ponti] distinguished [them], by offering his worthy collaboration to pages of [their] magazine'¹¹.

After World War II, a new discourse arose in Portugal and, consequently, in APCER. Salazar skillfully managed to present his régime as a longtime adversary of the communist ideology, turning the Estado Novo into an important asset for the Western powers. As for the magazine, Colaço's resignation as director initiated a new period, strengthened by a team reformulation made in 1945. During this period, extended from January 1946 until June 1951, and although, in a limited way, Spanish architectural magazines gained a place as foundation for APCER articles. Concerning the use of *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, the projects designed by the Coderch and Valls team deserve here one major reference. APCER was the first to publish them in Portugal, starting in January 1946, with the Mountain Retreat in Puerto de Navacerrada. One year later, in February 1947, APCER published the neighborhood 'Las Forcas' in Sitges, usually considered as the team's earlier masterpiece. Coderch and Valls interest in popular architecture were visible in both projects, and this concern may be seen as a turning point in the direction taken by Spanish architecture, closely linked with similar tendencies in Europe, namely in Italy. The well-documented relationship between José Antonio Coderch and Gio Ponti may explain the introduction of the Spanish architect's work in the pages of APCER. [Fig. 2]



- 10. "Palácio Montecatini," *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas) (APCER) 49 (April 1939): 130-133*; "Palácio Montecatini," *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas) (APCER) 50 (May 1939): 158-162*; "Palácio Montecatini," *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas) (APCER) 51 (June 1939): 202-205*; "Palácio Montecatini," *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas) (APCER) 52 (July 1939): 237-240*.
- 11. "Palácio Montecatini," *A Arquitectura Portuguesa & Cerâmica e Edificação (Reunidas) (APCER) 49: 130-133*.

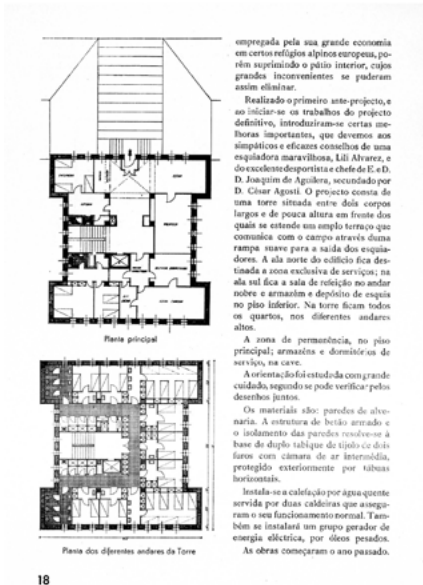
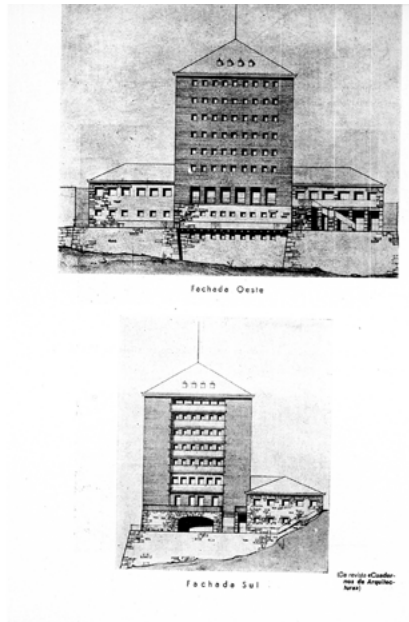


FIG. 2 I.J.A. Coderch. "Refúgio de Montanha." APCER 130 (January, 1946): 5-18.

In February 1946, APCER also used *Cuadernos de Arquitectura* as its source for reproducing the four projects selected in the competition for renovation and extension of the Barcelona Province Official Council of Urban Propriety. Manuel de Solà-Morales i Roselló deserved the first prize. The other recipients were as follows: Santiago Casulleras, second prize; Juan Montero, Luis M. Escolá, and Joaquim G. de Alcañiz, third prize; Ramon M. Aragó and Roberto Terradas Via, fourth prize. From *Obras Públicas*, APCER extracted a piece from 'Road Aid Stations.' Signed by the engineer José Marin Toyos, the article tried to prove the importance of those stations for drivers, mainly in places withdrawn from urban settlements. Those facilities based their stylistic features on the use of traditional materials and were intended to provide shelter and medical support for travelers.

Table I lists the Spanish projects published by APCER

Y	M	I	Featured Spanish Arch.	Project / Place	S
1946	1	130	Coderch and Valls	Mountain Retreat / Puerto de Navacerrada	CA
1946	2	131	Manuel de Solà-Morales i Roselló	Competition for the Renovation and Extension of the Barcelona Province Official Council of Urban Propriety:1 st	CA
1946	2	131	Santiago Casulleras	Competition for the Renovation and Extension of the Barcelona Province Official Council of Urban Propriety:2 nd	CA
1946	2	131	Juan Montero, Luis M. Escolá, Joaquim G. de Alcañiz	Competition for the Renovation and Extension of the Barcelona Province Official Council of Urban Propriety: 3 rd	CA
1946	2	131	Ramon M. Aragón, Roberto Terradas Via	Competition for the Renovation and Extension of the Barcelona Province Official Council of Urban Propriety: 4 th	CA
1946	7	136	José Marin Toyos, (Road Eng.)	Road Aid stations	OP
1947	2	143	Coderch and Valls	Houses neighborhood / Sitges	CA

TAB. 1 Spanish architects and projects featured by *APCER* – 1946-1951. Y: Year of publication; M: Month of publication; I: Issue. S: Stated sources: CA – Cuadernos de Arquitectura; OP - Obras Publicas.

Arquitectura magazine – ‘Los Pequeños Congresos de Arquitectura’ and the sense of realism (1961-1970)

After the *APCER* publication of the neighborhood ‘Las Forcas’ in Sitges, by Coderch and Valls, there was an almost total absence of Spanish architecture dissemination in Portugal for thirteen years. This hiatus would persist until 1960 and 1961 when César Ortiz-Echagüe and Rafael Echaide published their respective articles in the *Binário* magazine. Due to the importance of these publications, they deserve here a short reference.

Following the first ‘Pequeño Congreso de Arquitectura’ held in Madrid between the 14th and the 16th of November, 1959, César Ortiz-Echagüe published, in the October 1960 issue of *Binário* magazine, a lengthy article entitled ‘40 anos de Arquitectura Espanhola’ (40 years of Spanish Architecture). Here, Ortiz-Echagüe presented a ‘new architecture’ made by an ‘orphan new generation,’ one that was challenged to overpass the misconceptions of nationalism by improving the interrupted experiences of the GATEPAC. In April 1961 Rafael Echaide would continue the subject in the 31st issue of the same magazine, by publishing a set of recently built projects aligned with the new experiences. The first was the refectory of Seat Factory, by the Ortiz-Echagüe, Barbero, and Joya team. The Barcelona Law School building, by López Iñigo, Giráldez and Subias, was the second. Martorell and Bohigas presented a group of Social Houses.

Coderch and Valls presented three projects, namely the the Catasús House, the El Prat Golf Club, and the Torre Valentina. Next, was the Housing Block in Vista Alegre, by Peña Ganchequi. The Dominican Church of Vitoria, by Miguel Fissac, ended the list.

Both articles presented the 'orphan generation' as one that had to deal with the post-War scarcity, greatly amplified by the traumas of the internal conflict and the brutality that arose from it. The members of this generation used the Mediterranean vernacular culture, marked by an 'architecture without architects,' as a source of inspiration to rebuild the Spanish territory. Above all: to reconstruct the Spanish society, through a sense of self-identity and recognition. This pragmatic awareness allowed the definition of a renovated map, relating a new sense of realism with the experiences of Wright, Le Corbusier, Mies, and Gropius.

The maturity of the 'orphan generation' found fertile ground in Portugal. Although the Portuguese territory had not been recently destroyed by any form of modern warfare, the Spanish approach enticed a conceptual renovation amongst the Portuguese architects, recently emerged from their 1st National Congress held in 1948. The event marked the moment when the principles of the Athens Chart were openly debated in Portugal. Moreover, it signaled the beginning of an important nationwide Survey of Popular Architecture, later developed between 1955 until 1961. The Spanish approach also exposed the poverty of both Iberian countries, challenging Portuguese architects to address their social mission. From the late 1960s, this would be the humus for active opposition to Salazar and his Estado Novo regime. Hence, the Portuguese curiosity towards the neighboring country and its architecture lead to the publication, in the pages of the 3rd series of the *Arquitectura* magazine (1957-1974), of an extensive set of issues dedicated to Spain. In the core of this long process of dissemination, extended from 1961 and 1970, was the aforementioned 'Pequeños Congresos de Arquitectura.' These events, held between November of 1959 and October of 1968, were a valuable vehicle to gather the architects from the Iberian Peninsula. As Oriol Bohigas wrote to Carlos de Miguel in 16th September 1959¹², there was at that time an unacceptable gap between the architects from Madrid, on one side, and

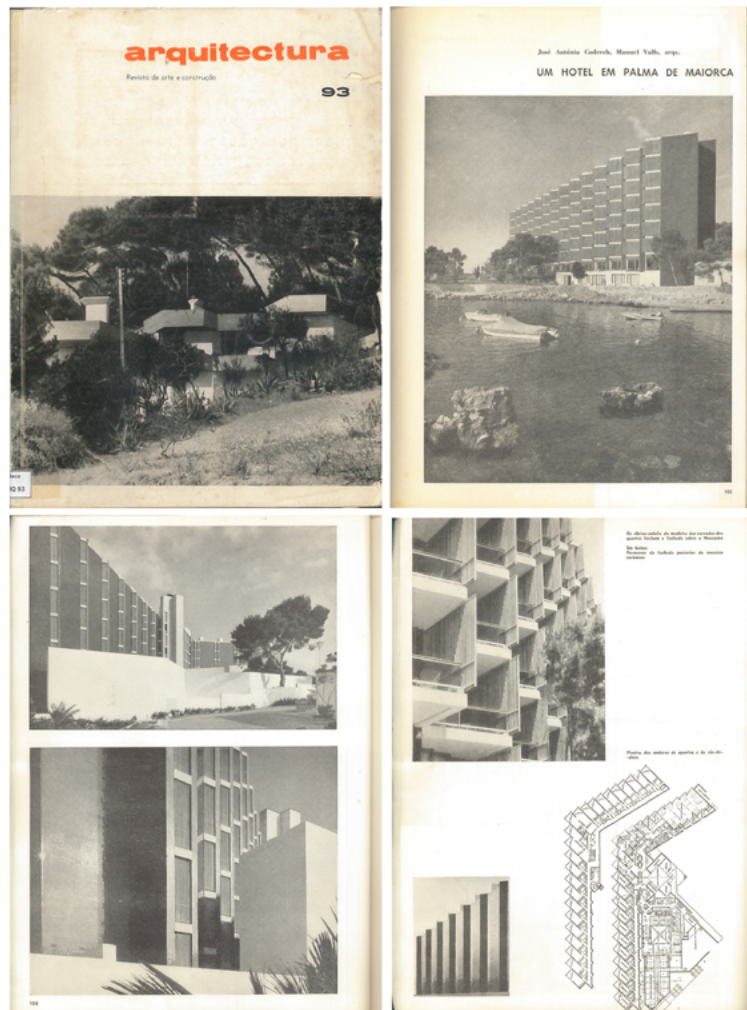


FIG. 3 J.A. Coderch, M. Valls. "Um hotel em Palma de Maiorca." *Arquitectura* 93 (May/June 1966): 105-107..

12. Correia "O Nome dos Pequenos Congressos – A Primeira Geração de Encontros em Espanha 1959-1967 e o Pequeno Congresso de Portugal", 6.

from Barcelona, on the other. The network extension to Portugal was also a goal, and the first attempt of contact was made as early as August 1961, thru José Aleixo França. However, the definitive linkage was only established in April 1967, when Bohigas invited two Portuguese architects to join the congress of Tarragona, in May of the same year.¹³ One was Eduardo Anahory, probably following the publication, by *Domus* Magazine, of his project for a house in Arrábida. The other was Nuno Portas, who would become in charge of organizing a meeting in Portugal, later held in Tomar, in December 1967.¹⁴

The importance of Nuno Portas must be underlined. He integrated the directive commissions of the *Arquitetura* magazine, first led by Frederico Sant'Ana (1957-1960) and then by Rui Mendes Paula (1960-1969). Portas may be seen as the main figure of the magazine, where he continuously enhanced the importance of Spanish architecture by exposing its masters to Portuguese audiences. The dissemination started in December 1961, when the *Arquitetura* magazine launched an issue dedicated almost entirely to the Coderch and Valls team, publishing the dwelling buildings in Barceloneta and Calle Compositor Bach, as well as the Ugalde House in Caldetas and the Camprodón in Girona. According to Portas, Cordech's work represented the recognition of modern formal principles, where the unrepeatable originality of each work became a model. In 1956, Coderch had built his own holiday Senillosa house in Cadaqués, Girona, as a prototype to test his principles of anonymous architecture, aligned in his text 'No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora,' (It is not geniuses what we need now). The text was also published by *Arquitetura*, as a translation from the original presented by *Domus* magazine, in November 1961.

The Coderch and Valls team would be published again in the May/June 1966 issue, with the presentation of a hotel in Palma de Mallorca. The unexploited Mediterranean environment, used as the foundation of the realism pronounced by the 'orphan' generation, was also the portrait of Spanish tourism development. The houses by Coderch and Valls published in *Arquitetura* represented this possibility of escaping from the city, reinforcing the proximity to the vernacular culture and to ancient knowledge that should be the base of the new architecture. [Fig. 3]



FIG. 4 S. Oiza. "Duas obras de Saénz de Oíza, Torres Blancas, Apartamentos em Terraço." *Arquitetura* 95 (January/February, 1967): 1-3...

13. Nuno Portas, "Congresso em Tarragona," *Arquitetura* 96 (1967): 88-89.

14. Carlos Duarte, "Tomar. Nova Perspectiva," *Arquitetura* 99 (1967): 189; "Arquitetos Portugueses e Espanhóis Reunidos em Tomar Discutiram Problemas Urbanísticos e Habitacionais," *Século Ilustrado* (1967): 1565.

Another landmark of the dissemination process was issue 107 of January/February 1969¹⁵, opened with and an editorial written by Nuno Portas and Rafael Moneo about the so-called school of Barcelona. The issue returned to the tourism development theme, and is almost entirely dedicated to the presentation of projects in the Catalan coast, such as dwellings in Punta Brava, by Bonet (Studio Per), and in Castelldefels, by Domènech, Puig and Sabater, and the Fonts and Bayes houses, by Cantalops. The Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay team also published their projects for Costa de la Calma and Santa Agueda. This issue also integrated an article by Federico Correa where he reflected about the garden city and an article signed by Manuel de Solà-Morales i Roselló and Lluís Cantalops about the Barcelona region coast.

Although there was a marked prominence of Barcelona and Catalonia in the pages of *Arquitectura*, other architects and territories were addressed. In May/June 1965, issue 88 printed two proposals for the Euro-Kur-saal competition in San Sebastian. Sáenz de Oiza was published in January/February 1967, with his Torres Blancas project and a typology of dwellings in a terrace. Social Housing Pio XII, in Segóvia, by Arancil, Suárez-Inclán and Viloria García, was published in March/April 1968. In May/June of the same year, the square to Sanfermino and the Diestre Factory in Zaragoza, by Rafael Moneo, were also published. [Fig. 4-5]

In May/June of 1970, the 3rd series of the *Arquitectura* magazine dedicated one last issue to Spain, marking a turning point in the critical approach regarding the neighboring country. A somber tone marked the pages of the issue, filled with photographs of gloomy low-cost housing blocks. The opening piece, written by Ramon Maria Puig, summarized this general feeling, by exposing a wave of Spanish buildings that he considered as part of a 'pessimistic under-architecture.' An article signed by Lluís Domènech and Cristian Cirici addressed the same subject, focusing in the specific case of Barcelona. A few pages further, Oriol Bohigas revealed the reverse side of the matter, referring to the complex issue of the 'houses for the rich.'

In almost the same line, but under a different view, three articles presented the new Barcelona airport. They all were graphically connected



FIG. 5 R. Moneo. "Fábrica de Transformadores «Diester», Saragoça." *Arquitectura* 103 (May/June 1968); 105-107.

15. Cristina Emília and Gonçalo Furtado, "Ideias da Arquitectura Portuguesa em Viagem," *Joelho* 3 (Coimbra: UC, 2012) http://dx.doi.org/10.14195/1647-8681_3_16

thru the illustrations, which, in a cartoonish style, combined images of modern discomfort with words such as ‘completely depressed’ and ‘liberal.’ Departing from Umberto Eco and his essays, Lluís Clotet did not shy away from labeling the new facilities as an ‘airport “al Kitsch”.’ As for Cristian Cirici and Albert Ràfols-Casamada, they portrayed the airport’s combination of ‘modern’, ‘hi-tec’ and ‘traditional’ elements as a gather of ‘symbols’ of sheer ‘improvisation from touristic Spain’. Accordingly, Pep Bonet and Lluís Domènech wrote about how the Barcelona airport could have been – but was not – an important link between the city, the region, and the world.

A text signed by Òscar Tusquets concluded this group of articles. Tusquets contemplated the possibility, or the impossibility, of bringing ‘imagination to power’ and ‘power to the imagination.’ This duality marks a bitter understanding of the on-going situation in Spain, during the phase of economic liberalization promoted, at that time, by the Francoist regime. In its own way, Spain was already facing the schizophrenic situation typical of late-Capitalist societies, as detected by Deleuze and Guattari (1972) in the aftermath of the May 1968 events.

For the Portuguese readers, the articles served as a cautionary tale for the material consequences of the economic acceleration occurred in the last years of dictatorship, particularly in the cycle led by Marcelo Caetano as Salazar’s successor. Between 1968 and 1974, the colonial war economy and an openness to foreign investment created a suitable environment for a sudden increase in the building industry in Portugal, namely in the areas of housing, tourism development, and infrastructure.

Table I lists the Spanish projects published by *Arquitectura*.

Y	M	I	Featured Spanish Arch.	Article Title	Article Author	Observations
1961	7	71	--	Notícias / Morte de Eduardo Torroja	n.a.	
1961	12	73	José A. Cordech	No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora	n.a.	Source: Domus Magazine - untranslated article
1961	12	73	José A. Cordech and M. Valls Vergés	A obra de José A. Cordech e M. Valls Vergés	Nuno Portas	
1961	12	73	José A. Cordech and M. Valls Vergés	Casa Ugalde em Caldetas (1951)	Nuno Portas	
1961	12	73	José A. Cordech and M. Valls Vergés	Casas na Calle de la Barceloneta (1952)	Nuno Portas	
1961	12	73	José A. Cordech and M. Valls Vergés	Habitações em Calle de la Maquinista, Barcelona (1957-9)	Nuno Portas	
1961	12	73	José A. Cordech and M. Valls Vergés	Casas na Calle Compositor Bach, em Barcelona (1959-61)	Nuno Portas	
1961	12	73	José A. Cordech and M. Valls Vergés	Casa em Camprodón, Gerona (1957-9)	Nuno Portas	
1963	6	79	José Luis Íñiguez de Onzoño, Antonio Vázquez de Castro	Conjunto de Caño Roto, Madrid	n.a.	
1963	7	79	--	Conjunto de Caño Roto, Madrid	n.a.	Source: <i>Arquitectura</i> - 1959
1963	12	80	--	Concurso para o anteprojecto do Teatro Nacional da Ópera de Madrid	n.a.	

Y	M	I	Featured Spanish Arch.	Article Title	Article Author	Observations
1964	3	81	--	Considerações sobre o urbanismo e as suas relações com o turismo em Espanha	Federico Correa	Source: Arquitectura Issue 55 (COAM magazine)
1964	6	82		Planeamento habitacional em Espanha	Luís Vassalo Rosa	
1964	6	82	--	Problemas do Desenho de Móveis	n.a.	Reference to Carlos Flores and "Hogar y Arquitectura" magazine (8 images)
1965	1/2	86	--	Da União internacional dos Arquitectos. Atribuição dos Prémios Auguste Perret e «Sir» Patrick Abercrombie 1965	n.a.	
1965	5/6	88	António Aurélio	Concurso internacional Euro-Kursaal, San Sebastian	n.a.	
1965	5/6	88	Jan Lubicz-Nycz, Carlo Pellicia, Zuc William	Concurso Euro-Kursaal	n.a.	
1966	1/2	91	--	Situação actual da pintura e da escultura em Madrid	Henry Galy-Carles	about Spanish painting referring to various works and authors
1966	5/6	93	José Antonio Corderch and Manuel Valls	Um hotel em Palma de Maiorca	n.a.	
1967	1/2	95	Sáenz de Oiza	Duas obras de Sáenz de Oiza, Torres Blancas, Apartamentos em Terraço	--	
1967	5/6	97	José Luis Romany, Eduardo Mangada, Carlos Ferran	Conjunto habitacional Juan XXIII, Madrid	n.a.	
1967	5/6	97	José Luis Romany, Eduardo Mangada, Carlos Ferran	Nota sobre o Conjunto habitacional Juan XXIII	Nuno Portas	
1967	7/8	98	Atelier O. Bohigas, J. M. Martorell, D. Mackay	Casa de Renda Limitada em La Ronda Del Guinardo, Barcelona	Nuno Portas	
1968	3/4	102	José J. Aracil Bellod, Luiz M. Suárez-Inclán e Antonio Viloria García	Unidade Habitacional da Cooperativa Pio XII, Segóvia	n.a.	
1968	5/6	103	Rafael Moneo	Praça Sanfermino		
1968	5/6	103	Rafael Moneo	Fábrica de Transformadores «Diester», Saragoça	Nuno Portas	
1968	7/8	104	Óscar Tusquets, Lluís Clotet	Uma loja em Barcelona	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	--	A chamada Escola de Barcelona	Rafael Moneo e Nuno Portas	
1969	1/2	107	Federico Correa, Alfonso Mila	O trabalho de Federico Correa e Alfonso Mila em Cadaqués	Cristian Cirici	
1969	1/2	107	Studio Per, Pep Bonet	Apartamentos Punta Brava	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Lluís Cantallops	Casa Fonts	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Domènech, Puig, Sabater	Apartamentos em Castelldefels	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Jaume Rodrigo, Lluís Cantallops	Casa Bayes	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay	Casas de férias «Costa de la Calma»	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay	Habitações escalonadas «Costa de la Calma»	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay	Conjunto de apartamentos «Santa Agueda»	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	--	Considerações visuais sobre a Cidade-Jardim	Federico Correa	Source: Issue 64, Cuadernos de Arquitectura
1969	1/2	107	--	Bases para o estudo da Costa da Região de Barcelona	Manuel de Solà-Morales i Roselló, Lluís Cantallops	
1969	7/8	110	--	Manual de Cubiertas Planas en La Construcción - Karl Moritz	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Jaume Rodrigo, Lluís Cantallops	Casa Bayes	n.a.	

Y	M	I	Featured Spanish Arch.	Article Title	Article Author	Observations
1969	1/2	107	Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay	Casas de férias «Costa de la Calma»	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay	Habitações escalonadas «Costa de la Calma»	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay	Conjunto de apartamentos «Santa Agueda»	n.a.	
1969	1/2	107	--	Considerações visuais sobre a Cidade-Jardim	Federico Correa	Source: Issue 64, Cuadernos de Arquitectura
1969	1/2	107	--	Bases para o estudo da Costa da Região de Barcelona	Manuel de Solà-Morales i Roselló, Lluís Cantallops	
1969	7/8	110	--	Manual de Cubiertas Planas en La Construcción - Karl Moritz	n.a.	
1969	7/8	110	--	Prefabricación II	n.a.	
1969	9/10	111	--	Conjuntos residenciais de baja densidade - Herbert Hoffman	n.a.	
1969	9/10	111	--	Construcción de edificios en altura - Fritz Rafeiner	n.a.	
1970	5/6	115	--	Pessimismo e Imaginação na Arquitectura Espanhola de Hoje	Carlos Santos Duarte	introduction to the following texts
1970	5/6	115	--	A arquitectura pessimista, uma subarquitectura	Ramon Maria Puig	
1970	5/6	115	--	Aeroporto «al Kitsch»	Lluís Clotet	
1970	5/6	115	--	Símbolos de improvisação da Espanha turística	Cristian Cirici, Albert Ràfols-Casamada	
1970	5/6	115	--	Aviões e civilização	Pep Bonet, Lluís Domènech	
1970	5/6	115	--	Viver em Barcelona	Lluís Domènech, Cristian Cirici	
1970	5/6	115	--	As casas para ricos ou o problema da distinção prévia	Oriol Bohigas	
1970	5/6	115	--	Progreso tecnológico e arquitectura progressiva	Lluís Clotet	
1970	5/6	115	--	Considerações sobre a formalização das funções	Pep Alemany, Xavier Sust	Source: 'Diário de Barcelona' Spanish journal
1970	5/6	115	--	A imaginação no poder	Òscar Tusquets	

TAB. 2 Spanish architects and projects featured by *Arquitectura* – 1961-1970. Y: Year of publication; M: Month of publication; I: Issue. S: Stated sources: CA – Cuadernos de Arquitectura; OP - Obras Publicas.

Conclusions

The dissemination of Spanish architecture in the magazines here presented may not be disconnected with the historical periods, as mirrored by the publications. *APCER* activity may be divided into two main periods, 1935-1945 and 1945-1951. Throughout these periods, the Italian involvement in the pages of the magazine was continuous and consistent. The scope of projects was comprehensive, from single houses to corporate or public buildings. Accordingly, the number and the quality of Italian architects were remarkable. Most were amongst the chief

architectural, urban, and industrial designers of their time, while others also had important editorial activity.

In this context, an important reference was Gio Ponti, and it is conceivable that it was through his influence that *APCER* published a Spanish architect with the relevance of Coderch, probably for the first time in Portugal. As opposed to the Italian case, the architects and architectures from Spain did not find a great acceptance in the pages of the magazine during its first phase. This lack of recognition was scarcely mitigated during the second period, mainly to present the works of the Catalan architect.

In stark contrast, the *Arquitectura* magazine published dozens of Spanish projects in the two decades that spanned from 1961 to 1970. This effort corresponded to a desire of reaching the origins of the Modern Movement, on the one hand, and the foundations of traditional, anonymous architecture, on the other. In other words, the struggle was linked with a longing for a 'realistic' and rooted modernity, in contrast with the official architecture of both the Salazar's and Franco's regimes, considered as pompous, oppressive, and devoid of character. In that endeavour, the figure of Nuno Portas would be decisive. The influence of the dissemination of Spanish architecture in the post-war Portuguese architecture would be determinant to the work of its contemporary masters, such as Álvaro Siza, Souto de Moura, and Gonçalo Byrne.

The Resurrection of Antoni Gaudí in Post-War Media. A Critical Chronology: 1945–1965

Carmen Rodríguez Pedret

PH.D. Theory and History of Architecture. Art Historian.
carmen.rodriguez@upc.edu

Researcher at the School of Architecture of Barcelona since 2017,
Scientific Coordinator of Gaudí Chair (ETSAB-Polytechnic University of Catalonia).

ABSTRACT

The Post-war time coincides with the rehabilitation of Antoni Gaudí, a process closely linked to the spread of his architecture on a global scale. Although Gaudí's historiography has paid specific attention to some outstanding episodes of this rehabilitation, these have not been shared from the outlook of the media apparatus that sustains them, following a temporal cadence that favours their relational reading from a critical perspective. The Post-war "resurrection" of Gaudí cannot be separated from the large number of publications, exhibitions, photographic series and even films that shaped his figure according to the interests of time: a media operation, not neutral at all, which explains, to a great extent, the treatment that the architect and his work still receive today.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9824>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Carmen Rodríguez Pedret



KEYWORDS:

Gaudí; Architecture Magazines; Exhibitions; Films; Photography

The Forties. First Warning Signs

Beyond the obstinacy of Salvador Dalí, the fascination of surrealists and the 10 photographs of the Sagrada Família, Park Güell, Casa Batlló and La Pedrera that were in the architecture section of the *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* exhibition held at the MoMA in 1936¹, it was not until after the Spanish Civil War that a renewed interest in Antoni Gaudí and in the state of abandonment in which some of his works were at that time began.

Back in the spotlight, Gaudí was an “issue” addressed by *Destino* (1937–80), the weekly political and cultural magazine that, in the first post-war period, was still linked to the Franco regime, despite the efforts of those responsible for reconquering the readers of the Catalan middle class. The attention towards Gaudí happened in this area outside the professional media, in the midst of the discredit towards *Modernisme* that has survived since the time of the *Noucentistes*: “[...] the Ensanche is horrible and Gaudí is the Wagnerian monster of Architecture. The bum-bum of the flatulence of the Pedrera in Paseo de Gracia is German music in granite”². This is what the writer Josep Pla expressed in March 1940, perfectly aligned with the taste of pre-war criticism. It was not a propitious environment to recognize Gaudí’s values, although the first symptoms of repair would arrive very soon from various fronts, such as the book *El arte modernista en Barcelona*, by Josep Francesc Ràfols, (1943), Emilio Riva’s documentary *Gaudí* (1943), the homage of Joaquim Torres García to the “the most Catalan of all Catalans, the most brilliant architect, improviser of any solution, inexhaustible, always untold and always logical [...]” and the particular tribute of the young poet Joan Brossa in “Pedrís de Gaudí”³. To these incipient gestures, the first warning signs were added against the threat of demolition of the Palau Güell. *Destino* released in June 1944 an article by Ràfols denouncing the state of the building and the ostracism to which its author had been condemned; a situation that contrasted with the interest aroused abroad:

We, that more or less treat Gaudí [...] will be forced to contemplate in ruins one of the most famous habitations that made up his numen, while from New York we get the director of the Hispanic-American Section of the Museum of Modern Art, Don Paole (*sic*) Duarte, to provide himself with enormous photographic extensions of Gaudí works. With them we can organize, in that said museum, a room in his honour. Spill down our spirits in full atrophy Gaudí’s works [...] Delete, if we feel like it, his name from our history; a new stage will begin in the post earthly biography of the famous creator: “Gaudí, in the United States”⁴.

1945 marks the turning point towards Gaudí’s public resurgence. In March, the Diputació Provincial approved the acquisition of the Palau Güell to install in it the future Theatre Museum⁵. Meanwhile, in *Destino*,

1. Salvador Dalí, “De la beauté terrifiante et comestible de l’architecture Modern’ Style.” *Minotaure* 3-4, (12 décembre 1933): 69-76 ; See: Juan José Lahuerta, ed., “Presentación”, *Antoni Gaudí. 1852-1926. Antología contemporánea* (Madrid: Alianza Forma, 2002), 15.

2. José Pla, “Calendario sin fechas. Las ciudades del mar,” *Destino. Política de Unidad* 144 (20 March 1940): 2.

3. Emilio Rivas, *Gaudí. Fotografía* Puig Durán. Helios Films. España, 1943. b/w. 10’; Joaquín Torres García, “Mestre Antoni Gaudí,” *Universalismo Constructivo* (Buenos Aires: Poseidón, 1944), 560–65; Joan Brossa, *Vivàrium*, 1944.

4. J. F. Ràfols, “Triste fin del Palacio Güell,” *Destino. Política de Unidad* 361 (17 June 1944): 3. Ràfols refers to the visit of Paulo Duarte in Barcelona in December 1943. The Brazilian archaeologist, writer and politician had worked at the MoMA since 1940 as “Director of the Latin Department”. About the threat of demolition of Palau Güell, see also: “Una obra de Gaudí condenada al derribo. Responso al Palacio Güell,” *Destino. Política de Unidad* 360 (10 June 1944): 3; and Isidro Puig Boada, “El palacio Güell, de la calle del Conde del Asalto, de Barcelona,” *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 2 (November 1944): 25–34.

5. “Ha sido adquirido el palacio de Güell, que será destinado a museo del teatro,” *La Vanguardia Española* (3 March 1945): 10.

Pla delved into the messianic character of the architect, qualifying him as a “possessed”, a “poseur” [...] whose “vanity had no limits. You can’t talk about Gaudí’s taste like you can’t talk about the taste of whales”⁶. Pla continued the path of philosopher Eugeni d’Ors who had placed Gaudí as the epigone of the *fin de siècle* decadent symbolism:

[...] a mystic who intended to build without plans, executing every day what the Holy Virgin had revealed to him the previous night; a powerful personality, after all, simultaneously capable of a mechanical skill of the best artisan law and of a theoretical paradoxically advertising eloquence; a self-styled inventor of an unpublished Gothic, a renovator, actually, of the eternal Baroque, Antonio Gaudí, what he had excellent and achievable has clearly been, in Catalan art, an epigone of the “End-of-century”; a deep poet of anarchy, underground support of the entire symbolism⁷.

Strangely, a few months later Pla will return to Gaudí with a very different tone, to embrace the idea of the forgotten genius, the phoenix capable of resurrecting and demonstrating the superiority of his work over modern architecture. It was a sign that things were beginning to change:

Gaudí has been resisting, for half a century, the fiercest critic campaign that has ever been done against an artist. But it turns out that Gaudí, like cats, has many lives. When he seems definitely terrified and forgotten, he is resurrected. I speak of Gaudí in a completely objective way, among other reasons because his architecture has never been my cup of tea. But Gaudí’s successive resurrections impress me enormously. Gaudí is hideous -of course- but his form is never a dead form. The correct and cold form that the so-called permanent sensibility likes appears much deader. And, it is that the outlines of the world -the rationalist or the vitalist outline, the canonical or the biological one- are useless⁸.

With the resurrection already announced by the magazine’s brightest pen, *Destino* began its campaign to promote the continuation of the Sagrada Familia, whose works had been paralyzed by the Civil War. In March 1946, the image of the temple occupied the cover of the magazine with the following text: “the temple in constant blooming that seems forgotten by the new citizen promotions. Around its aesthetic value, heated polemics have been promoted. However, Gaudí’s genius seems indisputable” [Fig. 1]. The article was signed by Miguel del Puerto -one of the pseudonyms used by the journalist Andreu Avel·lí Artís, together with the best known of Sempronio- who, in addition to rescuing Le Corbusier’s view on Gaudí, described a visit that he had made to the temple, alerting readers of its abandonment:

[...] next to the apse reigns, however, the most absolute calm. Only the chirping of the birds that nest in the towers disturb the august silence. The golden needles offer their stony laziness to the caress

6. José Pla, “Un señor de Barcelona,” *Destino. Política de Unidad* 399 (10 March 1945): 6.

7. Eugenio d’Ors, “Estilo y Cifra. De Tracchsel a Gaudí,” *La Vanguardia Española* (4 November 1944): 1.

8. José Pla, “Calendario sin fechas,” *Destino* 438 (8 December 1945): 12.



La Sagrada Família, el templo en perpetua edificación que parece olvidado de las nuevas promociones ciudadanas. Alrededor de su valde auténtico se han promovido anecdóticos polémicos. Sin embargo, el genio de Gaudí parece indecible. En las páginas centrales de este número, nuestro colaborador Miguel del Puerto describe una reciente visita a la Sagrada Família, realizada en unión del fotógrafo Oscar Jover

En «El último número» el reportaje de AUGUSTO ASSIA, desde Londres, "El duelo Bevin-Vichinsky, por un testigo presencial", el artículo, "Napoleón después de la guerra", por FEDERICO CAMP, en la página de Arte y Letras, "El hombre y los sueños", por AUGUSTO CASAS, además, el cuento de MAHMUD TEYMUR, "Corona de papel", traducido por MARIA JESUS MASOLIVER e ilustrado por J. FIN

FIG. 1 Destino 450. March 2, 1946. National Library of Catalonia

of the sun. The four masons work down, in the crypt, on not so showy work. The 'Cathedral of the poor' looks more like a noble and abandoned ruin than a construction in erection [...]⁹.

The land was paid so that in June of that same year, *Destino's* editor, Joan Teixidor, would write a Gaudí allegation in which he ventured the arrival of "his absolute recognition" despite the dominant "medium sensitivity" that implied

fatally in the middle term of taste, an indifference or a disgust against Gaudí's work, whose complexity is confused with enigma and extravagance [...] What is not understood is that, in this case, the fact that the recognition of an expressive value does not fatally imply sentimental adhesion, has been forgotten [...]. Why not judge Gaudí regardless of our current momentary sensibility, making him enter history, in his time, in his world, proceeding with

9. Miguel del Puerto, "El genio poético y patético de Gaudí. Vuelta a la Sagrada Família," *Destino* 450 (2 March 1946): 9.

the same exactitude that we use when studying the opposite and contradictory expressions that give character and variety to the drama of universal art?¹⁰

Teixidor had touched a raw nerve: Gaudí was not a matter of emotional reactions of filiation or rejection, but an artist who claimed a new interpretation based on accuracy and objectivity. The demand came at the same time that the first contacts for foreign recognition of the architect began in Barcelona: encouraged by Josep Lluís Sert, photographer Joaquim Gomis and artistic promoter Joan Prats sent 300 photographs of the Park Güell to James Johnson Sweeney, curator of MoMA. This delivery was related to the preparation of a book about Gaudí that Sweeney and Sert planned to write and with an exhibition at the MoMA that was due to be ready in October 1947. The exhibition would still take ten years to be celebrated and the book would appear in 1960, fourteen years later¹¹.

Coinciding with the resumption of the works of the Sagrada Família and the fiftieth anniversary of the *Modernisme* movement, in July 1948 the clandestine magazine *Ariel* dedicated a monographic in which, among others, articles by Lluís Bonet Garí, Alexandre Cirici and Antoni Oriol Anguera were included. Before the last one left for Latin American exile, it seems that he had gotten Teixidor's message: it was necessary to place Gaudí in his time and consider him as a revolutionary, a transition figure, a genius of the ambiguity of an uncertain time: "I would dare say that a transfer has been crystallized. He has given magnitude to a transition"¹². Repositioning Gaudí in his time also seemed to be the goal of a few others, like the young architect Josep M^a Sostres, that, on July 28 gave his first conference abroad, "Gaudí et son temps", invited by the Union des Architectes Saint Luc in Brussels, of which he was a corresponding member.

1948 was especially prolific for Gaudí's recovery. The American photographer Irving Penn visited Barcelona between August 18-20 with the commission of *Vogue magazine* to make a report on Picasso's Barcelona. A few days before his departure to Spain he was able to coincide in New York with Salvador Dalí, to whom he told the reason for his trip. The artist would be in Barcelona on the same dates, so it was not difficult for him to force a meeting and try to convince Penn to replace the protagonist of his report with Gaudí and himself. Dalí could not dissuade the photographer, although he mounted one of his ineffable *performances* for him: he hired five actors disguised as eighteenth-century lackeys and rented a hearse from the cemetery of Montjuïc to be portrayed by Penn in front of the Sagrada Família. The presence of death, represented by a large coffin placed on the float, and those men, whose image was deliberately unfocused in front of the temple, that acts as the background, appeared at full page in the middle of the report dedicated to Picasso¹³ [Fig. 2]. The photographer's stay did not go unnoticed in local media: in an

10. Juan Teixidor, "La obra de Gaudí," *Destino* 464 (8 June 1946): 14.

11. Helena Martín, "El MoMA y la Gomis-Prats connection, 1946-1960: Joan Miró, Antoni Tàpies y Antoni Gaudí," in *Destino Barcelona, 1911-1991. Arquitectos, viajes, intercambios*, edited by J. M^a Rovira, E. Granell and C. García (Barcelona: Fundación Arquia, colección arqui/temas 42, 2018), 155. Martín points out that the first contacts to organize a Gaudí exhibition in Barcelona were established in 1948.

12. Antoni Oriol Anguera, "Èpoques de transició. A l'entorn del Modernisme," *Ariel. Revista de les Arts* 18 (July 1948): 74-75.

13. Irving Penn, "Barcelona and Picasso. Eight pages about this Catalan city...With Picasso memorabilia..." *Vogue magazine* 114 (July 1, 1949): 42-49. See also: Gemma Avinyó, "Barcelona, Irving Penn y Picasso. Historia de un reportaje," *Picasso e identidad. III Congreso Internacional. Barcelona-Caldes d'Estrach, 27-29 April 2017*, last accessed 26/10/2019. <http://museupicassobcn.org/congres-internacional/avinyo/>



FIG. 2 Irving Penn. "Barcelona and Picasso. Eight pages about this Catalan city...with Picasso memorabilia...". *Vogue magazine* 114. July 1, 1949. Vogue Archives

interview for *Destino*, Penn expressed his intention to show Barcelona as the "melting pot of new art"; he also planned to go to Cadaqués to "photograph the landscape of Dalí, and the countryside of Tarragona, to visit Miró". But specially, he admired "Gaudí [...] How huge is Gaudí! In my teens, at the School of Fine Arts, I had already been shown photographs of Gaudí's works. But reality has impressed me, almost overwhelmed me [...]"¹⁴ Surely Penn's visit was related to the interest of certain North American companies in promoting tourism in Spain, such as the "Transcontinental Western Air" that had invested a million dollars for this purpose with the complicity of the Dirección General de Turismo, which distributed several thousands of posters and brochures in that country¹⁵. The evidence of the attraction in the international context and the modernity of Gaudí not only encouraged the propaganda system of Franco regime but also other kind of reactions. One of the first came from the group of artists *Dau al Set*, which, since its founding in September, invoked the architect as patriarch of the Catalan avant-garde. This was interpreted by a young Antoni Tàpies in his Surrealist *Triptych* (1948), chaired by a

14. Ángel Zúñiga, "Llegó un fotógrafo yanqui. La "Boullabaise" y la sardana lo mejor de Barcelona," *Destino* 578 (4 September 1948): 6.

15. "Gran plan norteamericano, de turismo sobre España," *La Vanguardia Española* (27 April 1948): 3.

figure that anyone could identify with Gaudí; and this was also manifested in the December issue of the clandestine magazine *Dau al Set* that opened with a photograph of Park Güell [Fig. 3], accompanied by a brief tribute written by the typographer and engraver Enric Tormo: "Gaudi is a mystic that tells us his dogma in a plastic-didactic-architectural language. We have to read the architecture of our architect. From its turgidity of stone, in its forms shines this white sensuality that is the exact centre of poetry. She is our place"¹⁶.

The rereading of Gaudí fed the mystic and prophetic image of the forefather of all the *isms* that would be so fortunate in future historiography. Among the architects, Sostres was the first to value this recognition in post-war times:

Besides the controversial character that accompanied the *Gaudinist* reevaluation around 1945, the young assistants of non-formalist painting took us from the wide-angle view with which we had always focused the creations of Gaudí, to a modest, humble ap-

16. Enric Tormo, "Antoni Gaudí," *Dau al Set* 4 (December 1948).

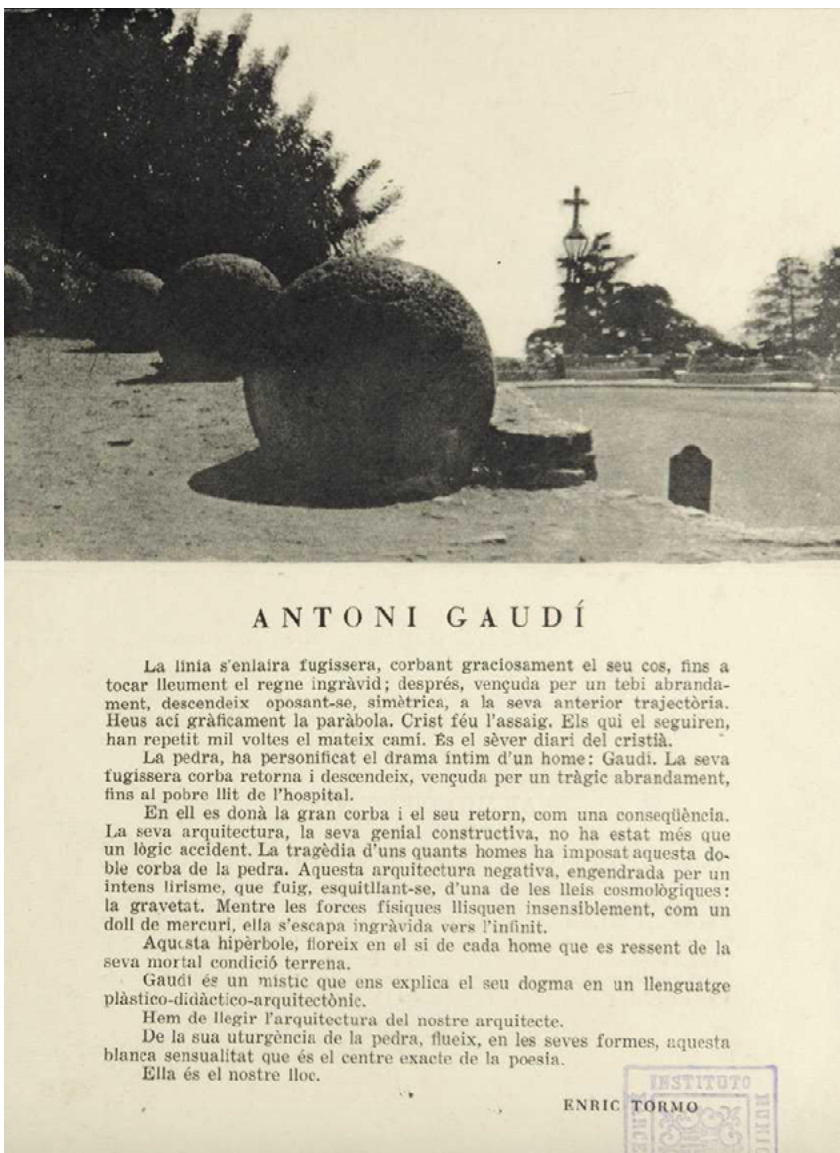


FIG. 3 *Dau al Set* 4. December 1948. National Library of Catalonia

proach to our gaze of the very rich surfaces of *Gaudinian* buildings to discover in their infinite material textures, in this microcosm, a Gaudí who had gone unnoticed to our self-sufficient appreciation¹⁷.

While the artists were inspired by Gaudí, the architectural environment began to emerge from its lethargy. In May 1949, along with an exhibition of Hispanic-American architecture at Saló del Tinell in Barcelona, a Spring Conference Series was held at the COACB – the Architects' Association-, attended by Alfred Ledent, Gabriel Alomar and Alberto Sartoris as guests; it was the act prior to the V National Assembly of Architects that, convened by the Dirección General de Arquitectura and the Consejo Superior de Colegios de Arquitectos, was to be held between Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca and Valencia. For Sartoris, the twenty-day stay in our country meant not only the discovery of the new Spanish architecture but also the confirmation of Gaudí's art and the fascination towards the Spanish dancer and singer Juanita Reina, who, in May offered at the Poliorama theatre in Barcelona the show "Solera de España"¹⁸. Sartoris did not mention Gaudí in his lectures, even though he was able to amend the

17. José M^o Sostres, "Interpretación actual de Gaudí," Lecture given on December 2, 1958 and published in *Gaudí. Boletín del Centro de Estudios Gaudinistas* (Barcelona: COACB, 1960).

18. "I appreciated the talent of Juanita Reina: singer and dancer", in "L'Espagne en face de l'art moderne" (ADS-EPFL. 0172.01.0079. GA/05. Documents Voyage Espagne). Access to Sartoris' documents has been made possible thanks to the research carried out by Professor Antonio Pizza in the ACM archives of École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne.



FIG. 4 After the title of the magazine, number 5 should be added: *Proyectos y Materiales* 5. September 1949. ETSAB Library. UPC.

omission when they were published in the special issue of *Cuadernos de arquitectura*. He also added a final note in which he blessed “the resurgence of Spanish architecture” and surrendered to the “creative and synthesizing fantasy of Gaudí”¹⁹. The critic was interviewed by Teixidor in *Destino*, and he was asked about Barcelona, the Romanesque paintings, the Gothic, the *Modernisme* and Gaudí’s work. Sartoris declared his “deeply admiration” for Gaudí because, “without a doubt, he was an independent and deeply creative brain”²⁰. Two months after his first stay in Barcelona, Sartoris had received a letter from Sostres in which he gave an account of the first movements of the architects to attend the “Contest on the Problem of Economic Housing”; Sostres also announced that he would send him an article he had just published, as well as the appearance of a monograph on Gaudí in the American magazine *Proyectos y Materiales*, from which he was a Spanish correspondent²¹. *Gaudinian* historiography has not paid much attention to the number of *Proyectos y Materiales* [Fig. 4]. The reasons could be varied, although we would point to the character of the magazine -short-lived, published in Spanish and dedicated to the construction market in Latin America- and to its marginal position regarding the circuit of cultured publications²². None of this invalidates the fact that it was the first architecture media to devote a monograph to Gaudí in the international context of the post-war period, ahead of the Spanish and European ones. Through Sert, the editors had contacted Sostres, who brought together, for the first time, some promoters of the new *Gaudinism* -Bonet Garí and Cirici- with the exegetes of the pre-war, -Puig Boada, Ràfols and Folguera-. This was also the first time in which Gomis’ photographs were published abroad: the advance of the future *fotoscop* that would officially appear three years later, with the monograph of the Sagrada Familia with a foreword by Cirici. The magazine also included a profile of the most relevant Spanish architect of that time, Sert, who blessed the operation from his exile:

for being one of the most outstanding architects in the revaluation of *Gaudinian* architecture, when the dust of oblivion was erasing the memory of the great artist architect [...] He is currently working in collaboration with the Museum of Modern Art in NY, preparing an exhibition of the works of Antoni Gaudí, based on a book dedicated to the great Catalan architect²³.

The decade concluded with more signs of vindication: while the young avant-garde of *Dau al Set* claimed the inheritance by photographing themselves in Park Güell, appeared *Modernismo y Modernistas*, a new book of Ràfols edited by Teixidor for *Destino*, and the announcement of *El Arte Modernista Catalán* by Cirici, (1950). Both works culminated the first phase of repair and, at the same time, meant the advance of the media spread that would take place in the following years around Gaudí’s figure and work.

19. Alberto Sartoris, “Orientaciones de la arquitectura contemporánea,” *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 11-12 (1950): 55.

20. Juan Teixidor, “Panorama de arte y letras. Alberto Sartoris y la arquitectura de nuestra época,” *Destino* 614 (14 May 1949): 15. That same year, Sartoris returned to Spain on two other occasions: the first, in September, to participate in the “Primera Semana de Arte de Santillana del Mar”. There, he became friends with Rafael Santos Torroella, who invited him to Barcelona in November to pay tribute to him in the circle of *Cobalto 49*, among which were Sixte Illescas, Gomis and Prats.

21. Sostres referred to his article “Functionalism and new plasticity”, published for the first time in *Pyrène Revista mensual de las artes y de las letras* 3 (June, 1949) by the Patronato de Estudios Olotenses. Letter from Sostres to Sartoris, July 12, 1949. (ADS-EPFL. 0172.03.0163. CO/22, 8.1. Espagne: Correspondance. S/Sostres).

22. *Proyectos y Materiales* was published between 1946 and 1949.

23. “Perfiles: José Luis Sert,” *Proyectos y Materiales* 5. New York, September-October 1949, 7. Sert also commissioned the German architect trained at the Bauhaus, Paul Linder, an article about Gaudí. Linder had met Gaudí in Barcelona in the 1920s, during a stay in which he was accompanied by Ernst Neufert. “Encuentros con Antonio Gaudí” was published in the Peruvian literary magazine *Mar del Sur* 4, Vol 11, No. 10 (March–April 1950); see: Joaquín Medina Warmburg, “Paul Linder: arquitecto, crítico, educador. Del Bauhaus a la Escuela Nacional de Ingenieros del Perú,” *Revista de Arquitectura*. (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2004): 72. <https://doi.org/10.15581/014.6.71-82>

The Fifties. A New Cartography of *Gaudinian* Criticism

Destino opened the fifties putting into operation all his literary artillery to promote Rafols' book. One of the first that praised this study was the writer Carmen Laforet, who took the opportunity to evoke her first memories of the Sagrada Familia:

The large volume opens, docile, with its good paper of clear impression, between my fingers. I stumble upon a photograph of the Sagrada Familia and also with a photograph of Gaudí. The photograph of the Sagrada Familia reminds me of a spring afternoon with wind and dust around the Hospital de San Pablo, that I was traversing, I don't know why anymore. It brings to mind the strange and powerful emotion I felt in front of its powerful, unique towers²⁴.

24. Carmen Laforet, "Puntos de vista de una mujer: "Un libro sobre Barcelona Modernista," *Destino* 651 (28 January 1950): 9.

Ràfols' book appeared at the right moment, as the augury of the editorial tumult that was going to happen around the centenary of the architect, scheduled for 1952. Pla also wrote a laudatory article highlighting Teixidor's role in selecting a "fascinating, cleverly chosen graphic documentation" to get "a perfect book, a true editorial jewel". The time for his public claudication had arrived: "We have to be disappointed: *Modernisme* begins to please an increasing large number of people"²⁵. The same month, *La Vanguardia* reopened the controversy of the Sagrada Familia in its "Religious" section. This time, it was Sartoris who entered the issue to position himself in favour of the continuation of the temple²⁶. From all this, echoed a young Oriol Bohigas, taking advantage of the *Proyectos y Materiales* monograph to criticize certain interpretations and insisting on the need to "make noise" around Gaudí:

25. José Pla, "Barcelona. Capital del modernismo," *Destino* 653 (11 February 1950): 12 and 14.

26. Alberto Sartoris, "Religiosas: De la catedral inacabada de Gaudí," *La Vanguardia Española* (7 January 1950): 10. One month later Sartoris wrote the article "Universalismo umanístico de Gaudí". On the occasion of the centenary of Gaudí in 1952, Sartoris had planned to publish a book that never came to light.

Although it is worth noting the remarkable contribution of the young architect Sostres Maluquer, the original *Gaudinian* evolution diagram presented by Cirici Pellicer and the documented paragraphs of J.F. Ràfols [...], in fact almost all the number of *Proyectos y Materiales* comes to repeat more or less the same ideas that we already knew from previous studies published in Spain. But undoubtedly, the interesting thing about this set lies, not in the possible originality of some ideas, but precisely in the evidence of this interest in the *Gaudinian* work that, a few years ago, seemed to have emerged worldwide²⁷.

27. Oriol Bohigas, "Arquitectura y arquitectos. Gaudí, desde América," *Destino* 652 (4 February 1950): 17.

Bohigas' criticism was an exception, since the columnists fed the media presence of Gaudí's religiousness without paying attention to the necessary revision of his architecture. *Destino* won readers every time the campaign tone on the Sagrada Familia increased and an avalanche of letters came to its headquarters. All this media murmur was insufficient for the journalist Manuel Brunet, who regretted that, unlike the communists, the Barcelona society lacked "spirit of continuity and organization" to solve the problem of the temple: "If there were in this region the same number

of communists as of Catholics, the Temple of the Sagrada Familia would be finished. The foolishness drowns us. We lack an instinct for organization because we lack a spirit of union and unity"²⁸.

Among the many letters that arrived at *Destino* to express one's view on the continuation of the temple, some that posed a new treatment of the *Gaudinian* heritage of Barcelona were infiltrated. One of them was from Manuel Ribé, president of the Junta Provincial de la Dirección General de Turismo, who announced the intention of exploiting the tourism potential of Gaudí's architecture:

The point of view adopted by this Organization with reference to the great work of Gaudí, was that, besides from other meanings and derivations of the most respectable nature that the conclusion of the work would entail, it would also be of extraordinary importance for the increase of the tourism potential in Barcelona and even in Spain...²⁹

Before the demand of tourists who were going to the Barcelona Tourist Office to get information about Gaudí's masterpieces, the city council edited a brochure that gathered his buildings. All this happened waiting for the Americans who had read "Trip to Spain guided by Dalí", the report of *Vogue magazine* in which the artist encouraged readers to visit the architect's buildings:

On Paseo de Gracia you will find stunning examples of this type of delusional architecture, true solidified Debussian music. They will marvel at the Milà house and at another extravagant building further below, called the House of Bones, because it really seems to be articulated as vertebrae [...] It is a good idea to wait until sunset before visiting Park Güell, where you will find roads of leaning columns and imitations of fossil trees³⁰.

That spring Gio Ponti and José Antonio Coderch began to set the contents of the pavilion of the IX Triennale of the following year, among which they had planned an exhibition about Gaudí. Ponti, who had visited Spain in 1949, invited by the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas to give a lecture at the V Assembly, had already expressed his admiration towards the architect:

I confess that, when I was in Spain twenty years ago, I did not understand anything about Gaudí [...] After knowing the importance of Picasso and Dalí, Freud's studies, of the entire intellectual movement of the last twenty years, today I say that Gaudí's architecture is illuminated with an extraordinary artistic and poetic importance. Le Corbusier has said a great truth: 'a building must sing'. And in Gaudí's work there is a powerful song³¹.

28. Manuel Brunet, "La cuestión de la Sagrada Familia," *Destino* 656 (4 March 1950): 5.

29. "Carta al director," *Destino* 656, (4 March 1950): 2.

30. "To Spain, guided by Dalí," *Vogue* (15 May 1950), in *Salvador Dalí. Obra Completa*, vol. IV (Barcelona, Figueres, Madrid: Destino, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2003), 614–15.

31. Enric Granell and Antoni Ramon, *Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya. 1874-1962* (Barcelona: COAC, 2012), 200.

Through the Italian Institute of Culture of Barcelona, Bruno Zevi arrived in the city on May 22 to give two lectures in the COACB Spring Conference Series³². His stay coincided with the presentation of *El arte de Gaudí*, the book by Juan Eduardo Cirlot [Fig. 5], whose ideas about the architect as a forefather of the avant-garde obtained immediate resonance in the media: in August, the Italian architect Luigi Moretti published in *Spazio* magazine “Arte di Gaudí in Spagna”³³, an article by Cirlot who summarized the contents of his book; and in December, the journalist Tristán la Rosa dedicated a complimentary review to the book in *La Vanguardia*:

Cirlot rehearses a thousand views on this unchained and frantic architecture of Gaudí, and with an expert pupil, shows us unpublished angles, unknown plans and inadvertent forms. But the secret impulse of those painfully twisted forms and the reason of those tormented stones remains, in the end, without deciphering. The monograph is excellent, and Gaudí appears in it, framed with a gesture of biblical prophet, as if he was preparing to enact new laws on the subject [...] But -excuse the heresy- when we wonder if we would live comfortably in a city built by Gaudí, with all buildings like the Sagrada Familia or La Pedrera, then, truth be told, we are assaulted by fierce doubts. Gaudí has promoted great controversies, but now his work is there and nobody stops to contemplate it. The “Sagrada Familia” is the forgotten old love of a city that is a little capricious and adventurous. And the Milá house [...] only calls attention to some tourists³⁴.

The take-off of the new vision that Cirlot offered of Gaudí was accompanied by the international spread of the photographs of Gomis and Prats that, in 1950, had a wide diffusion: 25 of them went to the article that Zevi wrote for the *Metron-Architettura* magazine and, a few months later, he included the full colour photograph of the bench in the Park Güell for the cover of his *Storia dell'architettura moderna*³⁵. Gomis' images also illustrated the graphic montage of Gaudí's works that *The Architectural Review* published in the November issue:

The Cover is a montage of details -or more precisely, chimneys- from buildings by Antonio Gaudí [...], the Spanish architect in whose work art nouveau motifs, foretastes of surrealism, and a sculptor's

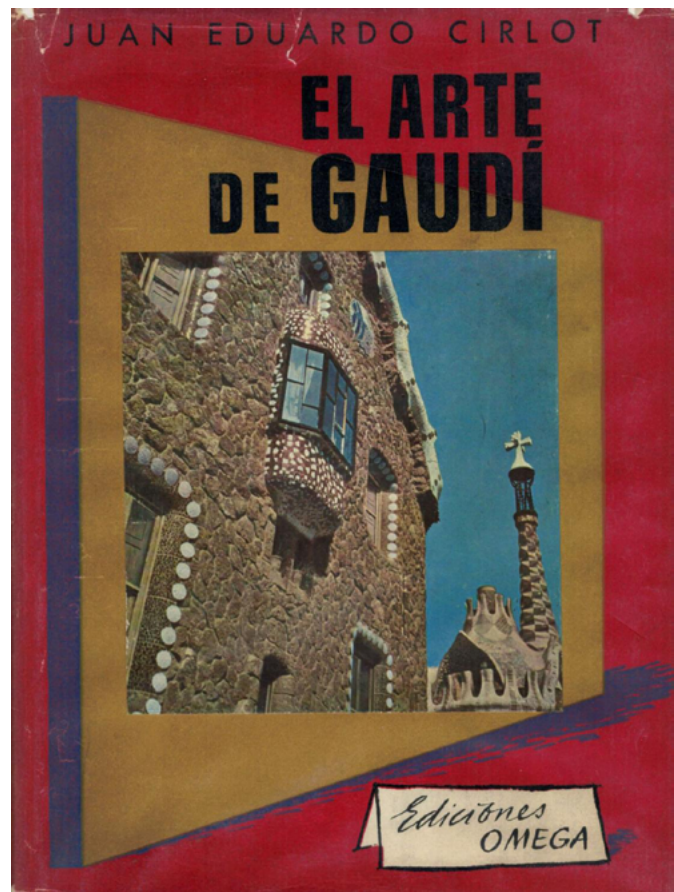


FIG. 5 Juan Eduardo Cirlot. *El arte de Gaudí*. Barcelona: Omega publishers, 1950. Gaudí Chair Library, ETSAB-UPC

32. On May 23, Zevi gave the lecture “La crisi dell’razionalismo architettonico nel mondo” and on May 25 “Il momento architettonico in Italia”. See also the interview “Bruno Zevi nos dice...,” *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 13 (1950): 89; and “Conferencias y cursillos: El profesor Bruno Zevi en el Ateneo,” *La Vanguardia Española* (24 May 1950): 10; “Conferencias y cursillos: El profesor Zevi en el Ateneo Barcelonés,” *La Vanguardia Española* (26 May 1950): 11.

33. Juan Eduardo Cirlot, “Arte di Gaudí in Spagna,” *Spazio* 2 (Agosto 1950): 29-39. According to Lahuerta, “Resuscitate Gaudí, in a formidable effort of anachronism: this made, in effect, Cirlot, terrified by the idea of a city built entirely with its architecture”. (This was stated by Cirlot in an article published in *Cúpula* magazine in 1953); see Juan José Lahuerta, “Sala 7. Barcelona,” in *Univers Gaudí*. (Barcelona: CCCB, 2002), 195.

34. Tristán La Rosa, “El arte de Gaudí,” *La Vanguardia Española* (7 December 1950): 11. That summer, MoMA inaugurated *Three modern styles: Art Nouveau, Cubist-geometric, free form* (July 11-September 5), an exhibition that included photographs of Casa Batlló and Casa Milà.

35. Bruno Zevi, “Un genio catalano: Antonio Gaudí,” *Metron-Architettura* (October 1950): 27-53. See: Julio Garnica, “Bruno Zevi en la España de 1950: una *Storia dell'architettura* cargada de futuro”. *ZARCH* 10, (June, 2018): 189. https://doi.org/10.26754/ojs_zarch/zarch.2018102940

approach to form combine to produce something quite outside the general course of development of recent European architecture³⁶.

Some photographs were included in the photomontage of the Spanish pavilion at the Triennale of Milan held between May and September 1951. Of the 30 photographs that were exhibited, 18 showed Gaudí's works and 12 examples of popular Ibizan architecture³⁷. *Gaudinian* photographs were mostly from Gomis, except those of the Park Güell that belonged to the Batlles-Compte studio -formed by the advertising photographer Ramón Batlles and Josep Compte, head of the Falange Photography Section during the war- the most requested by the high society of Barcelona at the time. Finally, these same images illustrated the article that Ponti dedicated to Gaudí in *Domus*: "Gaudí, that genius to whom everything is allowed, made a revolution on his own, born and finished with him: he is not part of the history of architecture but is a character in the history of Spain"³⁸. The wide dissemination of *Gaudinian* images in 1950 did not end there: while photographer Ricard Sans portrayed Dalí on the roof of La Pedrera, readers of the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* found a silent image of the Sagrada Familia on full page³⁹.

The Gaudí effervescence was a fact when Pla dedicated to the architect three consecutive articles in *Destino* that would be the basis for his future *Homenot*⁴⁰. Public recognition also infiltrated the political stays on the occasion of the I Bienal Hispanoamericana de Arte (1951), which was the result of the new policy of the regime, through the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, an entity linked to the Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. The First Biennial awarded several tributes to the architect, such as that of J.J. Tharrats or the Outdoor Theater project of the architect Ramón Vázquez Molezún⁴¹. *Mundo Hispánico* magazine -the official media of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica- published a monograph in November devoted to a peaceful Barcelona, without any reference to the famous "streetcar strike" that the city lived in March⁴². The magazine included a colour photograph of the Sagrada Familia by Nicolás Müller [Fig. 6] and the article "Gaudí o la arquitectura teológica", in which Antoni Moragas reclaimed the architect's saintliness: "May this interest that Gaudí's personality arouse in the whole world be a stimulus and an example to the new generations in the path of Art and Faith"⁴³. Gaudí's catholic dimension and his political manipulation were not limited to the propaganda channels of Francoism. At the end of that year, *Ariel* dedicated a special issue with an article by Teixidor in which the Sagrada Familia appeared as the symbol of oppressed Catalan society under the yoke of the dictatorship:

Gaudí wanted this: the common effort of a whole town. He put in the midst of us the stone that must unite us. He gave us joyfully a work to do to bring us together when we needed it. There have been generations in silence. They had, or were believed to have, other

36. Marcus Whiffen, "Catalan Surreal," *The Architectural Review* 647 (November 1950): 322-25. Nikolaus Pevsner was, along with J.M. Richards, the editor of the magazine. Whiffen's article is clearly indebted to Cirlot's ideas.

37. We have addressed this issue in Carmen Rodríguez, "Ibiza: sueño y devoción de un paisaje intercambiable/Ibiza: dream and devotion of an interchangeable landscape," in *Imaginando la casa mediterránea: Italia y España en los años 50. Catalogue of the exhibition: Fundación ICO, October 2019-January 2020, edited by Antonio Pizarro* (Madrid: Ediciones Asimétricas, 2019), 108-23.

38. Gio Ponti, "Dalla Spagna," *Domus* 260 (July-August 1951): 26.

39. "Iglesia de la Sagrada Familia en Barcelona," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 114 (June 1951): 18.

40. José Pla, "Calendario sin fechas. Don Antonio Gaudí," *Destino* 737 (22 September 1951): 5; "Calendario sin fechas. Don Antonio Gaudí II," *Destino* 738 (29 September 1951): 6; "Calendario sin fechas. La catedral sumergida. Y III," *Destino* 739 (6 October 1951): 5.

41. "Teatro al aire libre homenaje a Gaudí: proyecto premiado en la I Bienal Hispanoamericana. Arquitecto/s: Ramón Vázquez Molezún, Antoni Gaudí," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 120, (December 1951): 10-13.

42. For two weeks, the citizens refused to use public transport and participated in numerous protest march, registering some act of violence with burning of one of the trams.

43. Antonio de Moragas, "Gaudí o la arquitectura teológica," *Mundo Hispánico* 43-44. (November 1951): 61-63. Moragas continued the wake initiated in the pages of *Destino*: Arturo Llopis, "Gaudí, arquitecto de Dios," *Destino* 727 (14 June 1951): 3-6.



FIG. 6 Nicolas Müller. Photography of Sagrada Familia. *Mundo Hispánico* 43-44, October-November 1951. Miguel de Cervantes Virtual Library

things to do: we can undertake this that will be worth it at the time of doing it and forever more. We believe that the individual act is as rich as a race epic: joining all efforts in one goal, our heritage will multiply, will be defined and ensured. The blindness can no longer last longer. Solidarity around the Sagrada Familia will be the sign that we need to redress. It all depends on everyone. Young writers have the right to ask the moon for our faith to rise to the stars⁴⁴.

1951 ended with the news of a special municipal investment of 2.646.446 pesetas to condition access to the facade of the Birth of the Sagrada Familia, a building that was increasingly visited by foreign tourists, as NoDo news picked up showing a group of visitors descending from a coach to admire the temple⁴⁵. The machinery for articulating, the following year, the double celebration of the XXXV International Eucharistic Congress and the centenary of the birth of the architect had been launched⁴⁶.

44. J. T. "La Sagrada Familia," *Ariel. Revista de les arts* 23 (December 1951): 61.

45. "El templo expiatorio de la Sagrada Familia en Barcelona. Visitantes extranjeros admiran la obra de Gaudí," *NoDo*. (NOT. N418A-8.1.1951).

46. "Aportación del Ayuntamiento a la reconstrucción de la Sagrada Familia," *La Vanguardia Española* (5 December 1951): 11.

In December, “Amigos de Gaudí”, a new cultural entity of the artistic Cercle de Sant Lluç, was created with the purpose of “the study and assessment of the personality and work of Antonio Gaudí, the conservation of his works and the cooperation of the continuation of the Expiatory Temple of the Sagrada Família, faithfully following their project as far as possible”⁴⁷. As a member of “Amigos de Gaudí”, Oriol Bohigas wrote to Josep Puig i Cadafalch to request his adhesion, including in his letter a list of foreign and Spanish personalities who had shown their support⁴⁸.

In May, British historian Nikolaus Pevsner arrived in Barcelona to give two lectures at the COACB - on the 16th and 17th. It was barely ten days before the celebration of the XXXV Eucharistic Congress, whose acts preceded the official commemoration of the centenary of Gaudí with a communion Mass in the Sagrada Família on June 25⁴⁹. “Amigos de Gaudí” increased its presence in the public sphere with the convening of a “Gaudí Contest” to reward “the best literary works that are broadcasted or published in the press of any country and in any language”. The jury ruling -formed by J. Puig and Cadafalch, J. Rebull, A. Skyra, F. Folguera, J.V. Foix, J. M^a Sostres and O. Bohigas- would be published on June 25, 1953⁵⁰. In response to these movements, the City Council of Barcelona applied in September the article 520 which declared Gaudí’s works of historical-artistic interest⁵¹. To these initiatives, an intense publishing movement was added, which resulted in four monographs of the Sagrada Família⁵². One of them was the first *fotoscop* of Gomis and Prats, opening the way to an atmospheric view of the architect’s work that continued in a series of visual books, with hardly any critical apparatus. But the book that raised more expectation was the reissue of the study that Ràfols had dedicated to Gaudí in 1929, which initially appeared in Canosa publishers and was retaken in 1952 by Aedos publishers. In this new issue, revised and extended, two significant changes were manifested regarding the original: the “disappearance” of Francesc Folguera’s study and the inclusion of a new chapter, “Gaudí 1952”, in which Ràfols entered fully in the matter of Gaudí public repair:

Apparently, it was necessary for rationalist or functionalist international architects to claim for Gaudí the place that belongs to him in modern architecture. And the crown of praise on the *Gaudinian* work soon became rich with warm and clear words born from the unusual impression that this work caused them: words of Le Corbusier, van Doesburg, Gropius [...]⁵³

The apparent unanimity in *Gaudinian* recognition was broken in September, when the “Gaya Nuño affair” exploded, caused by the publication of an article in which the art historian discredited the architect’s work:

I don’t like Gaudí, I don’t believe in his genius [...]. Barcelona [...] is the victim city of the cruellest architectural furores that have ever

47. “Gaudí. 1852-1952” (Gaudí Chair Archive. ETSAB-UPC).

48. Oriol Bohigas. Letter to J. Puig i Cadafalch. January 24, 1952. (National Archive of Catalonia: ANC1-737-T-1152). Among the international accessions: Alvar Aalto, Hans Arp, Alfred Barr jr., Walter Curt Behrendt, Alexander Calder, Albert Camus, René Clair, Douglas Cooper, Albert Einstein, T.S Eliot, Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius, Henri Laurens, Le Corbusier, David Lichine, André Malraux, Jacques Maritain, Henri Matisse, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Henry Moore, Richard Neutra, Amedée Ozenfant, Auguste Perret, Nikolaus Pevsner, Gustav Adolf Platz, George Rouault, Alberto Sartoris, Albert Skira, Igor Strawinsky, James Johnson Sweeney, Henri van de Velde, Lionello Venturi, Frank Lloyd Wright, Ossip Zadkine, Christian Zervos and Bruno Zevi; among the Spanish, Azorín, Pío Baroja, Ángel Ferrant, J.V. Foix, Fernando García Mercadal, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Luis Gutiérrez Soto, Gregorio Marañón, Joan Miró, José Ortega y Gasset, Benjamín Palencia, Pablo Picasso, Francesc Pujols, Joan Rebull, Carles Riba, Josep Lluís Sert, Joaquim Sunyer, Eduardo Torroja and Rafael Zabaleta. See also: “Manifiesto Amigos de Gaudí”. *La Vanguardia Española* (4 July 1952): 11.

49. “La conmemoración del centenario del nacimiento de Gaudí. Ayer se celebraron, en memoria del genial arquitecto emotivos actos,” *La Vanguardia Española* (26 June 1952): 18.

50. *La Vanguardia Española* (3 August 1952): 14; and “Concurso sobre la obra de Gaudí,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 129 (September-October 1952): ix.

51. *Gaceta municipal de Barcelona* 06 (8 February 1954): 152.

52. César Martinell, *Gaudí i la Sagrada Família comentada per ell mateix* (Barcelona: Aymà Editors, 1951) and *La Sagrada Família* (Barcelona: Aymà Editors, 1952); Isidre Puig Boada, *El temple de la Sagrada Família. Síntesis del arte de Gaudí* (Barcelona: Omega, 1952) was a reissue that one published in 1929 (Barcino, Sant Jordi collection, vol. 23-24, No. IX and X d’Art Cristià); *Temple Expiatori de la Sagrada Família* (Barcelona: Gráfs. Marina. 1952); Joaquim Gomis, Joan Prats, Alexandre Cirici, *La Sagrada Família de Antoni Gaudí. 80 fotografías inéditas* (Barcelona: Omega, 1952).

53. J.F. Ràfols, “Gaudí 1952,” *Gaudí*. (Barcelona: Aedos, 1952), 211–12.

tainted any city. Modernism, that is, the tuberculous, purulent and cheesy, demented and morpho maniac concretion of a crossroads of cheap imports, such as Wagnerism, with vaguely Hispanic motives, such as active anarchism. Everything is the result of a mental pathology, torture of the imagination, or obscene bulbs⁵⁴.

Although Gaya merely repeated the ideas expressed by d'Ors and Pla in the previous decade, his statements provoked a chain of reactions, such as the replica by Bohigas:

I have long been surprised and at the same time alarmed by Gaudí's strange devoted admirers. Most of them are people with little artistic sensibility and without the slightest architectural culture, an audience that is childishly enthusiastic about any decorative detail completely alien to the essence of the work, and often even architects, who then quietly enclose themselves in their workshop to draw pediments and Corinthian columns, oblivious to the authentic lesson of Gaudí's work [...] In a flash you know how to place yourself exactly at that low cultural height that you have betrayed, like that audience that "admires" Gaudí and sometimes reads you. And as you have already discovered, that what is admired of Gaudí is his personal aura or perhaps the citizen prestige of some of his works, and you also are, just like the public, absolutely unable to reach the deepest of Gaudí's architecture, that is where a critic must arrive; you are attached to what he calls "centenary glorifying choir"⁵⁵.

The resonances of the controversy were still there two months later, when the Escuela Oficial de Periodismo of Barcelona organized a colloquium on Gaudí at the Ateneo Barcelonés, with the participation of Manuel Trens, Juan Bergós, Ricardo Opisso, Alberto del Castillo and Alexandre Cirici, who took up the question:

Who dares to formulate his *anti-Gaudinism*? Who dares, in public, to allow reservations about the work of our official genius? Gaudí is part of the group of "taboos" of Barcelona and woe to the one who dares to question him! Gaudí and Wagner -among others- are dangerous issues for the country's environmental sensitivity [...] The curious thing is that ninety-five percent of Gaudí's devotees are far from sharing the point of view that such a precursor force is nothing valuable, but quite the opposite⁵⁶.

The centenary led to all kinds of reactions and opened new ways of seeing the architect's work, such as *Gaudí*, essay, a documentary by Josep Maria Forn, with a script by Joan Bosch and production by Atlante Films. For the first time, this was a film influenced by Cirlot's book and the renewed perception of the architect as a precursor to the avant-garde.

1953 was the year in which Franco signed the agreements with the US that would finally meant the definitive integration in Western Block after the isolation that Spain had suffered since the end of World War II⁵⁷.

54. Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, "En el centenario del Sr. Gaudí," *Ínsula* 81 (15 September 1952): 10.

55. Oriol Bohigas, "Carta abierta al señor Gayá, (sic) en la que se habla del señor Gaudí," *Destino* 793 (18 October 1952): 20. Gaya Nuño also received reproaches of Josep M^a Garrut in *Índice de las artes y las letras* (January 1953).

56. "Gaudí en el segundo coloquio de la prensa," *Destino* 798 (22 November 1952): 8.

57. The agreements also enabled the organization of an exhibition on Modern American architecture in the Virreina Palace of Barcelona (March 1953).

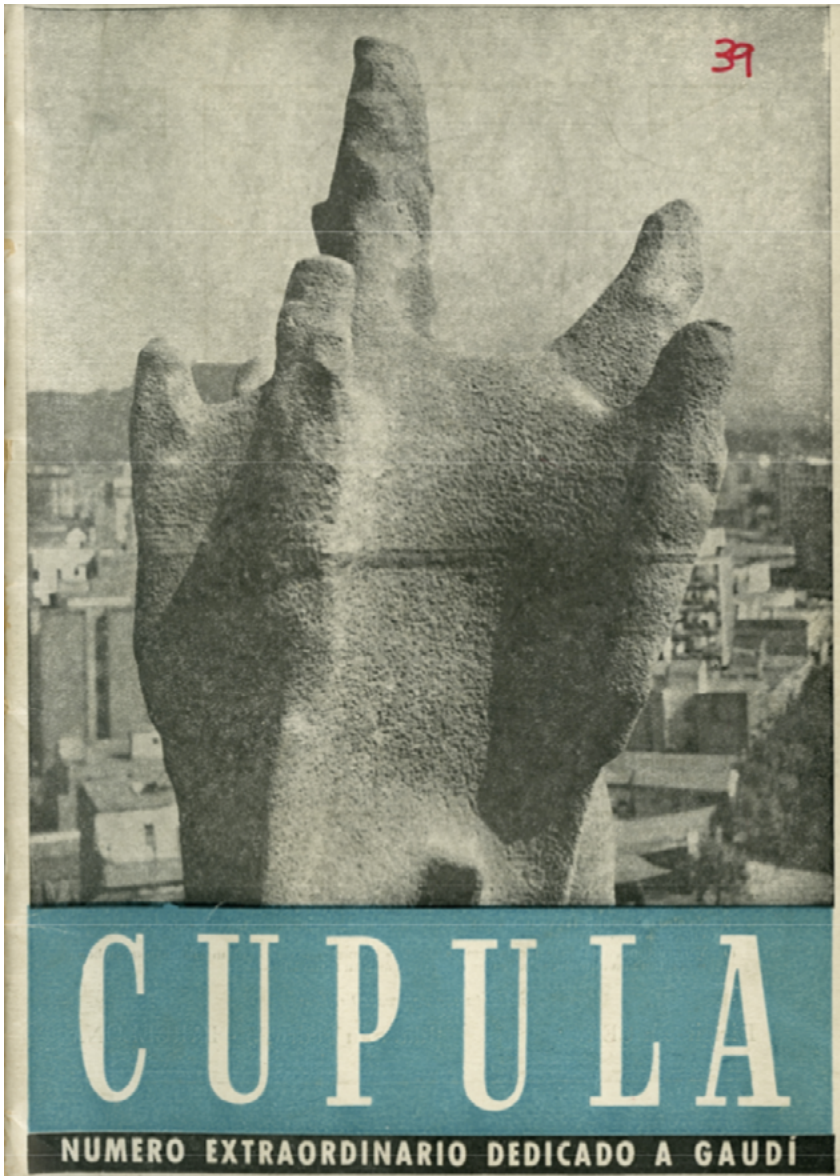


FIG. 7 *Cúpula* 39. Special issue dedicated to Gaudí. January 1953. Gaudí Chair Library. ETSAB-UPC

In January, a special issue of the *Cúpula* magazine brought together all the representatives of local *Gaudinism*, such as Bonet Garí, Puig Boada, Bohigas, Bergós, Martinell, Sostres, Moragas, Cirici, Cirlot, Ràfols and Alfonso Batalla (pseudonym of philosopher Arnau Puig) [Fig. 7]. Sostres introduced a new cartography of *Gaudinian* criticism with "Gaudinist Chronology in three times"⁵⁸ that, a few months later, would have a new title -"Situation of Gaudí's work in relation to his time and current significance"- in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*⁵⁹; and Moragas claimed Gaudí as an incentive to overcome the crisis of modern architecture:

It is interesting to study the figure of Gaudí at a time of such complex problems as ours, when Architecture suffers a tremendous crisis, as a result of urban planning, when Sociology has definitely ceased to be a theory to become a reality, when the utilitarian concept of things is accentuated day after day, by this progressive

58. José M^a Sostres, "Cronología Gaudinista en tres tiempos," *Cúpula* 39 (January 1953): 756–57.

59. José M^a Sostres, "Situación de la obra de Gaudí en relación con su época y trascendencia actual," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 139 (July 1953): 41–43.

increase in the standard of living, at a time when the man dragged by this whirlwind must do anything, the figure of Gaudí has to serve us as an extraordinary example to encourage us all to instill in this inextricable skein of life, the eternal permanence of art⁶⁰.

Gaudí for everything and everyone. Ramon Tort, director of *Cuadernos de arquitectura*, wrote to Alberto Sartoris to update him on the extraordinary issue which was being prepared and should have appeared the previous year:

Opportunely I received your article about Gaudí for its publication in *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*. Internal conveniences [...] motivated the delay of the extraordinary issue dedicated to the Catalan master, and the date of publication was delayed almost a year [...] Your article is extremely interesting and at the same time reveals a not at all superficial knowledge of Gaudí, a love and an affection for the things of Barcelona that I greatly appreciate⁶¹.

For his part, César Martinell published three consecutive articles in *Destino* that would later constitute the corpus of his next book *Gaudinismo* (1954)⁶². Martinell - who guided the readers of *Destino* on the tourist excursions organized by the magazine to visit Gaudí's buildings- rescued the term from the formulation made by Josep M^a Garrut in 1936⁶³ to activate Gaudí's place in the "trajectory of architectural progress" and, especially, to establish a new panorama of historiographic authority around his work⁶⁴. The COACB began to react and, on March 20, it held a "Critical Architecture Session" dedicated to the architect and chaired by the Director General de Arquitectura, Francisco Prieto Moreno, and the president of the council, Julian Laguna. In this Session, with contributions of Martinell, Puig Boada, Sostres and Francisco Navarro, was projected a black and white film of Gaudí's works and some colour slides by Prats and Gomis⁶⁵. Navarro, an architect and scientist from Reus who had held positions of responsibility in Franco's administration, used Gaudí to proclaim the end of the "deviant" architecture of Le Corbusier:

The "Courbussierian" myth (*sic*), buried today in Europe, the studious youth that integrates the avant-garde of architecture has come off the ballast of the prejudices involved in speculating tenderly with masses and volumes; and going back to elementary principles, superior to matter and form, they pursue something that, preceding any composition of architecture, is itself very simple reality. That is to say, they return by the honest and well-intentioned path that Gaudí preached, and, although in a different aspect, they are in the same field of ideas that the Master sows, where without having yet achieved a concrete aesthetic formula, every result is always fruitful, guiding and has a universal sense⁶⁶.

60. Antonio de Moragas, "Antonio Gaudí. De su época a la nuestra," *Cúpula* 39 (January 1953): 759. On April 8, the City Council granted permission to organize the "Exhibition Gaudí photo contest in La Virreina" (April 18-May 1). The jury was chaired by Joan Miró and composed of Thomas Bouchard, Antonio Ollé, Joan Prats, Francesc Català-Roca, César Martinell, Antonio de Moragas and Alexandre Cirici (secretary).

61. Letter from Ramon Tort to Alberto Sartoris (Barcelona, January 24, 1953). Document typed with letterhead and rubric of the architect. (ADS-EPFL. 0172.03.0163. CO/22, 8.1. Espagne: Correspondance. T-U / Tort).

62. César Martinell, "El legado de Gaudí. Su obra," *Destino* 813 (7 March 1953): 18-19; "El legado de Gaudí. Una teoría arquitectónica. Lo estructural y lo decorativo," *Destino* 814 (14 March 1953): 19-20; "El legado de Gaudí. La Sagrada Familia," *Destino* 815 (21 March 1953): 18-19.

63. Josep M^a Garrut, "Justificació del "gaudinisme". Ajuntament de Barcelona. Delegació de Serveis de Cultura, 1936. Josep M^a Sostres will once again set the place of *Gaudinism* in "Interpretación actual de Gaudí," in *Gaudí. Boletín del Centro de Estudios Gaudinistas* (Barcelona: COAC, 1960).

64. César Martinell, "La arquitectura antes de Gaudí," *Gaudinismo*. (Barcelona: Publicaciones "Amigos de Gaudí", 1954), 19.

65. "Sesión crítica de arquitectura celebrada en Barcelona como homenaje a Antonio Gaudí," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 139 (July 1953): 34-50.

66. Francisco Navarro Borrás, "Homenaje a Gaudí," *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 139 (July 1953): 2.

That summer, the French poet Jean Cocteau arrived in Barcelona in his tour across various Spanish cities. The trip inspired *Clair-Obscur* (1954), a set of poems dedicated to Spanish artists, poets, painters and architects, such as Góngora, Lorca, El Greco, Velázquez, Goya, Picasso, Gaudí, Manolete and Pastora Imperio, where they added other poems about cities (Málaga, Granada), monuments (El Escorial) or the bullfight. Cocteau compared Gaudí's works with Gustave Doré's engravings and sculptures, Victor Hugo's drawings and Ferdinand Cheval's fantastic constructions and imagined Barcelona "caught in Gaudí's hair"⁶⁷. During his stay, he was accompanied by Tharrats to which he offered an unpublished poem, "Traduit d'avance" for *Dau al Set* magazine⁶⁸. Cocteau also met Salvador Dalí in Madrid. It was the same year in which photographer Català-Roca made the famous photo report of the Spanish artist in Park Güell.

In August, the winner of the "Gaudí Contest" was announced: it was none other than Nikolaus Pevsner, with "The strange architecture of Antonio Gaudí"; a study published in *The Listener* and broadcasted by the BBC from London⁶⁹. Although Pevsner had delivered his article after the deadline, the jury accepted it, probably with a view to increasing the international resonance of the prize if it fell to a prestigious firm⁷⁰. Among the contestants who received some kind of recognition, the presence of "Hispanicus", author of an article on the Sagrada Familia, published in *L'Osservatore Romano*, is striking. There would not be much to say if it was not because "Hispanicus" was one of the pseudonyms that Francisco Franco used to publish his newspaper articles in the Spanish press -specially *Arriba*-. It seems difficult to imagine that any other author used the same pseudonym as the dictator, so the hypothesis that Franco should be the author of the article gains some credibility.

In 1954 appeared *Gaudí: l'home i l'obra*, a book of Joan Bergós focused on the biographical aspects of the architect; and *Gaudinismo*, a book of Martinell sponsored by "Amigos de Gaudí" in order to legitimize the architect's legacy. Now, it was about

proving, in a dissemination plan, but with the greatest informative scrupulousness, what Gaudí means in modern architecture and more immediately in Spanish architecture [...] It is a DUTY for those who feel prepared for it and for the organisms that can drive it to publicize ALL Gaudí's architectural thinking. The advanced of the world feel eager for this knowledge, even believing that the most distinguished are the four airy bell towers⁷¹.

While the MoMA exhibition was delayed, Sert advanced some contents of his book in *Casabella* and *L'Œil* magazines⁷². The new vision of Gaudí as the prophet and forerunner of modernity had great impact on several fronts, although some people, such as the Italian writer Alberto Moravia, still expressed his contradictions towards a work relegated to an

67. Cocteau remained in Spain between July 1 and August 1; see: Jean Cocteau, "Hommage à Antonio Gaudí," *Clair-obscur, Poèmes* (Monaco, 1954), 165; "Jean Cocteau en Barcelona," *Revista, semanario de información, artes y letras* 65 (July, 9-15, 1953): 16; and Montserrat Peco, "La imagen de España en el pensamiento y la obra de Jean Cocteau," *VII Coloquio APFUE (Asociación de Profesores de Francés de la Universidad Española)*. Cádiz, 11-13 February 1998, Vol. 1 (2000), 222.

68. Jean Cocteau, "Traduit d'avance," *Dau al Set* (Fall 1953).

69. Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Strange Architecture of Antonio Gaudí," *The Listener* (7 August 1952): 213-14.

70. The second prize was "En defensa de Gaudí", the article by Tharrats that appeared in *Revista*; the third was Martinell's three articles for *Destino*; and the fourth, "Gaudí, poliforme", an essay by Sartoris, published in the Italian magazine *Numero*. See: "Fallo del concurso del centenario de Gaudí," *La Vanguardia Española* (8 August 1953): 11.

71. Joan Bergós, *Gaudí: l'home i l'obra* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1954); César Martinell, "Significación de Gaudí en la arquitectura moderna". *Gaudinismo*. (Barcelona: Publicaciones "Amigos de Gaudí", 1954), 16 and 73. Bohigas enter into the debate in "Gaudí y el gaudinismo". *San Jorge* 15 (July 1954): 22-26.

72. Josep Lluís Sert, "Introduzione a Gaudí," *Casabella Continuità* 202 (August-September 1954): 48-56; and "Gaudí visionnaire et précurseur," *L'Œil* 2 (15 February 1955): 26-35.

“irrevocable past” by functional architecture but “detestable from the point of view of taste”:

Gaudí’s coherence has something delirious and admirable at the same time. His macabre and mystical naturalism is a bet, a folly, a perdition [...] Yet Gaudí, in his own way and in the Spanish manner, was kind of a great man. It was the stuff of Picasso, Dalí, Miro and all the Spanish artists who contributed so much to revolutionize the European art in this first half of the century. He was also a precursor of German expressionism and various European neo-Romantic movements, starting with Surrealism. His works of art, detestable from the point of view of taste, are very important from the psychological, social, moral [...]⁷³.

In 1955, Barcelona was being prepared to make Gaudí the biggest tourist attraction in its history⁷⁴, the architect Francesc Xavier Barba Corsini began to transform, in the middle of a bitter controversy, the roof of La Pedrera into modern apartments⁷⁵ and Cirlot published his “Oda to Antonio Gaudí”, a poem whose intention was not “to explain Gaudí” but to express it “to give an emotional equivalent of his art”. The poem, not suitable for all audiences, was accompanied by instructions for proper recitation:

Do not be scared of images that create strange. Read it safely, without declaring and with a certain monotony, like a primitive drunkenness. If you put musical background, let it be something serious and slow. If some music is previously given, let it be, on the contrary, something fast and abrupt. Read it like that, out loud before making judgments⁷⁶.

Very far from Cirlot’s reading, “Amigos de Gaudí” intensified efforts to prepare a great exhibition in Saló del Tinell⁷⁷. In September, the III Biennial Hispano-Americana de Arte was opened in Barcelona and the organizers chose a schematic view of the Sagrada Familia made by artist Enric Planasdurà; and in October, the first exhibition of American art opened with works from the MoMA while new contacts were activated:

Apart from Alfred H. Barr, in September 1955, two other prominent members of the MoMA leadership also met with Gomis and Prats, taking advantage of their stays in Barcelona on the occasion of the Biennial: René d’Harnoncourt, Director of the museum and Porter McCray, Director of the International Program. The main content of the conversations between them seems to revolve around a future exhibition of Antoni Gaudí at MoMA⁷⁸.

In February 1956 the documentary *Piedras Vivas* was released. It was dedicated to the Sagrada Familia and made by Francesc Català-Roca and Anastasio Calzada with a narration by Juan Eduardo Cirlot. Currently missing, the film had won the gold medal for the best black and white film at the Ancona Amateur Film Festival as well as the City of Barcelona

73. Alberto Moravia, “Gaudí. Perfil d’Arte,” *Corriere della Sera* (6 May 1954): 3.

74. Arturo Llopis. “El mundo mira hacia nosotros. España, meta turística,” *Destino* 922, (9 April 1955): 21.

75. “Apartamentos en la planta desván de la Pedrera. Arquitecto Francisco Javier Barba Corsini,” *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* 166 (1955): 11–17; “Apartamentos en la planta desván de ‘La Pedrera,’” *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 22 (2 trimestre 1955): 14–18.

76. Cirlot’s ode was published alongside “El sufrimiento de Antonio Gaudí,” *Templo* 90, (May 1955): 6–10. The same article appeared with the title “La plástica de Antonio Gaudí,” *Goya. Revista de Arte* 9 (November-December 1955): 176–182.

77. Eusebio Güell, president of the association, asked the city council for permission to hold the exhibition between December 1, 1955 and February 1, 1956. On January 27, 1955, the entity had requested a subsidy of 50,000 pesetas of the total of assembly costs amounting to 200,000 pesetas. The Director General of the Municipal Art Museums, Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, replied that the date of the exhibition could not be specified yet because it was necessary to dislodge the Cambó collection of the Tinell.

78. H. Martín points out that it was the exhibition “50 ans d’art aux États-Unis” that MoMA had organized for the Musée National d’Art Moderne in Paris, and which had previously ended up in Zurich, Frankfurt, London, The Hague, Vienna and Belgrade; in H. Martín, “El MoMA y la Gomis-Prats connection, 1946–1960: Joan Miró. Antoni Tàpies y Antoni Gaudí,” in *Destino Barcelona, 1911–1991. Arquitectos, viajes, intercambios*, edited by J. M^a Rovira, E. Granell y C. García (Barcelona: Fundación Arquia, colección *arquí/temas* 42, 2018), 151–52.

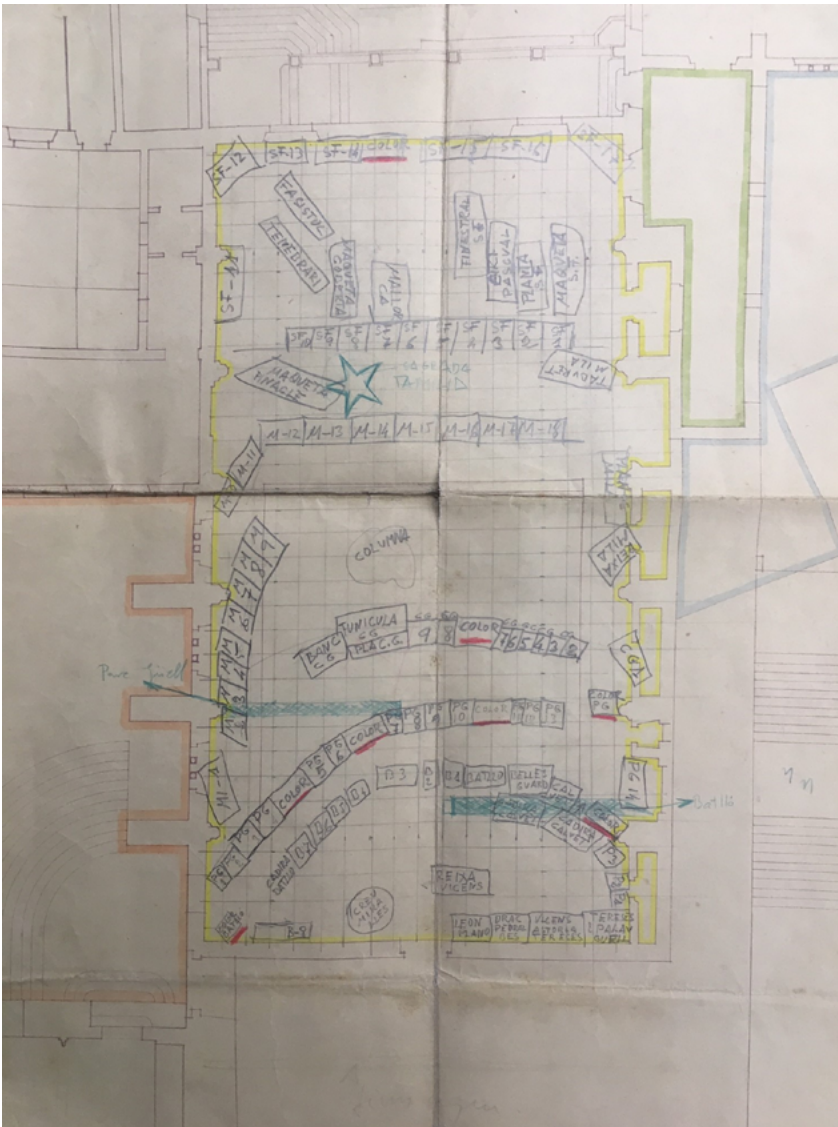


FIG. 8 Sketch of the "Gaudí Exhibition". Saló del Tinell. Barcelona, 1955-1956. Gaudí Chair Archive-ETSAB-UPC

Award⁷⁹. On March 3, the Ministerio de Educación Nacional created the "Special Chair Antoni Gaudí" at Architectural School of Barcelona; the first director was J. F. Ràfols who, since 1943, was full professor of History of Art. Finally, on May 26, the *Gaudí* exhibition was opened in Saló del Tinell with great international repercussion, despite the economic failure that it meant for the organizers⁸⁰. The exhibit, organized by Sostres, Bohigas and Prats [Figs. 8-9], was structured around the photogenic condition of *Gaudinian* architecture with a large visual mosaic formed by numerous big scale photographs and following an approach similar to that of MoMA exhibitions:

Photography has been the great auxiliary of Architecture and without it, on the other hand, the work of an architect could not be presented as in the current exhibition. Photography, in addition, has considerably influenced the evolution of the Architecture, as it simultaneously happened with the other figurative arts from the impressionism to the cubism. In the Gaudí Exhibition, it is

79. "Un triunfo de Catalá-Roca en Italia," *Revista. Semanario de información, artes y letras* 123 (19-25 August, 1954).

80. "Philip Johnson travels to Barcelona to see the Tinell exhibition, visit various Gaudí buildings and meet Gomis and Prats, with whom he intended to finalize the details of Gaudí's future exhibition in New York. George R. Collins and Henry-Russell Hitchcock also visit Barcelona for the first time and attend the exhibition," in H. Martín, "El MoMA y la Gomis-Prats connection, 1946-1960: Joan Miró. Antoni Tàpies y Antoni Gaudí," 157. See also "Exposición Gaudí. En el Saló del Tinell de Barcelona. Muestras de la obra del gran arquitecto," (*NoDo* 704 B, July 2, 1956).

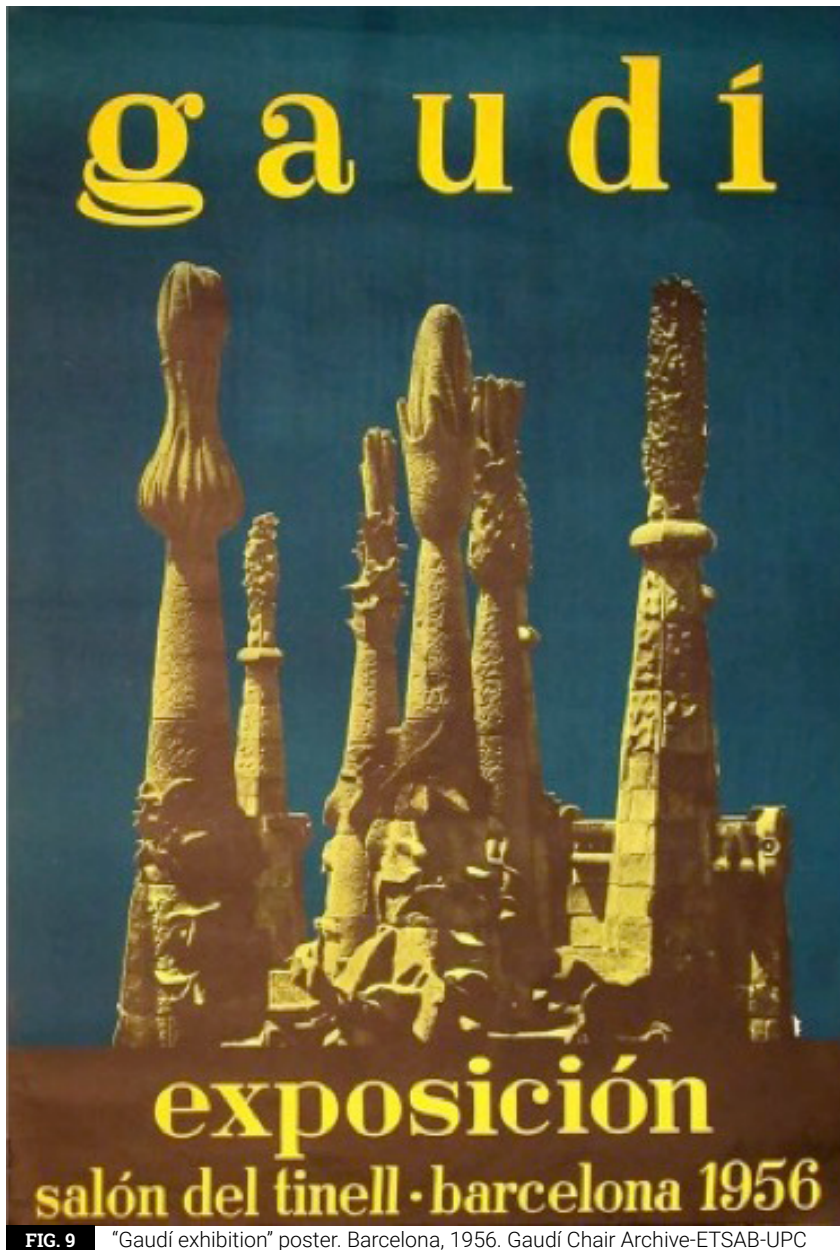


FIG. 9 "Gaudí exhibition" poster. Barcelona, 1956. Gaudí Chair Archive-ETSAB-UPC

interesting to follow through photography this "way of seeing" that has provided us with the objective, from the first contemporary photos of the archive, more, descriptive, virtuous, balanced contrast of light and shadow, to the most recent by Gomis-Prats and Català Roca, in which the influence of abstract art determines technique and theme and space-time values, as well as a clearer awareness of the object⁸¹.

The exhibit was the germ of those that were later held in New York (MoMA, 1957-1958), Milan (1958), Sao Paulo (Biennial, 1959), Paris (1960), Buenos Aires (1960), Valparaíso, (1960), Genoa (1961) and Madrid (1964).

In September, on the occasion of the Virgin of Mercè festivities, Salvador Dalí's performance was held at Park Güell before more than 5000 people [Fig. 10]. With a broom impregnated with tar, Dalí painted on a huge

81. José M^a Sostres, "Gaudí a través de la exposición Gaudí," *Diario de Barcelona* (13 June 1956); in José María Sostres: *Opiniones sobre arquitectura*, edited by Xavier Fabré (Murcia: COATM, 1983), 75. Among the publications related to the exhibition: *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 26 (1956); J. J. Tharrats, "El Arte Otro comienza con Gaudí," *Revista. Semanario de información, artes y letras* (9 May 1956): 4; AA.VV., "23 opiniones sobre Gaudí," *Revista. Semanario de información, artes y letras* (May 21-June 6 1956): 13; and César Martinell, "El sentido de la unidad en la arquitectura de Gaudí," *Ensayo. Boletín de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios Artísticos de Barcelona* 6 (August 1956): 8–16.



FIG. 10 Street advertising of the performance of Salvador Dalí at Park Güell, 1956. Gaudí Chair Archive-ETSAB-UPC

canvas the silhouette of the towers of the Sagrada Familia. Journalistic chronicles echoed that, after his funeral in 1926, it became the largest mass event around Gaudí:

While a crane was lifting the picture -in which the shapes of the towers of the Sagrada Familia were glimpsed- other words from Dalí that had been taken on tape were broadcasted from the speakers, among which three new artistic prophecies stood out: First, that when the functional architecture collapses, all the new architecture of the world will start from Gaudí; second, that all modern art will perish unless it becomes alive with the creative impulse of Gaudí and, third. that Spain, the only country where the Catholic faith has had a militant sense, will be the point of artistic renaissance thanks to the hyperbolic forms of the last great mystic of our time: Antonio Gaudí⁸².

82. "Conferencia del pintor Salvador Dalí en el Parque Güell. "El Generalísimo Franco —dijo— es el mejor Jefe de Estado que existe en Europa." *La Vanguardia Española* (30 September 1956): 32. The performance was broadcast by NoDo: "Pintura excéntrica. Conferencia de Salvador Dalí en el Parque Güell de Barcelona. Un cuadro con alquitrán," (NoDo 718 B, October, 8, 1956).

The exhibition and the performance encouraged the popularity of Gaudí, favouring the edition of a new tourist brochure with a “Gaudí Itinerary”⁸³ and the timely publication of Josep Pla’s *Homenot*:

Gaudí is the Catalan of his time that, since he has been more closely linked to Catalonia and to the Mediterranean, has a vast universal dimension, an overflow of the longest coverage. About Gaudí, we still do not have the complete book we would need [...] the global biography that in the Anglo-Saxon world is dedicated to great men [...]; the great complete book is still missing -to the extreme where human things can be completed- authentic, nothing cut out, truthful. The truth cannot do any harm to Gaudí from any point of view⁸⁴.

Finally, on December 18, 1957, the *Gaudí* exhibition opened at MoMA, with great repercussion in the press⁸⁵. Among the chronicles, Dore Ashton’s article stands out, defending the idea that “Gaudí is the quintessential functionalist because his works are functional at any level, whether physical or spiritual”⁸⁶. The MoMA exhibition also accelerated the creation of “Amigos de Gaudí USA” and a new publishing impulse around the world. An example was *Gaudí fotoscop*, a book from Prats and Gomis with a foreword by Le Corbusier which had a wide impact on the press:

[...] Mr. Gomis and Prats have been registering and ordering for a long time and in their smallest details, the entire work of the architect to form a huge photographic archive that is the basis for quite a few scores and achievements of the latest trends in sculpture and painting, and must be consulted for any serious study on Antonio Gaudí. A complete sample of this intelligent and ambitious work is what both authors -the photographer and the sorter- call “fotoscop”, that is, the series arrangement of the different architectural, sculptural, decorative or merely functional elements in the multifaceted *Gaudinian* work that, through the image, are ordered according to analogies and developments subjected to a rhythm that could be called cinematographic. In this way, structures, materials, ornaments, texture, colour, science and ingenuity, skill, fantasy, even bad taste, arise here and there from this or that building of the ones built by Gaudí, highlight a balustrade, a fence, a fireplace or a shot, stop in such daring work, accuse games of volume and light, making the most sumptuous symphony. And by work and grace of the success in the framing and the wise disposition of the photographs, the “fotoscop” also acquires a pronounced didactic and documentary value, providing what the view does not normally perceive and clarifying better than many treaties, quite a few features and excellences of the *Gaudinian* contribution⁸⁷.

83. “Itinerario gaudiniano,” *Destino* 993 (18 August 1956): 19.

84. Josep Pla, *Homenots*. Sisena sèrie (Barcelona: Selecta, 1956).

85. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Gaudí*. New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1957. See: J.J. Lahuerta, “Sala 6. Nova York,” *Univers Gaudí*. (Barcelona: CCCB, 2002), 190.

86. Dore Ashton, “Antonio Gaudí,” *Craft Horizons* XVII (November-December 1957): 35–41. Other articles that echoed the exhibition were: Anthony Kerrigan, “Gaudianism in Catalonia,” *Arts* 32, (December 1957): 20–25; Edith Hoffmann, “Antonio Gaudí,” *The Burlington Magazine* 659 (February 1958): 70–71; Anthony Kerrigan, “Crónica de Norteamérica. El éxito inesperado de Gaudí,” *Goya. Revista de arte* 23 (1958): 319 and Carlo L. Raggianti. “Antoni Gaudí,” *Sele Arte* 35, (March 1958), 12–23.

87. “Los libros del día. Gaudí,” *La Vanguardia Española* (17 July 1958): 9.

Another exhibition opened in the Milanese studio of the young architect Alessandro Mendini, organized jointly with Mario Brunati and F. Villa. "Gaudí. A precursor", which resulted in a brochure-catalogue with an introduction by Mendini himself, was the germ of a special issue of *Chiesa and Quartiere. Quaderni di architettura sacra* (March 1958) the magazine of the Centro di Studio e Informazione per l'Architettura Sacra di Bologna, with articles by the organizers and Luigi Figini and illustrated with photographs of the Centro de Estudios Gaudinistas that had just opened in Barcelona that same month, on the initiative of Martinell.

In the meantime, Sartoris renewed his Spanish contacts with the intention of publishing his monograph on Gaudí. In a letter dated August 20, Oriol Bohigas recommends him the RM publishing house -which has just published the *Gaudí fotoscop-*, but "if your intention is not a fancy book but an outreach manual" then it refers you to the Seix Barral publishing house and, ultimately, to the Gustavo Gili publishing house, "usually very commercialized". According to Bohigas, Sartoris' book could be the first monograph of a collection about Spanish architects that would promote *Cuadernos de arquitectura*⁸⁸. This book was never published, but Sartoris could finally publish his ideas about Gaudí in the special issue of *Papeles de Son Armadans* -December 1959-, edited by the writer Camilo José Cela⁸⁹. Sartoris placed Gaudí's architecture as "the only example of architecture that can be located in magical realism", taking the recurring view of the precursor of all the *isms* and asking "Why in the world there has been too much talk about Picasso and too little about Antonio Gaudí?"⁹⁰. This new monograph was the fruit of a series of lectures organized at Urbis Club of Madrid under the leading of Luis González Robles, with the participation of Cirilo Popovici, Fernando Chueca Goitia and the secretary of "Amigos de Gaudí", Enric Casanelles, who spoke of the progressive "exaltation of Gaudí", with a "Gaudinian current (that) both in Spain and abroad, Italy and North America -Zevi and Sweeney- begins to worry seriously in the Gaudí case"⁹¹. The trigger had been the Tinell's exhibition, which, in Casanelles's judgment, was

A shot that jumps over the Atlantic and puts it in the heart of New York. If there were some vague news about Gaudí there and throughout North America, the exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art is a revulsion that will make the most restless spirits leap from their chair and the young architects who discover that figure that rarely appears on the face of the earth as the genius that it is. And by logical counterweight, to oblivion follows the craving for valorisation of the preterit genius. Silence gives way to the clamour and so we are today, living an authentic glorification of Gaudí in which there is a great deal of relief mixed with a large number of these reservations that, in our case, many times have made us

88. "Letter from Oriol Bohigas to Alberto Sartoris, August 20, 1958. (ADS-EPFL-0172.03.0163. CO/22, 8.1. Espagne: Correspondance. B /Oriol Bohigas).

89. *Papeles de son Armadans (Número especial dedicado al arquitecto Antonio Gaudí)*. Vol. IV. Issue XV. No. XLV bis (Madrid-Palma de Mallorca: December 1959).

90. Alberto Sartoris, "Gaudí, poliforme," *Papeles de son Armadans. (Número especial dedicado al arquitecto Antonio Gaudí)* 6, Vol. 15, No. 45 V bis (December 1959): 34 and 48.

91. Enrique Casanelles, "Introducción a Gaudí," *Papeles de son Armadans. (Número especial dedicado al arquitecto Antonio Gaudí)* 6, Vol. 15, No. 45 V bis (December 1959): 9.

meditate, to pour us to the question of whether we have been worthy of counting among us a man of exception as Gaudí was⁹².

The success of the New York exhibition also encouraged the Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales of Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores to start an international exhibition tour. The first was the V Biennial of Sao Paulo (September 21-December 3, 1959), conducted in collaboration with "Amigos de Gaudí". *La Vanguardia* echoed the announcement of the commissioner of the Biennale, Luis González Robles, of a Latin American "Gaudí" tour that would travel through Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, in order to go from there to Japan⁹³.

The Sixties. The Expansion of Gaudí in the World

The Latin American tour began in June 1960 with the exhibition in Buenos Aires whose catalogue was commissioned by the Catalan architect Antonio Bonet⁹⁴. The show, sponsored by the Faculty of Architecture of Buenos Aires and installed in the National Museum of Decorative Arts, exhibited 50 photographic panels with Gaudí's works:

In America, where this exhibition is now circulating, the lesson of Gaudí will be very beneficial and healthy. And very understood too. Well, it is not random that in this continent you calm down and flourish better and more profusely than, in part, the most audacious and bold thing in architectural matters. There are the United States, Venezuela, Brazil, etc. And it is the lack of tradition that makes the American field open, without prejudices or illustrious scruples, for all advanced expressions. The new creed of Le Corbusier, the Gropius and the Niemeyer have in America the most enlightened prophets⁹⁵.

The second Latin American stage was the University of Valparaíso in Chile, where the exhibition remained between September and October, including this time an article by Ciriot in the catalogue⁹⁶. But these were not the most celebrated exhibitions, since, at last, an exhibit, although not monograph, was inaugurated in Paris, which would reward Gaudí for the forgetfulness of the French and the poor impact of the 1910 exhibition⁹⁷. "Les sources du XXe Siècle: les arts en Europe de 1884 à 1914" (November 4, 1960-January 23, 1961 Musée National d'Art Moderne) had been promoted by the

92. Enrique Casanelles, "Introducción a Gaudí," 10–11.

93. Enrique Casanelles, "Introducción a Gaudí," 9.

94. Antonio Bonet, ed., *Antonio Gaudí 1852-1926*. Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo-Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Torfano, June 1960).

95. Oriol de Montsant, "Desde Buenos Aires. Exposición de un genio catalán. Gaudí en la Argentina (de nuestro corresponsal)," *La Vanguardia Española* (21 June 1960): 16.

96. "Acto de homenaje a Gaudí en Valparaíso. Se inauguró una exposición y pronunció una conferencia el señor Bassols," *La Vanguardia Española* (14 December 1960): 15.

97. "Gaudí's work will be exhibited again in the French capital, fifty years after it was for the first time, in 1910, at which time the great Gaudinian art was scarcely understood" in "Gaudí, de Hispanoamérica, a París," *La Vanguardia Española* (6 September 1960): 17.



FIG. 11 Movie poster of *Gaudí*, a film by Josep M^a Argemí, 1961

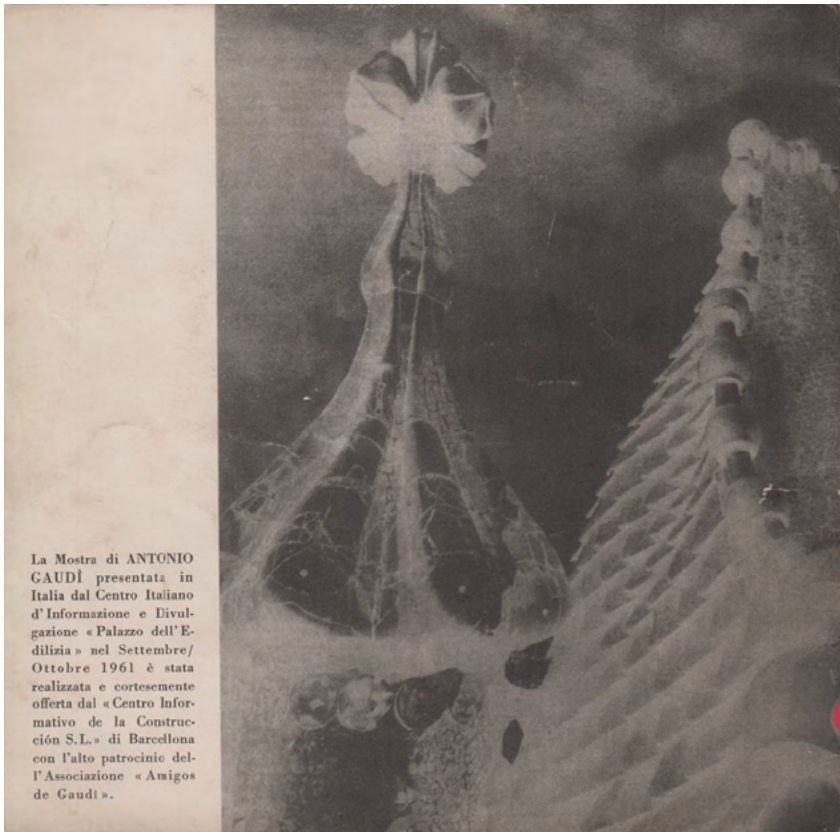


FIG. 12 Back cover of *Gaudí, un precursore*. Catalogue of the exhibition at the Centro Italiano di Informazione e Divulgazione of Genoa, 1961. Gaudí Chair Library-ETSAB-UPC

Council of Europe, with the commissioner of Jean Cassou and the advice of Casanelles, Bonet Garí and Ainaud de Lasarte.

1960 was a year of Gaudí's full recognition, with the emergence of the expected book by Sweeney and Sert, published in London (Architectural Press), New York (Frederick A. Praeger) and Stuttgart (Verlag Gerd Hatje)⁹⁸. It was also the year that George R. Collins published his monograph in the Masters of Modern Architecture collection of New York Braziller editions⁹⁹. And finally, the first biopic of fiction about the architect was released. *Gaudí*, a movie by José M^a Argemí, with a screenplay by Mario Lacruz, music by Xavier Monsalvatge and the advice of Joan Bergós, was developed in the midst of the controversy over the inaccuracy of the biographical episodes it recreated [Fig. 11] His passage through the screens was subjected to negative criticisms, such as the one by Miquel Porter Moix in *Serra d'Or*:

Believing fashion, logic and Technicolor came Gaudí [...] Thus, Gaudí was manufactured [...] and we became enthusiastic, angry and entertained, to the measure of capacities comparable to those of the Catalan medium [...] 1. Biography of an architect without showing or realizing any of the real values of his work, 2. Biography of a Catalan man scolding all the true historical contacts of the character with his country. 3. Biography of a Christian showing only the allegedly false and mystical aspect of man, depriving

98. In 1961, the book appeared translated into Spanish (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Infinito) and Italian (Milano: Il Saggiatore).

99. George R. Collins, *Antonio Gaudí. Masters of Modern Architecture*. (New York: Braziller, 1960). That same year, Martinell published *Antonio Gaudí. 1852-1926 in english* (New York: Universe Books).

him of the fundamental love of charity that perhaps one day will serve to elevate him to a higher dignity. All this without considering psychological faults, historical mutations, ignorance of the artistic moment ...¹⁰⁰.

Gaudinian cinematography increased with new films in the sixties: one of them, directed by Ken Russell and produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1961 for *Monitor-Arts* tv show, insisted on the similarity of Gaudí's work with the forms of nature and claimed his avant-garde; the other, by Italian architect and film director Mauro Richetti, was a poetic view that won the first prize of the Festival of the Science of Pavia in the 1962 edition.

Meanwhile, "Amigos de Gaudí" promoted the itinerary "Barcelona-Gaudí", with a collective bus tour service, to offer "an unprecedented view of monumental Barcelona, particularly that of the end and beginning of the century, in which the proud figure of Gaudí stands out. Today recognized worldwide with the highest qualifications as a precursor to all the findings of current aesthetics"¹⁰¹. The association also promoted new exhibitions, such as the one that opened at the Italian Center for Information and Divulgazione "Palazzo dell'Edilizia" in Genoa, coordinated by the architect Giuliano Forno in September-October 1961 [Fig. 12]¹⁰².

In 1964, when the Franco regime celebrated the "25 years of peace" and the film *Franco, ese hombre* was released in Barcelona, the dictator inaugurated another *Gaudí* exhibit [Fig. 13] at the 1st International Exhibition of the Construction of Madrid¹⁰³. Organized by the Dirección General de Arquitectura del Ministerio de la Vivienda, with a committee formed by Miguel Angel García Lomas, Mariano Serrano, Felipe Batlló, Carlos de Miguel, Javier Feduchi, "Amigos de Gaudí" and Francesc Bassó, Oriol Bohigas, Federico Correa and J. M^a Sostres as advisors, the exhibition was presented as the "culmination of a process of valuation of the *Gaudinian* figure and work, and [...] in addition to the assembly in which no media class has been haggled, the tribute that in the capital of Spain is going to be paid to one of the most representative values of contemporary art. It is, therefore, a true national event"¹⁰⁴. The architect Antonio Fernández Alba, who had collaborated in exhibition assembly [Fig. 14], presented it as "a critical sample -within the somewhat complex limitations that this type of exhibitions carries with it-; a critical exhibition offered to an audience usually not specialized in these topics"¹⁰⁵. It was an exhibition made with technical means superior to the one that had been held in Barcelona in 1956, such as the photographs, mounted on rotating panels, which allowed to relate the works of Gaudí -La Pedrera or Palau Güell- with other examples of modern architecture, such as the Alvar Aalto Finland pavilion for the 1939 New York exhibition or the Johnson Wax Building, by Frank Lloyd Wright (1936-39). This time it was not the photographs of Gomis and Prats that illustrated the show but images of other photographers,

100. Miquel Porter Moix, "Gaudí," *Serra d'Or* 12 (December 1960): 34.

101. "El Itinerario "Barcelona-Gaudí," *La Vanguardia Española* (11 November 1961): 25.

102. Giuliano Forno, *Gaudí, un precursore. Catalogo dell'Esposizione. Centro Italiano di Informazione e Divulgazione* (Genova: Arti Grafiche G. Schenone, 1961).

103. "Actualidad Nacional. S.E. el Jefe del Estado en la EXCO. Inauguró la exposición de Gaudí" (NoDo, 1143 A, 30 November 1964). *Gaudí. Exposición EXCO* (Madrid: Dirección General de Arquitectura-Ministerio de la Vivienda, November-December 1964).

104. "La Exposición Gaudí en Madrid," *La Vanguardia Española* (14 November 1964): 21.

105. Antonio Fernández Alba, "Exposición Gaudí," *Arquitectura* 71 (1964): 51.



FIG. 13 Arriba newspaper cover. Franco visiting Gaudí's exhibition in Madrid while the documentary *Franco, ese hombre*, was released in Barcelona. November 25, 1964



FIG. 14 "Gaudí exhibition". Madrid. Dirección General de Arquitectura-Ministerio de la Vivienda, November-December, 1964. Gaudí Chair Library-ETSAB-UPC

including Francesc Aleu, Josep Brangulí, Adolf Mas, Cristóbal Portillo, Nicolás Reuss, Adolf Zerkowitz and Sánchez-Cuenca, as well as Casanelles and Italian architect Roberto Pane. The exhibit also gave the celebration of the "Gaudí Day" -November 6- and reached another official tribute that had been dedicated to the architect in the Universal Exhibition of New York, with a ceramic mural made by Antoni Cumella. In Barcelona, while a part of the local sphere insisted on deciphering the architect's psychological and spiritual keys¹⁰⁶, the *Gaudinists* circles suffered a deep split, caused, on the one hand, by the exclusion of some of Madrid exhibition and the other, due to the appearance of the monograph written by Pane¹⁰⁷. In fact, it was a confrontation between "Amigos de Gaudí", led by Casanelles, and the Architects' Association, with Martinell in the front row. The trigger was the critical review of Pane's book that Martinell published in *Cuadernos de arquitectura*, in which he questioned Pane's opinions about the state of abandonment of some of Gaudí's buildings. Pane's reply was swift: "in his home (*Gaudí*) continues to be understood as an expression of passions and local tendencies while, in the world, such things have only a limited importance"¹⁰⁸. This controversy continued with a crossing of mutual reproaches in the pages of the magazine¹⁰⁹.

In 1965, the way was opened to new looks towards *Gaudinian* works. *Arquitectura* magazine published a special issue (March 1965) with con-

106. Delfí Abella, ed., *Gaudí. L'home, l'obra, l'anècdota. Crítèrion*. (Barcelona: Franciscàlia, 1964) was edited by the psychiatrist and musician D. Abella with contributions of Isidre Puig Boada, Lluís Bonet Garí, Agustí Esclasans, Enrike Casanelles and Joaquim Civera.

107. Roberto Pane, *Antoni Gaudí* (Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1964).

108. Letter from R. Pane to E. Casanelles: February 24, 1965. (Gaudí Chair Archives. ETSAB-UPC).

109. César Martinell, "Bibliografía," *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 58 (1964): 49-50; Roberto Pane, "Cartas al director," *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 60 (1965): 56; César Martinell y B., "Aclaraciones a una réplica del Señor Alberto (*sic*) Pane. Molestia y tono injustificados," *Cuadernos de arquitectura* 62 (1965): 41-42.



FIG. 15 A frame of *Antonio Gaudí*, a film by Ira H. Latour, 1964



FIG. 16 A frame of *Chaos and Synthesis in Stone*, a film by Rolf Wohlin, 1965

tributions of a new generation of Spanish architects, like Bohigas and Rafael Moneo, among others. In January, the documentary *Antonio Gaudí* of the U.S photographer and filmmaker Ira H. Latour was released [Fig. 15]. The film, with a script by George R. Collins, advice from Anthony Kerrigan and Kenji Imai, was co-produced by Casanelles and Latour and received financial support from the Ministry of Information and Tourism and the City Council of Barcelona¹¹⁰. With the Swedish artist Rolf Wohlin, Casanelles was also involved in the making of *Kaos-syntes i sten* (*Chaos-synthesis*

110. Ira Latour, *Antoni Gaudí*. International Media Films. USA. B&W and colour. 26'20". In the fifties, Latour (1919–2015) travelled to Spain where he photographed and filmed bullfights that were broadcast in Germany and the United States. He also photographed flamenco dancers, the Sierra de Gredos and the architecture of Gaudí. "Spain was a very important part of my life [...] It brought me to focus on basic elements of philosophy and existence. It became the key to many other subjects. It opened doors", says Latour; in Stephen Metzger, *The Art of Ira Latour* (Chico Statements. A Magazine from California State University, Chico, Spring 2009), 12–17.

in Stone), an experimental and pseudo-mystic movie [Fig. 16]. According to Casanelles, Wohlin “had not read any of the biographers. He has faced the work. He did not need any “qualified mentor”¹¹¹. The film was closely linked to the book of Casanelles, *Nueva vision de Gaudí*, that appeared the same year:

On the side of the image, the film [...] also opens a NEW VISION OF Gaudí. Once again, we will say, that in 1965, it has gone from a narrow, local, controversial and Celtiberian perspective, to an ever-increasing knowledge of our artist, which has so far been reduced to the exegesis of a sector that he wanted to close within the scope of localism and exclusivity, absolutely opposed to the essence of a man who left to us a work that we are just beginning to discover, with an integrating spirit, here and abroad¹¹².

The triumph of all these Gaudí’s renewed visions confirm, somehow, that the efforts to recover him in post-war media had paid off. After the first claims in the popular press, of the impulse of a new historiographic current, of his transformation into tourist attraction, of the creation of a world exhibition tour and his presence in the movies, the time had come to bring Gaudí closer to the taste of the public, turning him, definitely, into the merchandise that he is in our times.

111. Document “Caos-Síntesis en Piedra”. Rolf Wohlin-Guió E.C.” (Gaudí Chair Archives. ETSAB-UPC).

112. *Kaos-syntes i sten*. Sverige productions. Sweden. Colour. 12’. The film was released in Barcelona in November 1965 (*Solidaridad Nacional*, 3 November 1965) and awarded by the Swedish Film Institute. (Gaudí Chair Archives. ETSAB-UPC). Letter from Casanelles to Wohlin: October 26, 1965. (Gaudí Chair Archives. ETSAB-UPC).

Built in USA: Post-War Architecture Midcentury Architecture as a Vehicle for American Foreign Policy

Peter Minosh

University of Toronto
peter.minosh@columbia.edu

Hunter Palmer Wright

Independent Scholar
hunter@agencyhpw.com

Peter Minosh is a historian of architecture, urbanism, and landscape with a focus on the relationship between politics and the built environment. His research considers architecture's modernity within the parallel phenomena of expansions of global capital and the emergence of revolutionary political movements from the 18th century to the present. He received his PhD in architectural history and theory from Columbia University and is a lecturer at University of Toronto.

Hunter Palmer Wright is an independent scholar and consultant. Her work focuses on the intersection of art and design, meaning, and change.

She currently serves on the Board of Trustees of the Minneapolis College of Arts and Design and served on the Board of Directors of Docomomo US from 2010-2018. Hunter is a graduate of Columbia University GSAPP, M.S. Historic Preservation, and the Getty Leadership Institute. She has worked with the Minneapolis Institute of Art, Philip Johnson Glass House/National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Museum of Arts and Design.

ABSTRACT

This article considers the 1953 Museum of Modern Art exhibition *Built in USA: Post-War Architecture* in relation to American diplomacy in the 1950s. By examining the international circulation of *Built in USA* by governmental and cultural sector institutions, we situate American postwar architecture within the broader ideological struggles of the Cold War and Latin American democracy movements. We examine informational programs supporting American political and economic interests through their operations in the mass media of exhibitions and print. The Architecture exhibited in *Built in USA*, we argue, maintained a recursive relationship to these media networks by both performing and interrogating its role within American imperialism and late capital.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9679>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Peter Minosh, J. Hunter Palmer Wright



KEYWORDS:

Media; Post-War Architecture; Cold-War; Politics; Museum of Modern Art

In 1961, at the height of the Cold War, Blanchette H. Rockefeller, wife of John D. Rockefeller III, described the internationalist ambitions of the Museum of Modern Art in a pamphlet for the Program of International Exchange: "The Museum of Modern Art has always been international in scope. Founded upon the principle that art should have no boundaries, it has sought the best both in its own country and abroad, and its collections, exhibitions, publications and other educational activities reflect this spirit of internationalism."¹ MoMA's 1953 exhibition, *Built in USA: Post-war Architecture* (Exhibition #528), serves as a unique lens through which to view the Museum's international scope in relation to the United States government's foreign policy priorities. On its surface, postwar modernist architecture was the solidification of the utopian aims of "International Style" architecture, but by studying the debates surrounding this updated modernism and the political and corporate admixture in which it was born, we can discern a project whose stakes were in the global conflicts and exchanges of the Cold War.

In his preface to the *Built in USA* catalog, Phillip Johnson declared, "The battle for modern architecture has been won."² Twenty years prior Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock were struggling to legitimate a European modernist architecture to an American audience. By 1953, they argued, the United States had become the inheritor of this style and the site of its further development. The third installment of the Museum's endeavor to define modern architecture, *Built in USA: Post-war Architecture* [henceforth *Built in USA*] distinguished itself through three selection criteria from the 1934 *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* Curated by Johnson and Hitchcock and the 1944 *Built in USA: 1932-44* curated by Elizabeth Mock. First was a generation of architects trained in schools that no longer taught the traditional styles; second, architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe finally finding commissions deemed worthy of their talents; and third, American government and industry becoming patrons of modern architecture.³ "American architecture is not an isolated phenomenon," Hitchcock argued in his introduction, "in architecture, as in many other things, we are the heirs of Western civilization."⁴

The exhibition included 43 buildings by 32 architects, chosen by Hitchcock as the most significant examples of architecture erected in the U.S. since 1945. Curated in collaboration with Arthur Drexler and Johnson, *Built in USA* was on view in New York from 20 January to 15 March, 1953. It was displayed in the third floor galleries of MoMA's 53rd Street building and was composed of 20' x 14' photomurals accompanied by wall labels illustrated with small photographs and plans, scale models, and stereoscopic slides. Prominent displays included Frank Lloyd Wright's laboratory tower for Johnson Wax, Mies van der Rohe's Lake Shore Drive

1. The Museum of Modern Art, "The Museum of Modern Art and Its Program of International Exchange in the Arts," 1961, MoMA Archives.

2. Phillip Johnson, "Preface," in *Built in USA: Post-War Architecture*, ed. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler (New York: Distributed by Simon & Schuster, 1952), 8.

3. Museum of Modern Art, "'Built in U.S.A.: Post-War Architecture' to Be Shown at Museum," Press Release New York, NY, January 18, 1953. Press Release Archive, Museum of Modern Art.

4. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Introduction," in *Built in USA: Post-War Architecture*, ed. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler (New York: Distributed by Simon & Schuster, 1952), 10.

Apartments, Harrison's United Nations Building, Saarinen's General Motors Technical Center, and Skidmore, Owings, and Merrell's Lever House [Figs. 1-2].⁵

Following its New York exhibition, MoMA coordinated with the United States Information Agency [USIA] to organize four versions of *Built in USA* for circulation. Beginning with the United States' representation in the 1953 Bienal Internacional de Arte de São Paulo, it was shown in over 40 international venues across Central and South America and Europe. An informational campaign in which modern architecture was employed to contrast American values to the Soviet sphere would draw upon this vision of American corporate and domestic life. *Built in USA* would offer an alternative to the centralized socialist state, presenting free workers working to build a better society while retaining their individualities while framing American postwar modernism as an alternative to soviet Socialist Realism for the claim to a cultural avant-garde.⁶ MoMA and the USIA achieved this through the construction of a transnational media apparatus that extended from the curatorial operations of the Museum of Modern Art to the circulation and administration of images in the form of photographs, museum displays, and printed material to the operations of the USIA in building analytics around their dissemination and reception. All of these had their basis in an architecture that was beginning to realize its own capacity as media – breaking its envelope to operate in the world of image and information. This article considers the circuits – representational and administrative – through which architecture both travelled and formed the American informational campaigns of the cultural cold war.

The new American architecture represented in *Built in USA* placed an emphasis on image and identity over economy and efficiency. Corporate buildings were no longer thought of in terms of the organization of the labor force, but sought to occupy a space in the public imagination. Architecture had begun to take a new stance on the purpose of building, seeking not just its economy, but also its market value as both real estate as well as corporate iconology. As Hitchcock noted:

As building costs rose, architects prated only of economy, and it was assumed that a hypothetical businessman's attitude of strict accountancy and budget paring was the only proper one for a serious professional practitioner. Yet actually it has been business, interested in the advertising value of striking architecture, which has sponsored many of the more luxurious – and not to balk at a word – beautiful buildings of the last few years.⁷

Rejecting the universalities of interwar modernism, the new architecture was eclectic, with recognition that, as Hitchcock said, "what applies to New York or Chicago skyscrapers may not apply to all Florida or Connecticut houses."⁸ Rather than the totalizing gestures and mass

5. David E. Scherman, "Installation Views of the Exhibition, 'Built in U.S.A.'" 1953, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, Photographic Archive, IN528.

6. For a discussion of the political struggle between Abstract Expressionism and Socialist Realism during the Cold War: Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 1999).

7. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler, eds., *Built in USA: Post-War Architecture* (New York: Distributed by Simon & Schuster, 1952), 17.

8. Hitchcock and Drexler, 15.

interventions of a utopian strain of European architecture, which explicitly paired design with social engineering, the American architecture emphasized a liberal-democratic idea of free enterprise.

Three discreet groups of architects comprise the bulk of the *Built in USA* selection (excepting, of course, the autodidactic Wright). First were the Émigré architects who brought to the United States the experience and expertise of the European avant-garde as they resettled in the wake of World War II. These included Eric Mendelsohn, Marcel Breuer, Walter Gropius, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe – the latter two formalizing this didactic role in establishing key American architectural programs. Second were the smaller firms adapting this modernism to regional styles across the country, proving the compatibility of the modernism with the cultural and territorial diversity of the United States. Johnson dispatched Drexler to the west coast to survey architects that were not widely known to the group of northeast-based curators. “One may properly speak of a Boston or Bay Region *group* of architects,” Hitchcock noted in his introduction, “but in many ways, considering – as compared to European countries – the enormous distances between one region and another and their disparate climates and available building materials – it is the homogeneity of American production that is surprising.”⁹ Representation in this group included Johnson himself, Ralph Twitchell and Paul Rudolph, Charles Eames (there was no mention of Ray Eames in either the exhibition or the catalog), and Harwell Hamilton Harris. Lastly, the large corporate firms synthesized these two strands into a uniquely American architecture – the Émigrés Mies and Gropius (with TAC) as well as Harrison and Abramovitz, Pietro Belluschi, Eero Saarinen, and Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill. This group is given the greatest critical attention in *Built in USA*, and in this collection of works we can find the terms and stakes of this construal of an American Postwar architecture most clearly articulated.

Hitchcock theorized this particular current in postwar architecture in his 1947 article published in *The Architectural Review*, “The Architecture of Bureaucracy and the Architecture of Genius.”¹⁰ He argued that the conceptual gains of the 1920’s avant-garde had reached a point where they should be consolidated and codified into a more sensible program for building. The continuous experimentation had run its course, and produced the innovative forms necessary for the new architectural programs; the work of a new generation of architects should be to consolidate these innovations. He thus differentiated between two modes of creation in architecture, the architecture of “genius” – being the innovative design made by the lone architect, with Le Corbusier and Wright models – and the architecture of “bureaucracy” – the product of corporate firms whose architects worked anonymously to solidify those innovations into practicable architectural systems. Hitchcock pointed to the work of Albert Kahn Inc. as idiomatic of this architecture of bureaucracy. Hitchcock considered Kahn – as an

9. Hitchcock, “Introduction,” 12.

10. Henry Russell Hitchcock, “The Architecture of Bureaucracy and the Architecture of Genius,” *Architectural Review* 101 (January 1947): 3–6.

individual architect – to be generally mediocre, but nevertheless someone whose organizational genius could “establish a fool-proof system of rapid and complete plan production.”¹¹ Kahn himself had died six years prior to Hitchcock’s essay, making it clear that the success of firm did not require its titular head. The architect was not to provide a singular solution to a given problem, but would prompt a managerial intelligence to design the methods of coming to solutions. “Genius” is not scalable, it is a singular expression unique to the individual building. In privileging the organizational logic of the office and the coordination of components in the field, bureaucracy can be repeated and extended. Hitchcock praised the “straightforwardness, and cleanliness both actual and symbolic,” of the architecture of Bureaucracy “which is the proper generalized expression of an efficient workspace ... rather parallel to the quality of a finely designed and skillfully assembled machine.”¹² These were not the architectural machines of modernism’s industrial metropolis that situated the building within the logic of Taylorized efficiency. Drexler noted in his catalog essay for *Built in USA*, “It was desirable to recognize that these employees are, in a practical sense, the machinery of the organization, even if one might prefer a more spiritualized symbol of constructive international accord.”¹³ As Michel Crozier has shown, the bureaucratic model was to maintain a diversity of skills throughout an organization – imbuing the worker with a nominal agency – while each individual’s local power over one another prevented anyone from gaining any real power within the greater system.¹⁴ Hitchcock’s actual and symbolic cleanliness refers to the logistical apparatus whose machinations are in the administration of knowledge.¹⁵

Drexler framed his survey of postwar American architecture in his catalog essay “Post-war Architecture” around the rather nebulous concept of “conspicuous space,” his opening sentence stating,

Architecture, even before it is sound planning or adequate plumbing, is conspicuous space. The methods by which architects today habitually organize space to make it conspicuous are largely derived from the work of three men: Frank Lloyd Wright, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Charles Le Corbusier.¹⁶

Drexler’s notes in the Museum of Modern Art archives offer some elaboration of the concept. Under the heading “arch. as conspicuous space” he writes “arch is ‘will of epoch translated into space’: makes particular style of a time,” and “Our style result of preoccupations with abstract form – geometric form, isolation of single motivating ideas, or simultaneous statement of several ideas of structure.”¹⁷ Wright and Mies van der Rohe provide the best exemplars of conspicuous space through contrasting approaches. For Wright, style is an “elaboration of means”:

Wright himself, for example, invents new forms for each experience of space his buildings are designed to offer. His architecture

11. Hitchcock, 4.

12. Hitchcock, 5.

13. Arthur Drexler, “Post-War Architecture,” in *Built in USA: Post-War Architecture*, ed. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler (New York: Distributed by Simon & Schuster, 1952), 23.

14. Michel Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 163.

15. Reinhold Martin refers to this as the “Organizational Complex.” Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).

16. Drexler, “Post-War Architecture,” 20.

17. Arthur Drexler. Handwritten notes pertaining to *Built in USA*. C. 1952. 3 leaves, located at: Museum of Modern art, New York, NY; CUR Exh #528, Box 28.

is an exuberant elaboration —a three-dimensional commentary on a building's function or on its particular structural form.

For Mies, style is an "isolation of means":

Mies van der Rohe, excluding from his architecture whatever is not directly related to structure, makes structural clarity a value independent of the specific buildings that occasion it.

One aspect of conspicuous space was programmatically driven. "Integration of programs on style" he noted "produces adaptations of style which then often go on by themselves" He saw, for instance, in Eames and Soriano a project of elemental clarification of program and in Fuller's domes a redefinition of the scope of program. The larger part of this concept offers a formalistic interpretation of postwar architecture. Through thoughtful detailing, the floor and ceiling plates of the Farnsworth House seem to hover past their supporting columns, activating the space within. The marble walls of the secretariat tower of the United Nations building encase the uniform glazed slab "rising directly from the ground." The Lever House is elevated such that its tower appears to begin three stories off the ground, to "make a great gift of air and light to the streets around it" while from the interior, the floor to ceiling windows allow the impression of being "in an airplane hovering directly above park avenue." The precision of detail in the school buildings of Maynard Lyndon create the illusion of an architecture without detail that seems to be "cut and folded out of the same imaginary sheet of cardboard" rather than assembled from different elements.¹⁸

18. Drexler, "Post-War Architecture," 33.

Throughout this interpretation of a formally autonomous late-modern abstraction, Drexler hints at another possible mode of interpretation that situates these buildings within the burgeoning postwar media and logistical apparatuses. The larger part of his text considers a new postwar paradigm of the curtain wall – large surfaces of glass that despite their planarity, somehow elude the "conspicuous space" paradigm of Greenburgian flatness. Remarking upon the Mies's use of vertical steel I-beams that serve as window mullions the Lake Shore Drive Apartments, Drexler takes their importance to be representational rather than formal.

In an architecture based on the logic of construction Mies has used structural elements primarily for a non-structural purpose. The importance of these steel appliques is that they suggest a vocabulary of ornament inherent in the concept of the steel cage. Like those Gothic cathedrals – structural webs of stone filled with colored glass – which transcend the decoration of structure by becoming themselves pure decoration, Mies' decorative steel indicates a potential development of what is now the most refined style of our time.¹⁹

19. Drexler, 22.

The I-beam mullions running up Mies's curtain wall resituate the material of the industrial city into the logistical apparatuses of the managerial complex under late capital. By transforming structural elements into decorative motif, Mies exceeds the merely formal qualities of conspicuous space to find in it a symbolic content that speaks specifically to the contemporary moment.

Other examples abound throughout the text. Drexler doesn't quite know what to do with uniform surfaces that break the modernist paradigm by veiling – rather than articulating – the functions that lie within. But these autonomous glass envelopes reveal as they obscure. Drexler continuously sees the logistical, commercial, and mediatic functions of these buildings projected onto their surfaces. The elevations of Sarrinen's General Motors Technical Center always recede in perspective due to the horizontal expanse of the building, exaggerating the serial repetition of its modular steel and tinted glass panels to suggest "a façade turned out mechanically by the yard" (30). The serial repetition of the curtain wall imagines the space of this logistical complex extending in all directions towards a receding horizon; the scope of the operations within far exceeding the proper delineations of the building. The stamped aluminum panels of Harrison and Abramovitz's Alcoa Building with their rounded-corner windows resemble "several thousand television sets" encasing the structure (26). The punched apertures of the curtain wall are countless screens in countless living rooms, all transmitting the same content. Harrison's United Nations Secretariat tower stands apart from midtown Manhattan, transforming the jumble of its buildings into "harmless decoration" by splaying them across the taut glass mirror of its elevation (23). The mirrored surface of the curtain wall transforms the towers of the existing metropolis into detached representation, turning the old industrial city into pure image, autonomous of the economics and politics of late capital.²⁰ Lastly, Drexler imagines the glass and steel envelope of SOM and Gordon Bunshaft's Lever House – the headquarters of a multinational soap company – lathered in soapsuds left by the window washers (25). The curtain wall becomes a billboard to display its product, dissolving the demarcation between formal autonomy and commercial image. The entire envelope is transformed into a giant billboard; its blank surface fully integrated into the circuits of commercial imagery.

In each case, the flat surface of the curtain wall belies the ambitions of "conspicuous space" – a space in which Drexler seeks to maintain architecture's formal autonomy at the moment of its integration into late capital. As Reinhold Martin points out, the austere and abstract formalism of this modernism fashions a space for the integration of architectural representation into the media apparatuses and commercial image production of the postwar period – the moment when "architecture recognized itself, reflected in the curtain wall, as *one among many media*."²¹

20. This anticipates Tafuri and Dal Co's later inversion of that mirror in Mies's Federal Court Building in Chicago that "obliges the American metropolis to look at itself reflected ... in a neutral mirror that breaks the cities web." Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (New York: Electa/Rizzoli, 1986), 314.

21. Reinhold Martin, *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism, Again* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 39.

In its integration within the circuits of media, logistics, and mass-circulating commercial image – the circuits being configured just behind (or, for Martin, upon) the surfaces of these curtain walls – we can locate the place of *Built in USA* within the global ideological struggle of the Cold War.

Through two new cold-war era informational programs – the International Program of the Museum of Modern Art, founded in 1952, and the United States Information Agency, founded in 1953 – *Built in USA* would become a vehicle for the spread of American corporate hegemony and western liberal ideology in Central and South America and Western and Eastern Europe. Both of these programs were the brainchild of Nelson Rockefeller, who operated at the highest levels of the corporate, governmental, and cultural spheres to bring postwar artistic and informational cultures into the service of Cold War political campaigns.

Nelson Rockefeller was early on an avid proponent of modern architecture. In a letter to his parents on his 21st birthday he wrote “I’ve been thinking very seriously of becoming an architect – probably a very fine one.”²² While Rockefeller never became an architect, he did play an integral role creating and promoting modern architecture through commissions, exhibitions, and international collaboration. He commissioned governmental and private projects that promoted modern architecture. Many of the ideals attributed to postwar modernism, and *Built in USA* in particular, are to be found in his eponymous Rockefeller Republicanism that espoused a combination of free-market economics, liberal social values, and support for social programs.

The Museum of Modern Art was very much a Rockefeller family institution and Nelson held numerous posts in its administration from joining the Junior Advisory Council in 1930 to becoming President of the Museum in 1939 – a position he held until 1950 (with a brief hiatus during the war). Throughout this period he held a number of parallel appointments in the United States Foreign Service aimed at American interests overseas. He served as head of the International Development Advisory Board; Chairman of the Inter-American Development Commission and Corporation; Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs in the Office of Inter-American Affairs; Special Assistant to President Eisenhower for Foreign Affairs; head of the Operations Coordinating Board, a group responsible for coordinating and implementing the National Security Council in all aspects of the national security policy. After his tenure at MoMA he served as Special Assistant to President Eisenhower for Cold War Strategy.²³ Lastly, of course, he served as Governor of New York from 1953 to 1973 and Vice President of the United States from 1974 to 1977.

In 1938 Rockefeller was appointed president of the Creole Petroleum Company, the Venezuelan subsidiary of Standard Oil. In 1937, after lead-

22. Samuel E. Bleecker, *The Politics of Architecture: A Perspective on Nelson A. Rockefeller* (New York: Rutledge Press, 1981).

23. Helen M. Franc, “The Early Years of the International Program and Council,” in *The Museum of Modern Art at Mid-Century: At Home and Abroad*, ed. John Szarkowski et al. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, Distributed by H.N. Abrams, 1994), 110.

ing a group of business associates on a 27-nation tour of Latin America, he became alarmed at the degree of social unrest that might provide instability in the region, and thus threaten his family's foreign holdings. After raising his concerns with Franklin D. Roosevelt, the president formed the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs [CIAA] in 1940 charged with the dissemination of American cultural material to Latin America, with Rockefeller at its head.²⁴ This role in the CIAA directly tied his interest in American foreign relations to the operations of MoMA. Through the figure of Rockefeller, we can link the cultural politics of the CIAA in its aim to promote American values in Latin America to Standard Oil's desire to quell anti-American sentiment in the regions where the company had business interests. In his position as head of CIAA and president of MoMA, Rockefeller was uniquely positioned to bring museum resources into the project of cultural exchange.

Beginning in the late 1940's American cultural conservatism spawned significant opposition to freedoms of expression that did not leave modern art unscathed. Missouri Congressman George Dondero publicly declared, "All modern art is Communistic and part of a worldwide conspiracy to weaken American resolve." Initially, the most vulnerable were the Abstract Expressionists. Secretary of State George C. Marshall best condensed the official feelings of the time in 1947, when he pulled a traveling exhibition "Advancing American Art," based on the various shades of communism of "more than 20 of its 45 artists," and dictated that there would be "no more taxpayers money for modern art."²⁵

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund was founded in 1940 as the vehicle through which the six children of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. could share advice and research on charitable activities and combine some of their philanthropies to better effect.²⁶ Nelson Rockefeller encouraged Porter McCray – then head of MoMA's Department of Circulating Exhibitions – to apply for a Rockefeller Brothers Fund to found a Program of International Exhibitions. On 12 June 1952 MoMA presented their application to "present in foreign countries and the United States the most significant achievements of the art of our time." It specifically noted the failure of the government to take on this role and the need for private institutions to fill that gap.²⁷ A five-year \$625,000 grant was approved thirteen days later to establish the International Program.

Separately, on 24 January 1953 President Dwight Eisenhower called upon Rockefeller to chair the new President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization, or the Rockefeller Committee, to explore the role of information and propaganda in American foreign policy. Foreign information services under the State Department – the Voice of America and the Overseas Library Program – were suffering prolonged attacks by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations headed by Senator Joseph McCarthy, who sought to fabricate communist conspiracies

24. Franc, 110.

25. Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*.

26. Rockefeller's Latin American focus was also privately buoyed by Rockefeller family oil interests in Venezuela: Darlene Rivas, *Missionary Capitalist Nelson Rockefeller in Venezuela, The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

27. *The Museum of Modern Art. A Proposed Five-Year Program of International Exhibitions. 12 June 1952. 4 leaves. Located at: Museum of Modern art, New York, NY; Reports & Pamphlets, Box 18.2.*

in American government and culture. The Rockefeller Committee made its recommendation on 3 April 1953 to form a new United States Information Agency that would take over all foreign information services.²⁸ Information services previously under the diplomatic rubric of the State Department would become part of the national intelligence operations – freeing them from political interference. Eisenhower ordered, “The director of the United States Information Agency shall report to and receive instructions from me through the National Security Council or as I may otherwise direct.”²⁹

In 1954 the American Federation of Artists [AFA] organized and exhibition of four American artists for the XXVI Venice Biennale, one of whom was Ben Shahn. Under pressure from the USIA, the AFA was forced to remove Shahn due to his suspected communist leanings. Later that year the USIA cancelled an AFA exhibition of one hundred paintings by seventy-five artists, claiming ten of the artists were communists. The USIA then formed a policy effectively prohibiting the overseas exhibition of Abstract Expressionism by declaring that no art produced after 1917 (the year of the Russian Revolution, as Helen M. Franc points out) would be shown.³⁰

Two years later the Rockefeller Brothers Fund offered the International Program a five-year \$460,000 continuation of their initial grant to establish the Program as a corporation that would eventually separate from MoMA to develop its own institutional standing at the national level.³¹ McCray recalled Rockefeller’s sentiment in this approach, “He said, ‘I want you to be independent, and I don’t want anyone to block this program.’” McCray recalled that this independence allowed the International Program to not only exhibit works of Abstract Expressionism prohibited from USIA support, but also to display artists such as Ben Shahn who had been targets of anti-communist intrigue.³²

These informational campaigns faced a unique set of challenges. Along with efforts by McCarthy to dismantle expertise in foreign relations, the situation in the Soviet sphere was rapidly evolving. For years the American informational campaign had subsisted in contrasting its position that there were multiple models of a free society to the Soviet position that demanded a uniform model of the soviet state for all of its satellites. The death of Stalin and the loosening of the Soviet Union’s grip upon its satellites allowed a diversity of models for the communist state to flourish across Warsaw Pact nations. This enabled the Soviet Union to make significant headway through the exploitation of postcolonial animosities toward the west. With these developments, the United States became worried about the tenability of their own ideological positions before an international audience.

Under these pressures, the United States foreign policy came to a moment of crisis with the 1955 Geneva Summit, a meeting of “The Big Four”

28. For a history of the USIA in the Cold War: Nicholas John Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); For a collection of letters and documents relating to this period: Herbert A. Fine, Ruth Harris, and William F. Sanford, Jr., eds., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957. Foreign Economic Policy; Foreign Information Program, vol. IX* (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1987).

29. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989*, 91, fn.43.

30. Franc, “The Early Years of the International Program and Council,” 116–17.

31. Patricio del Real, “Building a Continent: The Museum of Modern Art and the Politics of Circulating Images,” Research report, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, 2010. The International Program remains within of the Museum of Modern Art.

32. Porter A. McCray, interview by Sharon Zane, April 18, 1991 - September 22, 1993, transcript, Oral History Program, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

powers, the United States, The United Kingdom, The Soviet Union, and France. The Summit sought to open up a discourse to that would ease tensions after the Stalin era. As this cooling off decreasing the likelihood of all out war, the State Department had to transition its strategy from military to informational operations in order to continue its ideological struggle within a new set of terms. The propaganda mission was much more than an effort to articulate the benefits of American style democracy; it was moreover an extension of military aims, “an attack on the minds of men who will make war.”³³

In a 1955 circular to all USIA posts, director Abbott Washburn described the shift in strategy that was to take place in the wake of the Geneva Summit. The United States consistently viewed the easing of cold war tension with the Geneva summit as the opening of another front in the cold war that Kennedy would coin the “peace race,” and the USIA, as the center of informational efforts, was set to the task of countering the aggression of soviet diplomacy. Washburn thus laid out the difficulties of dealing with an enemy who was no longer openly hostile. Quoting a USIA bulletin:

In the past our task was often rendered easier by the bellicose actions and statements of Stalin and his cohorts. Questions of international right and wrong were reasonably well defined. But the Soviet leaders’ recent dramatization of peaceful co-existence via “garden party diplomacy,” state visits to other countries, and the partial relaxation of press and travel restrictions are serving to blur the basic moral and political issues in many people’s minds. This makes our job both more difficult and more necessary.³⁴

The Soviet desire for a Peaceful coexistence stated in the Geneva Summit reframed the Cold War as two differing spheres of influence, each with their own basic right to exist. The United States would not accept these terms and sought to define peace quite differently – as a complete and total victory in the cold war. Washburn continued:

What the U.S. means by peace, [...] is a peace by *Change* – a free Germany, reunified in the context of NATO and threatening neither East nor West; eventual liberation of the satellites; a world freed from the violence and subversion of international communism; and a free and expanding world economy. This is peace with justice and freedom, not between rival blocs but between nations acting in the hue interest of all peoples. Our information program must clarify this distinction and make it stick.³⁵

It was becoming increasingly difficult to make the case Western Europe for the continued isolation of the Soviet Union. The greatest trouble that this posed for the State Department was that with the new discourse of openness they were not destroying the Soviet will to fight, but that the Soviet Union was instead destroying the will of The United States’ Euro-

33. “Memorandum of a Telephone Conversation Between the President and the Secretary of State. Washington, May 24, 1955, 10:20am. Fine, Harris, and Sanford, Jr., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957*, IX:524.

34. “Circular Letter from the Acting Director of the United States Information Agency (Washburn) to all USIS Posts. Washington, August 24, 1955. Fine, Harris, and Sanford, Jr., IX:527.

35. Fine, Harris, and Sanford, Jr., IX:528.

pean allies to fight. The American message was not just for people of Soviet “captive nations,” but also for the people of Western Europe who needed to be reminded of the Soviet threat and of their reliance upon the United States to counter it. The project of postwar modernist architecture projected by *Built in USA* adheres to Historian Odd Arne Westad’s description of American foreign policy aims, “a globalist vision that fitted the ideology and the power of the United States in the late twentieth century, while being symmetrical with the character of its communist enemy, an enemy that also portrayed itself as *popular, modern, and international*.”³⁶

Modern architecture could project many of the ideals of Abstract Expressionism – liberal values, diversity of positions, and empowerment of the individual – while maintaining its status as functional object so as to not violate prohibitions on the display of contemporary art. Secondly, as opposed to paintings and sculptures, which were fragile and expensive to transport, architecture circulated through the photographic image – multiple copies of an architectural exhibition could appear in different places at once. The International Program assembled four copies of *Built in USA* for distribution in Europe and Latin America between 1953 and 1960. Two of these travelled under the auspices of the Program, the USIA directly commissioned the two others. The first copy to travel was part of the American representation at the *Bienal Internacional de Arte de São Paulo* in December of 1953, and was sent to the American Embassy in Rio de Janeiro in May of 1954. It was then returned to New York and translated into Spanish for a Latin American tour in September of 1956, beginning a tour of Mexico in Mexico City, continuing on to cities Puerto Rico, Peru and Argentina, and dispersed in November of 1958 [Fig. 3]. A copy for a Northern European tour began in London in October of 1956, visiting cities in England, Ireland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland and donated to the *Rakennustaitteen Museo* (Finnish Architecture Museum) in Helsinki in June of 1958. The United States Information Service [USIS], the Foreign Service branch of the USIA, coordinated a number of these exhibitions. The other two copies were directly commissioned from the International Program by the USIA for circulation in Southern and Eastern Europe. A copy for an Italian tour began at *Palazzo Barberini* in Rome in February 1956 and traveled throughout Italy, the USIA then translated it into Polish for a tour of four cities in Poland. It was deposited at the University of Warsaw in 1957. The final copy began in Bucharest in January of 1958, traveled throughout Rumania, followed by Greece, Yugoslavia to end in Brussels in October of 1960. It was dispersed in December of that year.³⁷

Exhibition pamphlets were produced for each location and major arts publishers in Italy, Argentina, and Yugoslavia printed full translations of the *Built in USA* catalog. De Luca Editore – a hub of the Roman postwar arts scene – published an Italian version, *Architettura americana d’oggi*,

36. Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 38.

37. Itineraries of Traveling Exhibitions: Located at: Museum of Modern art, New York, NY; Exh #528: Sao Paulo...Rio de Janeiro, V. ICE-F-19-53.17, V.16.17; Mexico City...Buenos Aires, V. ICE-F-27-55-19, V16.19; London...Helsinki, V. ICE-F-10-53.1, V11.1; Rome...Warsaw, V.SP-ICE-9-55.22, V16.22; Bucharest...Brussels, V.SP-ICE-20-57.24, V16.24. 3 leafs, located at: Museum of Modern art, New York, NY; International Council and International Program Records Subseries I.A: International Program ICE-F Exhibition Files.

in 1954; Gradevinska knjiga published the Serbian language *Posleratna arhitektura u SAD* in Belgrade in 1956; and Editorial Victor Leru published the Spanish language *Arquitectura moderna en los Estados Unidos* in Buenos Aires in 1957 [Figs. 5-6]. Long after the exhibitions had moved on, its images and representations would remain in the libraries of universities and professional associations.

The selection of locations at which *Built in USA* was exhibited speaks to the cultural politics of different contact zones of the Cold War. The Latin American exhibitions, the only ones wholly organized and operated by the International Program, are closely related to the interests of the Rockefeller Family who wanted to project American values to a restive South American population. There, the promise of cultural development was intended to assuage anger about natural resource exploitation by a foreign company. McCray and René d'Harnoncourt, director of MoMA from 1949-1967, both came to MoMA from Rockefeller's CIAA and had built networks of cultural exchange across Central and South America. The International Council proved adept in recruiting key cultural actors to its project. The *Sociedad de Arquitectos Mexicanos* and the journal *Artes de Mexico* hosted the Mexico City exhibition at the *Galerias del Chapultepec*. Miguel Salas Anzures, editor of *Artes de Mexico* who would found Mexico City's *Museo del Arte Moderno*, wrote the introduction for the eight-page exhibition catalog. The faculty of the *Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería* and the "Patronato de las Artes" group – an association of artists and writers who would found the *Museo de Arte Lima* in 1959 – hosted the Lima exhibition at the *Palacio del Artes*. The Bauhaus-trained Peruvian architect Paul Linder wrote the introduction for the ten-page catalog. Rodolfo Möller of *Universidad de Buenos Aires* and founder of the journal *Canon* translated the Spanish edition of the *Built in USA* catalog. The International Program was keen on tracking the outcomes of these efforts in the public sphere. They produced detailed documents describing the exhibitions' press reception with consideration to circulation numbers and the political leanings of the outlets.

The USIA largely organized the European exhibitions, many of which were key strategic points in the Cold War. A map of the paths of the exhibitions plots the western boundary of the Soviet Union and covers the range of conditions in the Cold War [Fig. 4]. In Western Europe, Italy and Greece both had US supported center right governments with significant communist party opposition; Greece had recently fought a civil war pitting communists against the government – anticipating the conflicts of the Cold War. Many of the Warsaw Pact countries were exploring alternatives to Soviet-style governance. The 1956 Polish October uprising brought reforms that distanced Poland from the Soviet model. In Yugoslavia, Tito was accepting American aid over Soviet objections and formulating an

internationalist non-aligned movement. Rumania, on the other hand, was firmly in the grip of the Soviet Union.

Democratic governments fully embraced the message of the *Built in USA* show, and its position in the cold war as the promise of the American way of life. A Foreign Services dispatch from December 1958 quotes the remarks of Avgoustis Theologitis, minister of Northern Greece:

The people of the United States, composed of many people from many parts of the world, occupy a leading position in both the material and cultural fields. This is a reassurance for all of us, because this material, technological and cultural progress contributes in repelling forces which menace the world with indescribable consequences for humanity.³⁸

38. Thompson, Clary (Public Affairs Officer, United States Information Service, Athens, Greece). Foreign Service Dispatch. 19 December 1958. 2 leafs. Located at: National Archives, College Park, Md.

Materials charting the reception of the Rumanian exhibitions offer a window into the operation and reception of the exhibition in Eastern Europe. Correspondences between John Crockett, the exhibit officer for the American Legation in Bucharest, Paul Child, exhibition Director of the USIA, and McCray describe their success in carrying the US message into Eastern Europe. In a letter from Crockett to McCray:

The exhibit, in short, was the first window permitted under official Rumanian sponsorship to enable its citizenry to look in on an aspect of American life – an aspect that was wholly American itself and not through the propagandistic interpretation of the party press that distorts every other aspect of America. As such it contributed to making quite a chink in the Rumanian curtain.³⁹

39. Crockett, John (American Legation, Foreign Service of the United States of America, Bucharest, Rumania). Letter to Porter McCray (Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY). 1958 April 12. 2 leafs. Located at: museum of Modern art, New York, NY; Exh #528, V.SP-ICE-20-57.24, V16.24

Similarly, a dispatch from Child to McCray described the exhibition's reception in the Rumanian press:

A Rumanian weekly, *Contemporanul*, called the exhibit "a demonstration of a new aesthetic vision" and, in our opinion, there is no doubt that the display gave those who saw it their first sight, in a long time, of an important side of American culture.⁴⁰

40. Child, Paul (Information Center Service, United States Information Agency, Washington, DC). Letter to Porter McCray (Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY). 1958 May 8. 1 leaf. Located at: museum of Modern art, New York, NY; Exh #528, V.SP-ICE-20-57.24, V16.24

Elie Abel reiterated this point in his review of the Bucharest showing for the *New York Times*, remarking upon the popular draw of the exhibition with "the outpouring of fur-hatted peasants, factory workers, housewives, school children, even gypsies to see an exhibition that is somewhat technical in nature." This Rumanian audience could see first hand the contrasts between American modernism and soviet-sphere realism, distinguishing the "clean lines of a building by Mies van der Rohe" from the "fussy, colonnaded style of Soviet Architecture to which the Rumanian public has become accustomed."⁴¹

41. Elie Abel, "Rumanians Flock to U.S. Exhibition," *New York Times*, February 16, 1958.

The international circulation of *Built in USA* took place through a number of interlocking media environments. Photographic, model, and stereoscopic image brought architecture into the museum while the exhi-

bition catalog dispersed this media among a wider public sphere. These media were reproduced for the international circulation of architectural image. Translations of the catalog and pamphlets composed by regional experts to contextualize these images for local audiences enlarged the public sphere of this architecture beyond the gallery. These iterative media reproductions had first to pass through administrative organizations. Hitchcock – aided by Johnson, Drexler and a throng of experts – built a canon of postwar architecture from the diverse production of American works. Governmental and non-governmental bodies – the International Program and the USIA – administered the circulation of this production by building a network of local cultural institutions, professional associations, and diplomatic outposts. These institutions built systems to process information regarding circulation and reception of these exhibitions. Lastly, geopolitical shifts that transformed the Cold War from military standoff to informational détente built the context in which the circulation of images became the site for strategic engagement with both Western Europe and Warsaw Pact nations.

In the last instance, though, the objects at the center of these exchanges – the architecture presented in *Built in USA* – was itself media. Its modulated cubicle interiors furnished the bureaucratic organs and logistical circuitry through which information moved. The General Motor's Technical Center did research and development for the automotive industry; the Seagram's Building managed American production and sales of mass-market Canadian booze; the Lever House did the same for detergents; the Alcoa Building administered the extraction of aluminum ore from South American nations and its refinement and distribution to western manufacturing outfits; lastly, the United Nations administered the set of global rules and standards that made these exchanges possible. These curtain walls became screens upon which the desires of a burgeoning globalist late capital were projected. Which is to say, in the last instance its media surfaces were recursive with the network within which they traveled. They did not simply pass through systems of media; they constructed and configured them. At each of the media environments though which *Built in USA* traveled – image and the public sphere, administrative organization, geopolitical relations – at every register, we find the media always already mediated by its own message, building out transnational networks that it passed through.



FIG. 1 Built in USA: Post-War Architecture. Museum of Modern Art, 20 January - 15 March, 1953. Installation View. Photograph: David E. Scherman.



FIG. 2 Built in USA: Post-War Architecture. Museum of Modern Art, 20 January - 15 March, 1953. Installation View. Photograph: David E. Scherman..



FIG. 3 Built in USA: Post-War Architecture. Installation View. Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1957..

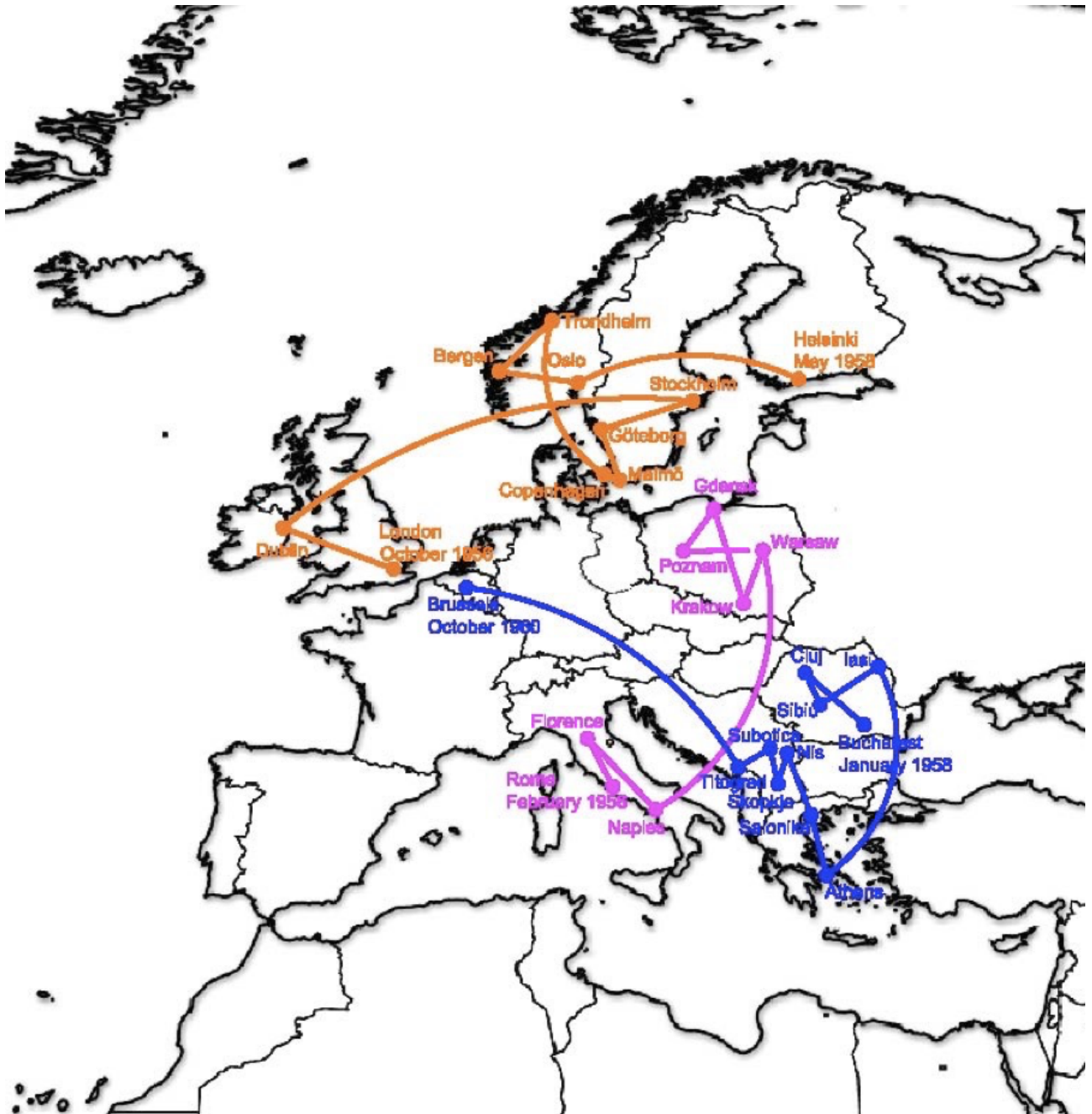


FIG. 4 Built in USA: Post-War Architecture. Exhibition paths through Europe, 1956 - 1960. Image by author.

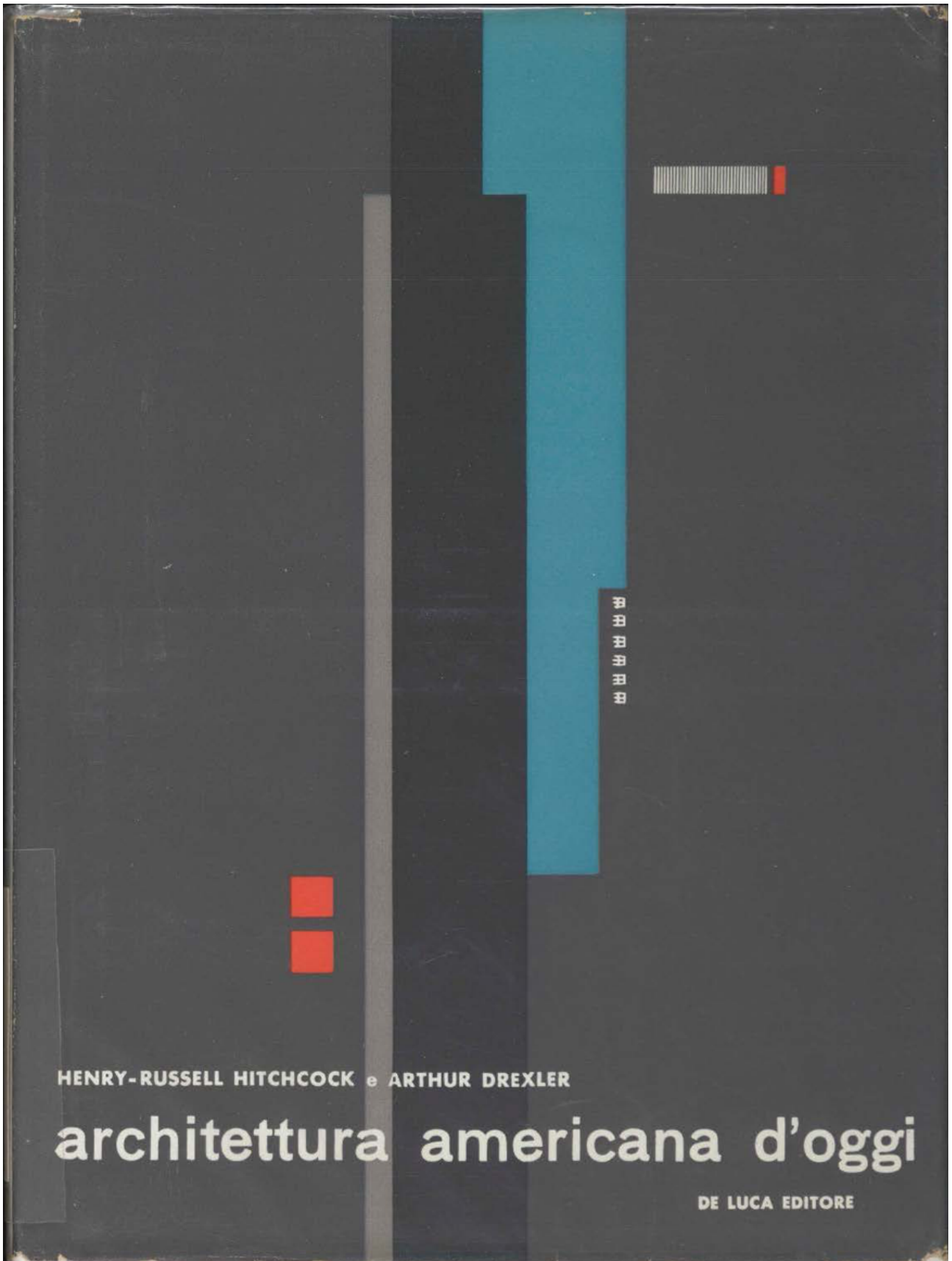


FIG. 5 Architettura americana d'oggi, Italian edition of Built in USA: Post-War Architecture. De Luca Editore, Rome, 1954. Cover: Valeria Sissa.



FIG. 6 Arquitectura moderna en los Estados Unidos. Spanish language edition of Built in USA: Post-War Architecture. Editorial Victor Leru, Buenos Aires, 1957. Cover: Jean Giné.

Federico Correa in Vienna. Central Europe Avant-Garde and Post-War Architecture within the magazine *Arquitecturas Bis* (1974-1985)

Alejandro Valdivieso Royo

Higher Technical School of Architecture of Madrid (ETSAM)

Technical University of Madrid (UPM)

alejandro.valdivieso@upm.es

Alejandro Valdivieso is a licensed architect currently finishing his doctoral degree (Ph.D.) in the History and Theory of Architecture at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid (UPM-ETSAM). As a Fulbright Scholar, he received a Post-Professional Master in Design Studies in History and Philosophy of Design from Harvard University Graduate School of Design. He holds a Professional Master's Degree (M.Arch) and a Bachelor (B.Arch) of Architecture from Universidad de Alcalá (UAH-EA) in Madrid. Valdivieso develops his work through different formats and media: as an active practicing architect; as writer and editor for several platforms (co-editor of *VARIA*, Journal of the Spanish *Asociación de Historiadores de la Arquitectura y el Urbanismo*); and as an educator, currently an Assistant Professor (Profesor Asociado) of Architectural History & Theory at Universidad Politécnica de Madrid (Departamento de Composición Arquitectónica and Master de Proyectos Arquitectónicos Avanzados - Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid).

ABSTRACT

Time and again, the Barcelona-based magazine *Arquitecturas Bis* (published from 1974 to 1985) has been studied and analyzed through the Italian-North American polarity, based on the linkages created with its contemporaries *Oppositions* (New York) and *Lotus International* (Milan). Among the members of its heterogeneous Editorial Board, Federico Correa (Barcelona, 1924) – in addition to his well-known Italian connections; explained since his very first contact with Gardella, Rogers, Albini, amongst others, within the Venice CIAM summer course in 1952; giving purpose to an influential genealogy for Catalan contemporary architecture that starts off in José Antonio Coderch (1913-1984) – was notable for its purpose in disseminating not only postwar 1960's counterculture Central European architecture in Spain, but the Viennese turn-of-the-century avant-garde; promoting their exploited by the media theoretical ties. Furthermore, Vienna and its 'middle-term' architectures were for Correa unavoidable references for his own professional work, developed together with Alfonso Milà (1924-2009). All these facts brings us to understand how much that generation (educated in the Spanish and European post-war years) understood, dealing with the historiography of modern architecture, that architects had to stop not only in certain 'middle-terms' – as stated by Peter Collins, amongst other historians – but also aim to seek for continuities in order to explain the disjointed contemporaneity.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9821>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Alejandro Valdivieso Royo



KEYWORDS:

Federico Correa; Barcelona; Hans Hollein; Josef Hoffmann; Vienna; *Arquitecturas Bis*

Scenarios, Atmospheres, and Utopias: Barcelona circa 1970

Il Giardinetto remains at present a secluded interior on a narrow Barcelona street perpendicular to Balmes, once one has crossed the Diagonal in the direction of Sant Gervasi and the high part of the city, leaving the old Vila de Gràcia on the right and Cerdà's gridded extension behind. Early in the 1970s, the photographer and publicist Leopoldo Pomés – spurred on by the success of Flash Flash, the tortilla eatery he had set up with Alfonso Milà, right across what would later be Il Giardinetto – decided to open a restaurant where one could enjoy fine Italian pasta in the company of good friends. It was one of many establishments that cropped up in the 1970s around Carrer del Tuset, in an urban neighborhood that for several years would be home to part of Barcelona's counterculture, the part expressed mainly through photography, advertising, and fashion but which was quick to expand into disciplines like architecture, all this under the discreet charm of a cosmopolitan subversion which, in its eagerness to *épater la bourgeoisie*, sought to rebel against the "glum seriousness of orthodox progressivism"¹.

Partners and friends since architecture school², Federico Correa and Milà – the latter a brother of the industrial designer Miguel Milà – were tasked to design the Pomés establishments, and what they did was apply tools of architecture to these 'minor' spaces, in effect treating 'things small' with the same earnestness and sense of responsibility they would put into 'things large.'

1. Alberto Villamandos, "Escenarios y utopías: una geografía del deseo", in *El discreto encanto de la subversión. Una crítica cultural de la 'Gauche Divine'* (Pamplona: Laetoli, 2011), 59-68.

2. Federico Correa, "Mis años de formación", in *Federico Correa. Arquitecto, profesor y crítico, 'Lecciones/documentos de arquitectura' 7* (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones and ETSAUN, 2012), 54.



FIG. 1 Writers and poets Jaime Gil de Biedma, José Agustín Goytisolo, Carlos Barral and José María Castellet, Barcelona, 1961. (Photo: Oriol Maspons).



FIG. 2 The Publisher Jorge Herralde with his secretaries, Coral Majó and Anna Bohigas at his office in Barcelona, 1970. (Photo: Colita).

Many others followed suit through related fields, whose distance from architecture progressively decreased, bridging trends and objectives: for example, the new realism of photographers like Maspons – who with Ubiña would be among the photographers active in Barcelona publications devoted to design and architecture – and Xavier Miserachs, to name two, or later Colita; or the ‘publicity art’ of Pomés himself, who with Rodés and Iriarte reinterpreted advertising and fashion through the agency Tiempo. [Figs. 1-2]

The space designed by Correa and Milà graced the pages of *Arquitectura Bis* with a text by Rafael Moneo, simply illustrated with photos taken by Català-Roca and a final plate showing floor plans and sections. An exterior image of the building on whose ground floor the café is situated captures the ‘lightness’ of the latter, the metal slats beneath which the ivy on the white-painted brick wall descends, in a “deliberate intranscendence” that “in such a design-loaded atmosphere as Barcelona” is “a truly welcome respite”³. [Figs. 3-4]

It was in this at once elitist and inclusive Barcelona – a scenario of many meanings, from the ‘superficiality’ denounced by Madrid critics shortly before⁴, to the ‘honesty’ of Moneo⁵, and along the way the ‘eclecticism’ of Solà-Morales⁶ – that Venturi and Scott Brown were first translated into Spanish and Spain’s first ‘Venturians’ appeared. Through this Barcelona it is explained how Rosa Regás (trained under the wing of Carlos Barral), through the publishing house La Gaya Ciencia, together with Oriol Bohigas and the graphic designer Enric Satué embarked on a publishing project involving a cast of emerging figures⁷. [Fig. 5]

The formation of an urban counterculture – “speculative and self-referential”⁸ – helped strengthen a pedagogical model established

3. Rafael Moneo, “Il Giardinetto de Correa y Milà”, *Arquitecturas Bis* 1 (May 1974): 20.

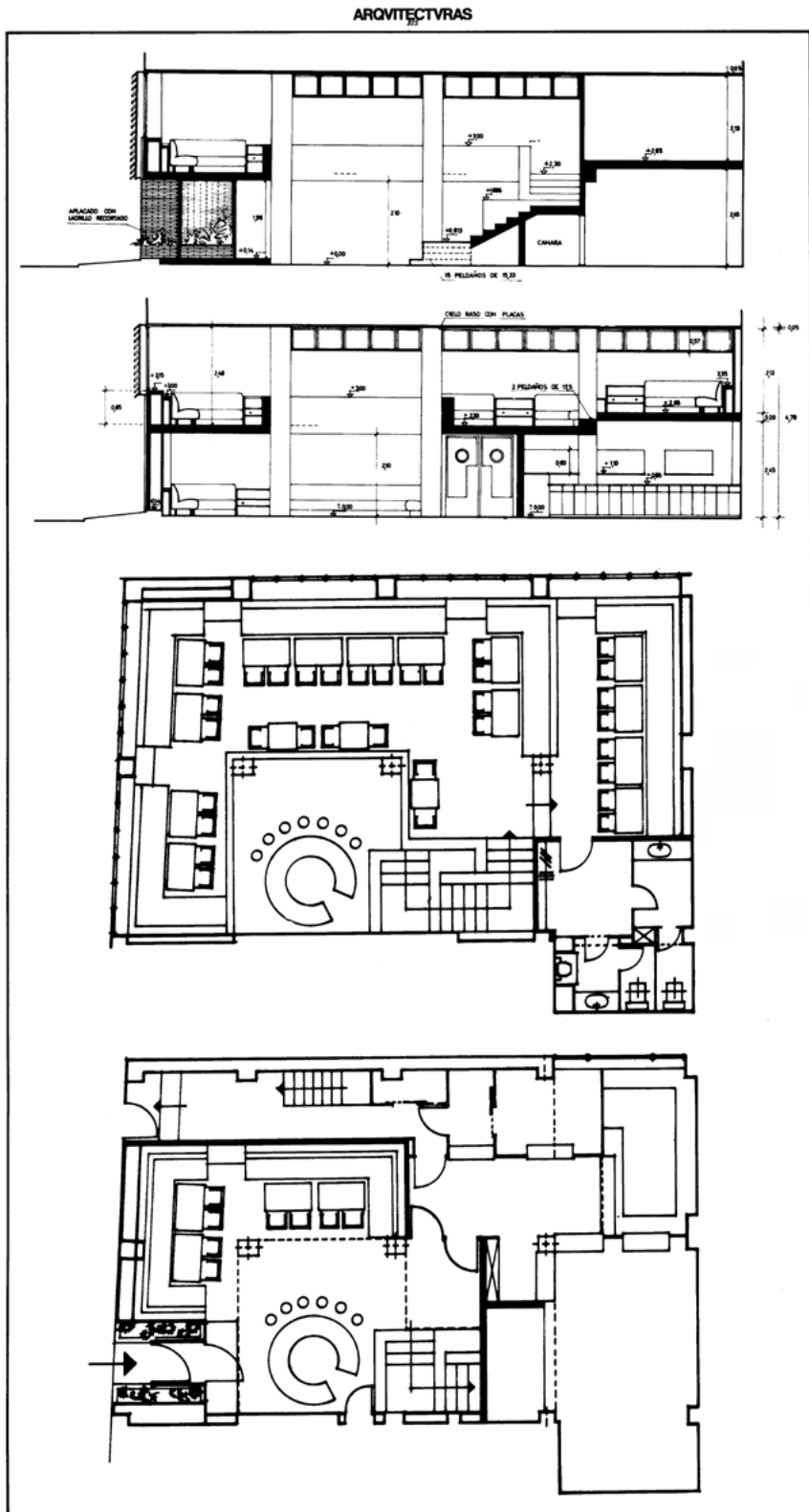
4. Juan Daniel Fullaondo, “La Escuela de Madrid”, *Arquitectura* 118 (October 1968): 11-20, 21-22, 23.

5. Rafael Moneo, “La llamada Escuela de Barcelona”, *Arquitectura* 121 (January 1969): 1-7.

6. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, “Vanguardia y eclecticismo (1970-1979)”, in *Eclecticismo y Vanguardia* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1980).

7. In addition to its three prime movers, architects and professors Federico Correa, Lluís Domènech – both close to Bohigas –, the aforementioned Moneo, Helio Piñón (already teaching with Moneo at the School), Manuel de Solà-Morales – contacted by Regàs –, and art critic and historian Tomás Llorens completed the list of editors. The Basque architect Luis Peña Ganhegui joined the editorial board for the double issue 17–18 (July/September 1977), as part of an intentional strategy that associated the School of Barcelona with that of San Sebastian. On the recommendation of Correa, Fernando Villavecchia – then a young architecture student – joined as the editorial board’s secretary in 1977.

8. Villamandos, *El discreto encanto de la subversión. Una crítica cultural de la ‘Gauche Divine’*, 10.



21

Majo 1974

FIG. 3 Il Giardinetto drawings as published in *Arquitecturas Bis* n. 1, May 1974. (Digital Archive Arquitecturas Bis. Facsimil Ediciones Digitales, Valencia).

decades before. We are referring, for example, to the art and design schools, created from the late 1950s onward, that continued the tradition of those arts and crafts schools founded in the 1920s, such as the Escola Massana⁹, consolidating a culture of design which, beyond histories of origin (from the Bauhaus to Ulm), heralded – as the works of its architects

9. Founded in 1929 as school of Arts & Crafts, incorporating Visual Arts and Design as of 1949 and 1960, respectively.

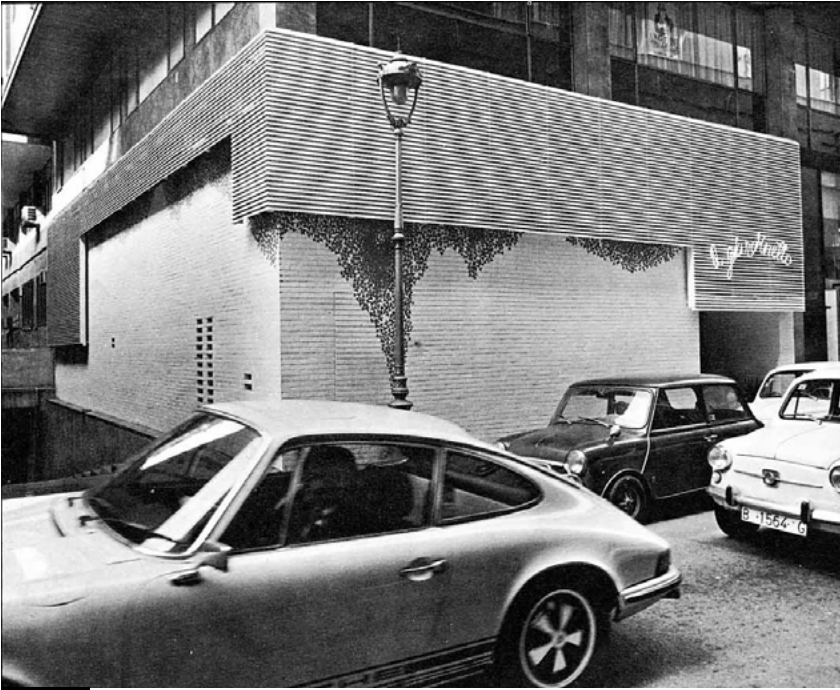


FIG. 4 Il Giardinetto facade viewed from Carrer de la Granada del Penedés. (Photo: Francesc Català-Roca).

did – “a rigorous, technified, science-based plasticity materialized by designers with social intentions and a remarkable cultural level”¹⁰, and considerable influence on an entire generation of Catalan architects¹¹.

Intellectual activity in these schools was intense, especially at EINA, the roots of which go back to the foundation of the FAD Escola d’Art, opened in 1959 by Cirici i Pellicer and closed for financial reasons in 1963, the year of the founding of Elisava, from which EINA would emerge in 1967, after several of its teachers left the school protected by the CICF (Centre d’Influència Catòlica Femenina)¹². One of EINA’s promoters and professors at EINA was Correa¹³, who by then had already been expelled from the teaching staff of the School of Architecture, and who now participated, for example, along with Bohigas, in ‘Avant-Garde and Commitment: Literature

10. Alexandre Cirici i Pellicer, “Cultura espanyola (1898-1969)”, in Domènech, Lluís (ed.), *Arquitectura espanyola contemporània* (Barcelona: Blume, 1968), 21.

11. Conversation between Federico Correa and the author (Barcelona, August 16, 2017).

12. See: Albert Ràfols Casamada, *Eina, escola de Disseny i Art 1967-1987. Vint anys d’avanguardia* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1987).

13. The group of intellectuals, experts and artists who founded the school were Albert Ràfols-Casamada, Alexandre Cirici i Pellicer together with Federico Correa, Josep Alemany, America Sanchez, Enric Steegmann, Maria Girona and Joan Antoni Blanc. The history of the school and its Founding Act can be found online: <https://arxiu.eina.cat/index.php/historia-deina>. A full review of its courses/lectures can also be found online: <https://arxiu.eina.cat/index.php/programacio-dels-cursos-darquitectura-i-urbanisme>



FIG. 5 *Arquitecturas Bis* mock-up for anniversary post-card. From left to right: Rafael Moneo, Manuel de Solà-Morales, Tomás Llorens, Oriol Bohigas, Rosa Regàs, Fernando Villavecchia, Luis Peña Ganchequi, Federico Correa, Helio Piñón, Enric Satué, Lluís Domènech. (Enric Satué Archive).



FIG. 6 Flyer announcing one of the many Federico Correa's lectures at EINA, Barcelona. (EINA Archive).

and the Plastic Arts,' the design school's February 1967 encounter with the Italian neo-avant-garde *Gruppo 63*¹⁴. [Fig. 6]

Clearly running in these schools was an entire genealogy that links noucentisme and a nationalist project, from Prat de la Riba to Cambó and D'Ors, to the construction of a new society freed of the stereotypes of romanticism (think, for instance, of the intellectual kinship between Torras i Bages, William Morris, and Gaudí)¹⁵. In the 1970s, the art/design relationship that those schools proposed showed "the dissolution of limits between disciplines and [connected] the school to the postmodern and structuralist thinking in germination at that moment outside our country"¹⁶. Among the leading institutions, including those mentioned, perhaps the most representative was the FAD (*Fomento de las Artes Decorativas, now Fomento de las Artes y del Diseño*), created in 1903. Its award for Architecture and Interiors was promoted in the late 1950s by Bohigas¹⁷.

Notwithstanding, inherent in Catalanian dissension was an entire ideological critique that was enunciated from Madrid by Fernández Alba in his 1970 essay 'El diseño entre la competencia y la regulación' (Design Between Competition and Regulation)¹⁸, which differentiated between "design we could attach to a 'Design-Ideology' concept" and 'design' which in its more general objectives tackles the theme of demands for what could be included as 'Design-Concurrence'¹⁹. Global approaches that in Spain were reflected above all in Barcelona, as a result of modernity's crisis of 'formal values.'

Quoting Tomás Maldonado, Fernández Alba was emphatic on how "the product acquired quality through its competition mechanism, but there is a dissociation in the family of 'product-objects' because at their most operational design base they respond to a 'symbol-object' design. Its iconic character. The 'sign-icon' concept reflected by the product is what classifies it as decoration; the 'stimulating' decor contributes to the pseudo-communicative farse of the epoch we are living in"²⁰. Unlike in Madrid,

14. Editor Carlos Barral, poets José Agustín Goytisolo, Gabriel Ferrater, Jaime Gil de Biedma and Edoardo Sanguinetti took part in the literature talks; architects Oriol Bohigas and Vittorio Gregotti, writer and philosopher Umberto Eco, art critic Gillo Dorfles and historian Roman Gubern, among others, took part in those ones dedicated to architecture and design. These encounters, *inter alia*, contribute to explain the influence of Italian culture in Cataluña. The 'italophilia' of *Arquitecturas Bis* has been understood as the counterpart of its 'Americanism', as the expense of other intellectual lineages, as the one this paper discusses. Online: <https://arxiu.eina.cat/index.php/encuentro-con-el-gruppo-63>

15. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "Eclecticism versus modernism (1888-1909)", in *Eclecticism and vanguardia y otros escritos* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2004, 1980). [Fragment of a longer text originally published in the exhibition *Art i modernitat als Països Catalans/Katalanische Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Berlin, 1978*].

16. Tania Costa, "EINA, Centro de producción de vanguardia artística y contracultural en el contexto social barcelonés de los años 60 y 70", *Design History Society Annual Conference, 'Design Activism and Social Change'*, published for the *Fundació Història del Disseny de Barcelona, 2011*. Online: <https://diposit.eina.cat/handle/20.500.12082/243>

17. Established in 1958, the FAD award took over the once *Premios Anuales de Edificios Artísticos del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, in charge of architecture and design awards from 1899 to 1930*. See: Federico Correa, "Mi visión de Barcelona", in *Federico Correa. Arquitecto, profesor y crítico, 'Lecciones/documentos de arquitectura' 7* (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones and EISAUN, 2012), 43.

18. Antonio Fernández Alba, "El diseño entre la competencia y la regulación", in *España. ¿Una sociedad de consumo?* (Madrid: Guadiana de Ediciones, 1969), 236.

19. *Ibid.*, 236.

20. Tomás Maldonado, *La Speranza Progettuale* (Milan: Einaudi, 1970), cited in Antonio Fernández Alba, *España. ¿Una sociedad de consumo?*, 253.

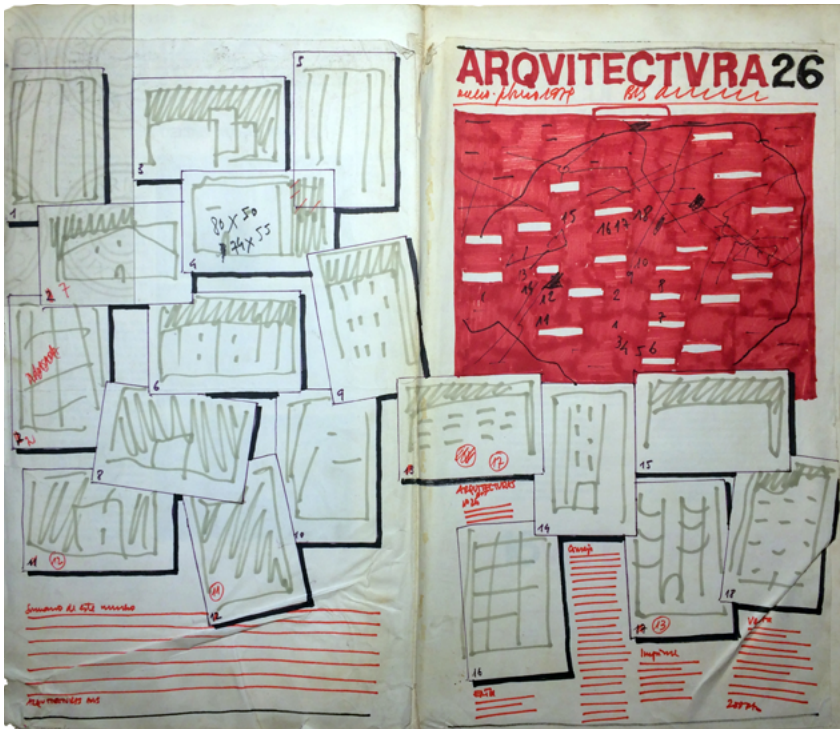


FIG. 7 *Arquitecturas Bis* n. 26 cover dummie. (Arquitecturas Bis Archive, COAC, Barcelona. Photo: Author).

where this ideological and cultural framework took on a different expression, distanced from speculation as well as from intense instrumentalization by a bourgeoisie prone to ostentation, victim of its own boredom and of the failure of its historical objectives, in Catalonia – specially amongst Barcelona’s Spanish-speaking environment –²¹ a “consumerist explosión” did take place through “cultural fields” ranging from architecture and interior design to film, literature, the graphic press, and its applications in mechanisms like advertising. Even the graphic design of books and magazines like *Arquitecturas Bis* – whose role (that of ‘little magazines’) is currently being reformulated in nostalgic terms of collective memory, leaving out part of its true value – was somehow an inheritor of this contradiction, explaining the impassioned endorsements of communication theories, for example²². [Fig. 7]

Even so, in Barcelona the humanistic and existential realism of the postwar led first to the complexity and the forms of contradiction of pop culture, the neo-avant-gardes, and later to the recovery of certain values associated with classical architecture. It was then that rupture emerged between those who received Venturi’s *Complexity and Contradiction* as a reference for renewal and those who inclined toward Rossi’s *L’Architettura della città* for the same purpose²³. as manifested at the 15th Triennale di Architettura in Milan²⁴. The work of all of them – whether written, drawn, or built – took up some pages of *Arquitecturas Bis*, making clear their sources²⁵.

While members of Grupo 2C exemplified the “rationalist epigones” in the Barcelona of the period, other architects of that same generation – born

21. Antoni Jutglar, *Història crítica de la burgesia a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Dopesa, 1972).

22. See: Joaquim Moreno, “Stories of Birth, Genre, Format and Structure”, in *Arquitecturas Bis (1974-1985); from Publication to Public Action* (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2011), 60-105; and Valdivieso, Alejandro, “A Format for a New Formula: *Arquitecturas Bis* (1974-1985)”, *Thresholds* 46 (2018): 210-227.

23. See: Carolina B. García Estévez, “Tan cerca y tan lejos: Aldo Rossi y el Grupo 2C. Arquitectura, ideología y disidencias en la Barcelona de los 70”, *Proyecto Progreso Arquitectura* 11 (November 2014): 104-117. The paper explains the influence Rossi exercised (faced with the influence of Venturi) on the some of the Catalan youngest architects. See also: Valdivieso, Alejandro, “Notas sobre la regeneración urbana de Barcelona a través de sus revistas especializadas: 1970-1990. El caso de *2c Construcción de la Ciudad* (1972-1985)”, in Miguel Ángel Chaves Martín, (ed.), *Narrativas Urbanas* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 2019), 961-972.

24. In addition to Grupo 2C – invited by Rossi, in charge of the international section – Studio PER participated within the industrial design exhibition, invited by Ettore Sottsass. Formed by architects and designers Lluís Clotet, Óscar Tusquets, Pep Bonet y Cristian Cirici, they presented, together with Gonzalo Herralde, the documentary *Mi terraza*. The four of them had been Correa’s students at the School of Architecture. Clotet, Tusquets and Cirici worked for Correa-Milà and Bonet for Coderch.

25. A conclusive evidence of Venturi’s influence was the essay written by Lluís Clotet, “El ensayo frente al modelo”, *Arquitecturas Bis* 2 (July 1974): 22-24.

in the early 1940s – also presented their work, showing themselves not only influenced by Roman studies, but as inheritors “of ‘Venturian’ tastes through provocation and interest in architectural elements that may be seen as trivial, absurd, or hybrid, such as a terrace, but which nevertheless are carriers of an anonymous and popular culture of masses”²⁶.

As Solà-Morales pointed out in 1976, “the pop art moment was the first symptom of a threat on design work. ‘Venturianism’ was first critical of ‘media’ which the expressive architecture of the 1970s believed to have the key to. The degradation of symbols, their impotence, the confusion they created in a social field of media hard to control from the avant-garde, made them untrustworthy, producing a crisis for that idea of architecture”²⁷. Questions which would also link those architectures – not the case of Il Giardinetto, distanced from Pop Art despite what one might think – to Dadaism and the ready-made.

Surrounded, moreover, by purely “professionalist” attitudes which astutely and diligently managed the most varied languages that the regime sought to associate with its erratic ideology – masking an entire rationalist project or, on the other hand, of pre-avant-garde transitions, in the strictest sense (think of the return of a modern classicism) – and well aware of the difficulty of re-finding modern plasticity in the visible form of the city, the youngest architects wanted to combat – from the angle of bourgeois domesticity, without their knowing it – all the simplification with which modernity had treated the inside of the “machine,” as denounced by the Viennese architect and designer Hans Hollein (1934-2014) in a conversation held with Correa for *Arquitecturas Bis*²⁸. In doing so he upheld the importance of the ‘interior,’ stating, precisely, that one of the “mistakes of a lot of modern architecture [was] giving interiors a residual character, when it is there that we really have to live. The Modern Movement supersimplified [sic] the problem through the color white, the chrome tube, etc”²⁹. [Fig. 8]



FIG. 8 Federico Correa and Hans Hollein. Vienna, 1975. (Photo: Leopoldo Pomés).

26. García Estévez, “Tan cerca y tan lejos: Aldo Rossi y el Grupo 2C. Arquitectura, ideología y disidencias en la Barcelona de los 70”, 110.

27. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, “Arquitectura española contemporánea: balbuceos y silencios”, in Valeriano Bozal and Tomás Llorens (eds.), *España. Vanguardia artística y realidad social: 1936-1976* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1976), 207.

28. Federico Correa, “Hans Hollein, una entrevista biográfica”, *Arquitecturas Bis* 10 (November 1975): 1-13.

29. *Ibid.*, 10.



FIG. 9 *Arquitecturas Bis* n. 10 (November 1975) cover. (Digital Archive Arquitecturas Bis. Facsimil Ediciones Digitales, Valencia).

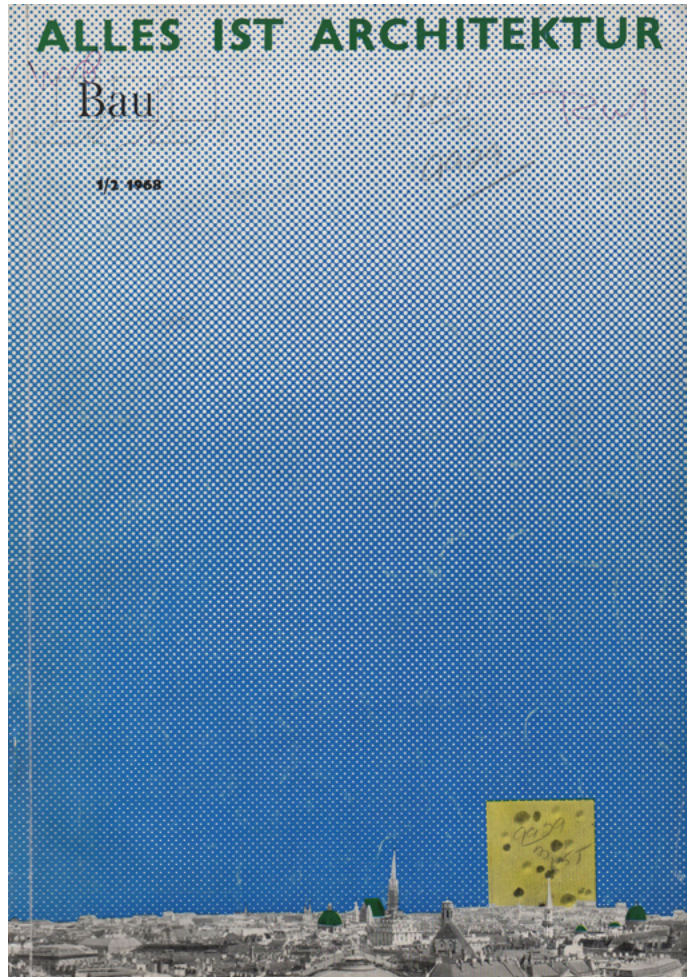


FIG. 10 Cover of *Bau: Schrift für Architektur und Städtebau* (1/2, 1968). “*Alles ist Architektur*”, published by Hans Hollein, Oswald Oberhuber and Gustav Peichl.

Everything is Architecture: Vienna circa 1970

Half the cover of issue 9 of *Arquitecturas Bis* showed a large photograph of Hollein taken by Leopoldo Pomés. Above, in large print as never before, was the name of the issue’s protagonist, with an announcement of the conversation held with Correa in the studio on Argentinienstrasse, in the Austrian capital, “the afternoon after a hectic night of finishing up a competition project”³⁰. This was the result of the third chronicle of a European trip – after Warsaw and Berlin – published by Correa in the magazine³¹. [Fig. 9]

The epic and non-lyrical tone of the travel chronicle, and resulting from this, the interview or conversation (the format in which Correa writes in *Arquitecturas Bis*), comes from certain foci of attention: architectures and architects selected with the idea of amplifying conflicts and contradictions in a search for continuities to the limits set by the historiography of modern architecture, questioning the linear approach to history through successive avant-gardes, styles³².

Of all the members of the editorial board, it was he who enabled and promoted ties with the Central European architecture of the latest CIAMs and TEAM X, compensating for ‘Americanism’ on the one hand, and on

30. Ibid.

31. Correa first travelled to Warsaw, focusing on the reconstruction plan for the city undertaken after the Second World War. Thereafter, along with other members of *Arquitecturas Bis*’ Editorial Board, they travelled to Germany and spent most of their time in Berlin, attending a retrospective exhibition of Art within the III Reich. These chronicles confronted both cities and its social, historical and urban particularities, insisting on the dialectical architecture-ideology, and raised two different historical perspectives, relevant to the ongoing theoretical debates with regard to the European urban heritage. On the one hand, the way in which architectural interventions can partially or entirely eliminate the cultural landscape as well as the identity of its peoples. On the other, the construction of a particular social identity by means of precise artistic and architectural policies. See: Federico Correa, “Varsovia: la resurrección patriótica”, *Arquitecturas Bis* 4 (November 1974): 26-29; “¿Condena o revival? Arte en el III Reich, Mein ‘Camp’”, *Arquitecturas Bis* 7 (May 1975): 17-25.

32. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, “Crítica a la historiografía del movimiento moderno”, in *Eclecticism and vanguardia y otros escritos* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gill 2004, 1980), 15-23.

the other for a certain 'Italphilic' bias often pursued by a magazine created by and for a larger Europe. So it was not a matter of importing, but of actively participating in a disciplinary revision, in "corrections" to the "simplification of a historiography thought out a priori as a justification for successive and interlinked avant-gardes",³³ finding the substratum for new situations in intermediate stages that history seemed to have forgotten about.

The Vienna of Hollein was still the "geographic, political, and historical crossroads"³⁴ or the "fertile terrain of cultural elements whose cohesion was grounded upon a shared social experience in the broadest sense"³⁵ that the turn-of-the-century city had been. The work of the Viennese architect – then already halfway between architecture, design, and art, with buildings erected and featured in major museums – was perfectly inserted into this assemblage of crossroads and preserved the distinction of those constructions that had made Vienna "with its rare combination of provincialism and cosmopolitanism, of traditionalism and modernism (...) a more coherent context than other great cities for the study of early 20th-century industrial development"³⁶.

A figure of note beyond Europe since the late 1960s, though little known in Spanish architectural culture until the mid-1970s, Hollein was presented to readers as a "leading current architect in the Vienna where so many masters have left their mark and where today, on the street, we can perceive his own, banalized by a certain rhetoric but not for that reason less significant in my view nor in that of many who think like I do"³⁷. Although the Viennese master had already appeared in Fullaondo's *Nueva Forma* in 1968³⁸, this interview or conversation with Correa was among the first published in Spanish, so it contributed to disseminating his figure in Spain's architectural culture.

His work had come into the limelight through the media towards the end of the previous decade, in 1968, with the publication of the 'Alles ist Architektur' double issue of the Austrian journal *Bau: Schrift für Architektur und Städtebau*, edited by Hollein himself, Oswald Oberhuber, and Gustav Peichl. It was a whole manifesto – both graphically, on a visual level, and in writing, text-wise – that did much to amplify the message of part of a European generation of architects who had finished their studies during the closing stages of World War II (Correa's generation), who understood and assimilated the idea that the practice of architecture neither could nor should be limited to raising buildings³⁹. [Fig. 10]

Correa coincided with Hollein at the CIAM congress held in Urbino in 1966, but it was some months before, precisely in Vienna, that they had first met, during a visit of the former, who was able to see the recently opened candle store Retti. [Fig. 11] They henceforth saw each other regularly, coinciding in biennials, trienials, congresses, and other

33. *Ibid.*, 16.

34. Correa, "Hans Hollein, una entrevista biográfica", 10.

35. Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (New York: Alfred. A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), 16.

36. *Ibid.*, 21.

37. Correa, "Hans Hollein, una entrevista biográfica", 2.

38. See: Juan Daniel Fullaondo, "Hans Hollein: Imagen industrial", *Nueva Forma* 28 (1969): 27-29.

39. Consistent with its editor interests – the professional association of Austrian architects (*Zentralvereinigung der Architekten Österreiches*) –, *Der Bau* magazine developed a professional editorial policy up to 1965, when it is renamed *Bau* by removing the masculine 'Der'. The involvement of young professionals such as, and amongst other, Hans Hollein or Günther Feurstein – its Editorial Board included over the years (1965-70) Sokratis Dimitriou, Oswald Oberhuber, Gustav Peichl y Walter Pichler, the latter also in charge of its graphic design – fostered a radical editorial reinvention as noticed in the first issue of the new period. Its cover displayed images coming from Pop art (a fragment of 1963 Roy Lichtenstein's "Whaam!"), engineering constructions such as bridges, along with new mega-structures proposals and antique buildings. See: Craig Buckley, "Bau: Schrift für Architektur und Städtebau, no.1, Vienna", in *Clip/Stamp/Fold. The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines 196X to 197X*, ed. Beatriz Colomina, Craig Buckley and Urtzi Grau as image editor (Barcelona: Actar and Media and Modernity Program Princeton University), 94.



FIG. 11 Hans Hollein Retti Candleshop façade in Vienna (1965-66). (Photo: Hans Hollein Archive. Online: <https://www.hollein.com>).

encounters the Catalanian habitually attended, as at the 1966 TEAM 10 reunion in Urbino that Giancarlo de Carlo organized⁴⁰, the Aspen congress of 1968, and the 14th Milan Triennale of that year, where Correa visited the Austrian section put together by Hollein. In the course of his travels Correa had the opportunity to see several Hollein works besides those in Vienna, such as the Feigen Gallery in New York and the projects for Siemens at Wittelsbacherplatz in Munich and Nymphenburg. [Figs. 12-13]

His work showed clear tracings of the paths taken by a new generation, emphasizing anew how the contribution of other fields – a reflection of the architect’s insight and ability to address questions like interior architecture, exhibition design, and so on – signified an entire contradictory process of disciplinary revision. In the view of the Viennese master, “practically only Le Corbusier came through the test unscathed,” while most modern architects “treated interiors as a residue for another to finish up as best he could.” The exception would be Wright, who designed “from the outside inward and from the inside outward, and what gorgeous interiors!”⁴¹.

Whereas modern architecture had tried to avoid the ornamental question of furniture instead of going for the unity aspired to by a global design, where furniture became fixture, the revisions of the modern project that were carried out from the mid-20th century onward saw fit to reconsider the architectural interior as a concept, a space for negotiation between multiple agents, updating many of the proposals of the avant-gardes, from Adolf Loos to Josef Hoffmann⁴².

As it became evident in *Bau* and later in *Arquitecturas Bis*, the need to expand the definition of architecture, stretching its limits, also paved the way for the recovery and reinterpretation of certain architectures forgotten about by the official modern historiography, with the objective of proposing a new possible panorama of reconsidered influences: on the one

40. “Although we already met for the very first time a year before in Vienna, I remember Hollein’s attendance and criticized (by some recalcitrant members of the Team 10) intervention at Urbino (1966). A certain uncomfortable discrimination was taking place and opinions such as: ‘Why is this kid who has done nothing apart from a small candle shop in Vienna here?’ seemed tough. Even though it was the only think he had built in that moment, Hans Hollein was arrogant enough to withstand that disdain and much more, while presenting defiantly a project for a bank office in Vienna that finally was not built”, Federico Correa, “Memoria personal del Team 10”, in “La arquitectura de la Tercera Generación (II)”, *El Croquis* 36 (November 1988): 11-12. (Transcript of the lecture given by Federico Correa on February 12th, 1986, within the cultural week at the School of Architecture in Barcelona, dedicated to the Third Generation).

41. *Ibid.*, 10.

42. See: Georges Teyssot, *A Topology of Everyday Constellations* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2013).



FIG. 12 Hans Hollein Feigen Gallery façade in New York (1967-69). (Photo: Hans Hollein Archive. Online: <https://www.hollein.com>).



FIG. 13 Siemens Stiftung (1969-1975). (Photo: Hans Hollein Archive. Online: <https://www.hollein.com>).

hand, the work of late 19th- and early 20th-century architects like Otto Wagner, Loos, or Hoffmann; on the other, that of the interwar avant-garde architects, such as the émigré Rudolf Schindler – to whom *Bau* devoted a monograph, the result of research carried out by Hollein himself which had him traveling the U.S. West Coast – or Frederick Kiesler. In 1969 the magazine also devoted an issue to what was then known as the Wittgenstein House, clarifying the origin of its design and participating as well in the debates that made it possible to save it from demolition. The magazine closed down in 1970, leaving on the table material already edited and ready for printing, including a monograph on Melnikov, complete with coverage of a trip to Moscow⁴³. Several issues featured Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Louis Sullivan, Henry Wright, and the like.

Just as renewed awareness of history made *Bau* take a look, for instance, at the architects gathered around the Viennese Secession, *Arquitecturas Bis* drew attention to the architects of *modernisme and noucentisme* (Domènech i Montaner, Gaudí, Jujol, Puig i Cadafalch, R. Duran, Reynals,

43. "At one point [1970] *Bau* unfortunately stopped; we had just been in Moscow to prepare a Konstantin Melnikov issue. This preparation was a very difficult thing because he was persona non grata and we had to smuggle out the material. He gave us the negatives, since he could not develop them himself. His printing the in Moscow would have been dangerous. We brought the material to Vienna by ways we knew, we made the prints for Melnikov, and we brought them back to him, and he wrote down the description and texts. It was a very difficult time in Moscow...", Hans Hollein, "*Bau: Schrift für Architektur und Städtebau.*" Interview by Urtzi Gradu (Vienna, August 18th 2006)", in *Clip/Stamp/Fold*, 382.



FIG. 14 *Arquitecturas Bis*’ n. 30-31 (September-October 1981) cover. Issue dedicated to the use of classical languages in Barcelona’s early twentieth-century architecture. (Digital Archive *Arquitecturas Bis*. Facsimil Ediciones Digitales, Valencia).

and more, comparing their approaches)⁴⁴ and other national movements. Also, like *Bau*, in its search for less explored roots and origins of modern architecture it published the work of Czech rationalist architects⁴⁵, of Robert Mallet Stevens and his contemporaries⁴⁶, and of Giuseppe Samonà⁴⁷, besides addressing matters related to the historicist architectures of the interwar period – postwar in Spain's case – and the survival or masking of rationalist models, taking active part in discussions on architecture that developed during the Franco dictatorship and proliferated once the political regime that had deformed them came to an end.

The revisions of certain architectures and architects are yet another example cited by the many who tell of how *Arquitecturas Bis*, among other things, instead of following a given line, was able to cover the different paths pursued by theory, as a mediation practice regulating “a dialectic process that can only be studied in ethical and philosophical terms”,⁴⁸ illustrating interest in the study of “middle terms”,⁴⁹ addressing the “other modern architecture” (20th-century classicisms, for example)⁵⁰, or going back to turn-of-the-century architecture, in some cases even to the Enlightenment. [Figs. 14-15]



FIG. 15 Enric Satué's photomontage for *Arquitecturas Bis* n. 38-39 cover (July-October 1981). Issue dedicated to Henry Wright, Louise Sullivan and Charles R. Mackintosh. (Arquitecturas Bis Archive, COAC, Barcelona. Photo: Author).

44. Bohigas, Oriol, "Gracias y desgracias de los lenguajes clásicos en Barcelona", *Arquitecturas Bis* 31-32 (September-October 1979): 2-25; and Francesc Catalá-Roca, "Francesc, Puig i Cadafalch y Duran Reynals", *ibid.*, 26-36 [photographic report].

45. "Una primera primavera: información gráfica del racionalismo checo", *Arquitecturas Bis* 15 (September 1976): 1-8.

46. The magazine dedicated several contents to the French architect. See: Fernando Montes, "Robert Mallet-Stevens", *Arquitecturas Bis* 26 (January-February 1979): 2-11; and same author "Los contemporáneos de Mallet-Stevens", *ibid.*, 31.

47. "Giuseppe Samonà", *Arquitecturas Bis* 32-33 (January-April 1980): 27-32; Francesco Prosperetti and Fulvio Leoni, "Entrevista a Giuseppe Samonà", *ibid.*, 33-35; Giorgio Ciucci, "La búsqueda impaciente", *ibid.*, 35-39; Francesco Dal Co, "El juego de la memoria", *ibid.*, 39-40; Manfredo Tafuri, "Los años de la 'espera'", *ibid.*, 40-41 and "El teatro de Sciacca", *ibid.*, 41-43.

48. Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture (1750-1950)* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965).

49. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, "Prólogo a la edición española", in *Los ideales de la arquitectura moderna; su evolución (1750-1950)* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1970), 4.

50. See: David Rivera, *La otra arquitectura moderna. Expresionistas, metafísicos y clasicistas, 1910-1950* (Barcelona: Reverté, 2017).

Architecture as Image: Vienna circa 1915

How can we otherwise understand the promenade through Hoffmann's Villa Primavesi (Villa Skywa), published by Correa in the magazine's antepenultimate, June 1985 issue⁵¹? [Fig. 16] Making it to the cover through a large-format photograph of one of the two 'non-pediments' facing Glorietengasse, the feature and the manner in which Correa presented the building helped throw light on the parallelisms between the different European avant-gardes and their outgrowths, such as between Hoffmann's "classicizing reinstatement [sic]" in Central Europe and *Noucentisme* in

51. Federico Correa, "Juegos post-sezessionistas. Un paseo por la Villa Primavesi de Hoffmann", *Arquitecturas Bis* 50 (June 1985): 2-6.

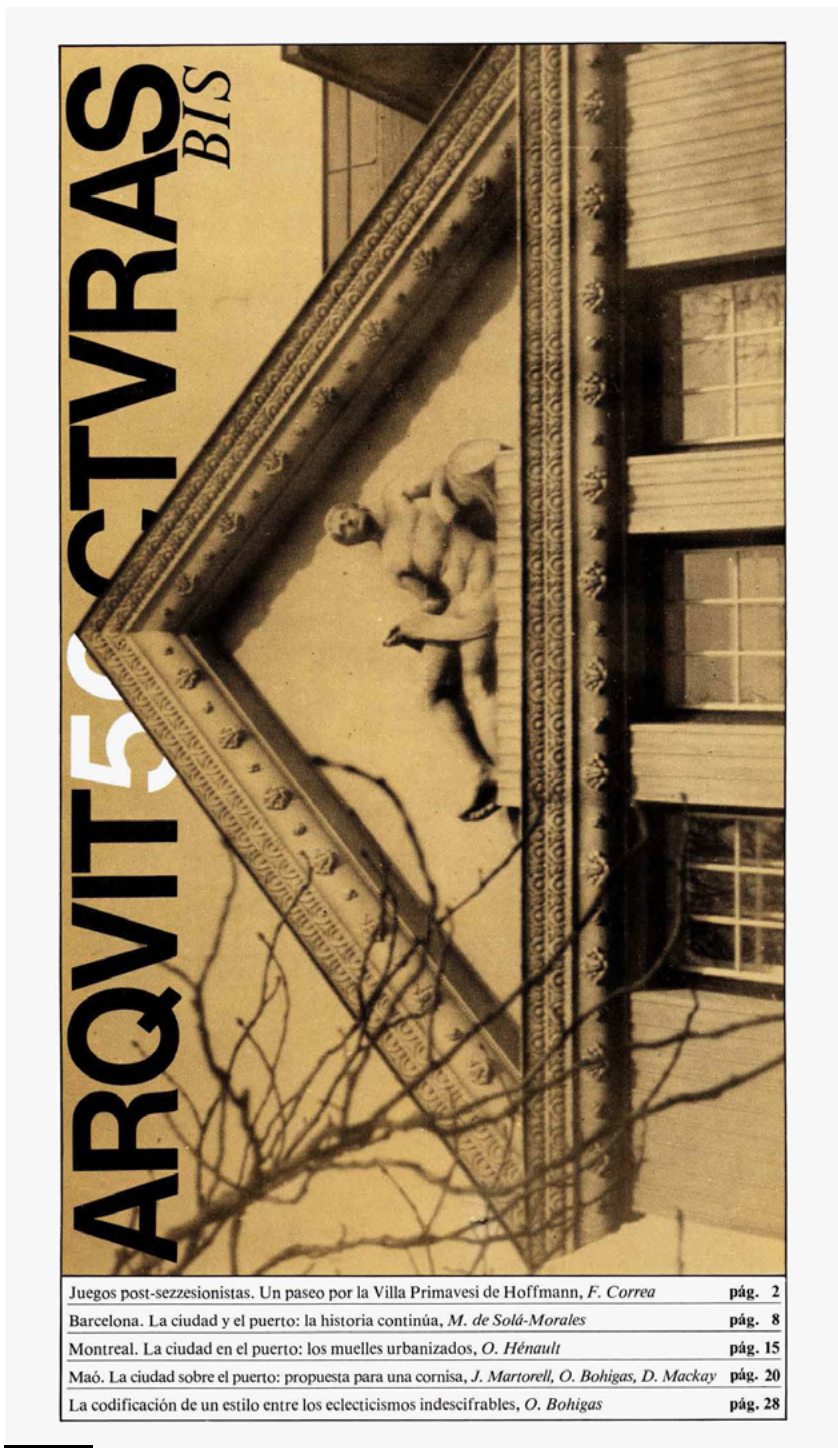


FIG. 16 *Arquitecturas Bis* n. 50 (June 1985) cover. (Digital Archive Arquitecturas Bis. Facsimil Ediciones Digitales, Valencia).

Catalonia, enriching the texts assimilated around certain architectures of the start of the century⁵².

Villa Primavesi offered itself as a repertoire of references, of images. Analysis of the work presented by Correa in *Arquitecturas Bis* revealed it as far from canonical⁵³. The carefully selected photographs – and the deliberate exclusion of floor plans, elevations, and sections – were laid out starting with the more general – views of facades, foreshortenings, views from the garden – and ending with the more specific – interiors, claddings, finishes, elements like banisters all the way to handles of windows and stained glass panes. Correa upheld the idea of architecture being understood also as image: reality is understood as a set of images in which the invention of form also lies. After all, wasn't Hoffmann simply putting together images and anticipating others? There are no metaphors – the quintessential modern instrument – in Primavesi, but games.

The same game he tried to pursue with the inclusion of a drawing where the villa is depicted with a partial view. Correa did not do a formal floor plan or an axonometric drawing, nor a general view, but a partial view, in perspective, of the north facade, which faces the garden⁵⁴. [Fig. 17] The debate on the surface, to the detriment of materialist or positivist postures; “the present text,” he wrote, “does not try to deal with the reason for this step, but with how it is done and what it involves, analyzing the work, in so many ways intact and surviving”⁵⁵; the space, the structure, and the function do not appear to be synthesized in any overall way, generating a contingent relationship between form and content. [Fig. 18]

Its interest lies especially in understanding how the architect of Austro-Hungarian origin used “simple words of classical language outside context,” thereby creating “a new syntax” through “borrowed elements” that come across as “a creational operation that consciously borders on ambiguity, without in the process sacrificing intention and subtlety”⁵⁶.

As Vincent Scully had noted in the foreword to the first edition of *Complexity and Contradiction* (1966), Correa's story also required “much visual attention,” and too, without a doubt, like the actual architecture it endeavored to signify, “it was not directed at architects who, in order not to get upset, close their eyes”⁵⁷: understand architecture through ambiguity, perceptive versus physical flexibility, or, among so many other things, elements of two functions: “not even pediments are pediments,” “not even columns are columns,” “not even moldings are placed at the points of rigor,” “not even any figurative sculpture recalls, in its stylization, let alone its placement, the canons of classical architecture”⁵⁸. [Fig. 19]

Correa's examination gets even more intense inside the villa, where the games become even more important. The different spaces – deliberately separated and isolated from one another – as well as the description of matters having to do with materials and finishes – reinforce the

52. “The Primavesi Villa witnesses the architectural evolution of Josef Hoffmann, representing a valuable example for reinstatement of classical figuration after triumphant periods where academicism was fully rejected, such as *Sezzesion*. The same happened with our *Noucentisme* right after the overwhelming success of *Modernisme*, and happens today everywhere when the moralist rigorism attributed to the Modern Movement disappears”, *ibid.*, 6

53. See: Giovanni Fanelli and Ezio Godoli, in *La Vienna di Hoffmann. Architetto della qualità* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1981); Eduard F. Seckler, “Il debito verso l'arte autóctona e l'apogeo della stagione classicista”, in *Josef Hoffmann 1870-1956* (Milán, Electa, 1991, 1982), 147-196.

54. Perspectival drawings were a common in Correa's and Milà's architectural production; as is well known Correa's skills as portrait painter.

55. Correa, “Juegos post-sezzesionistas. Un paseo por la Villa Primavesi de Hoffmann”, 2.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Vincent Scully, “Introducción”, in Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, The Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture 1 (New York: The Museum of Modern Art in association with the Graham Foundation for Advances Studies in the Fine Arts, Chicago, 1966), 11-16.

58. “Classicism is very much present upon different elements used in an exceptional way, which however contribute to produce (or reproduce) within the atmosphere the calm and peace produced by classic architecture; and all of it without compromising imagination, freedom, creativity, and adequacy over time and, furthermore, without abandon or denying the architecture produced till that moment”, Federico Correa, “Juegos post-sezzesionistas. Un paseo por la Villa Primavesi de Hoffmann”, 4.



FIG. 17 Federico Correa's drawing of the north facade from Villa Primavesi in Vienna. (Digital Archive Arquitecturas Bis. Facsimil Ediciones Digitales, Valencia).

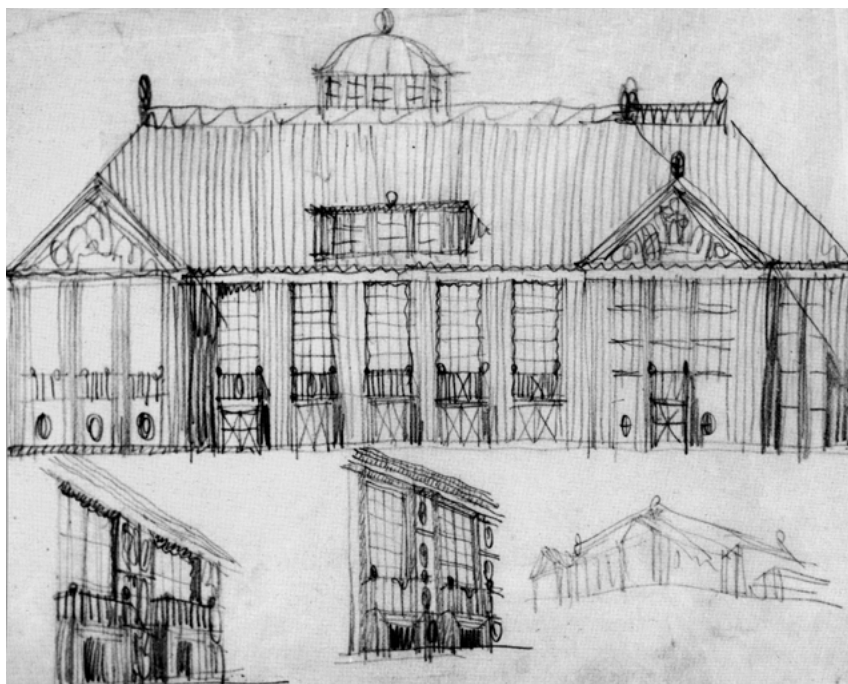


FIG. 18 Drawing by Josef Hoffmann, Villa Primavesi. (Image from Seckler, Eduard F., *Josef Hoffmann 1870-1956*, Milán, Electa, 1991 (1982)).

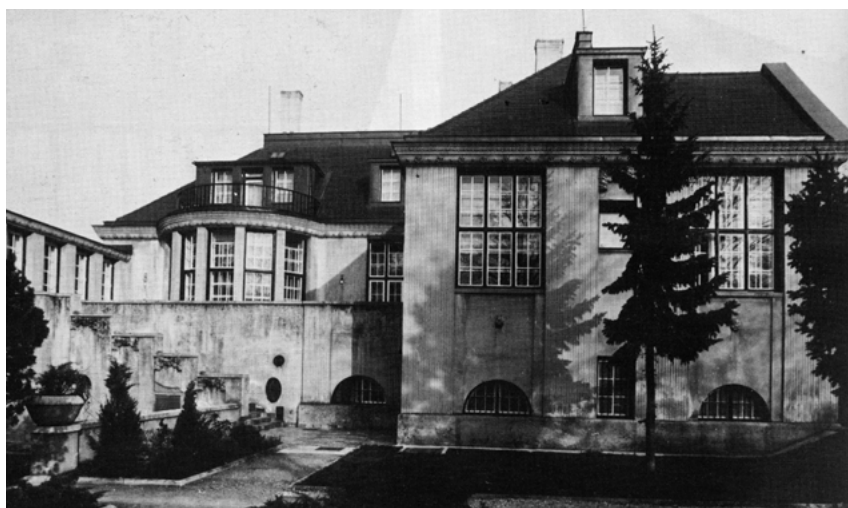


FIG. 19 Exterior view of the Villa Primavesi in Vienna.

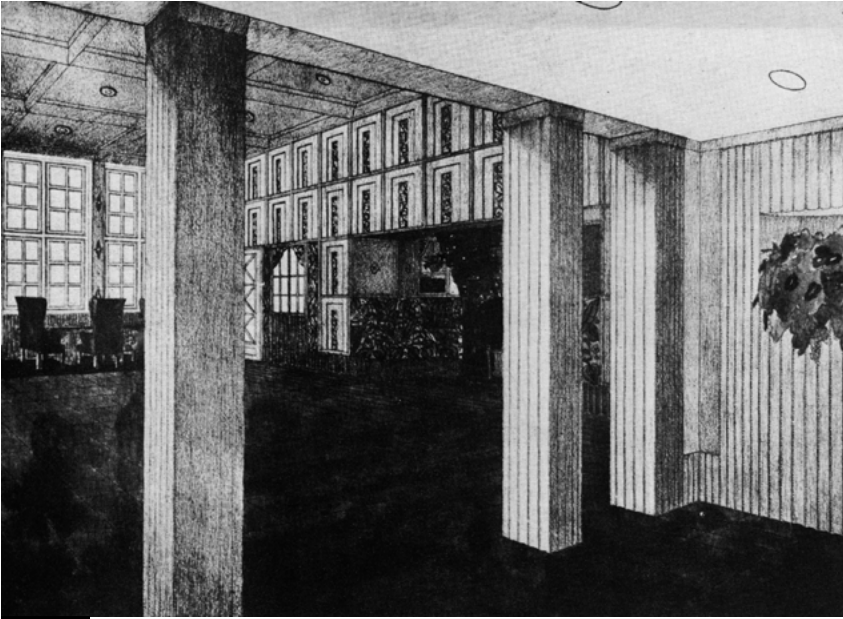


FIG. 20

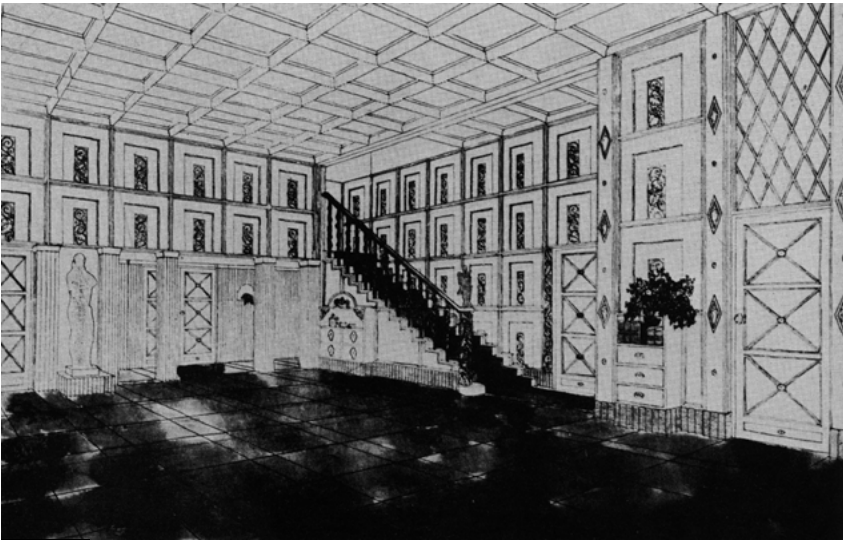


FIG. 21

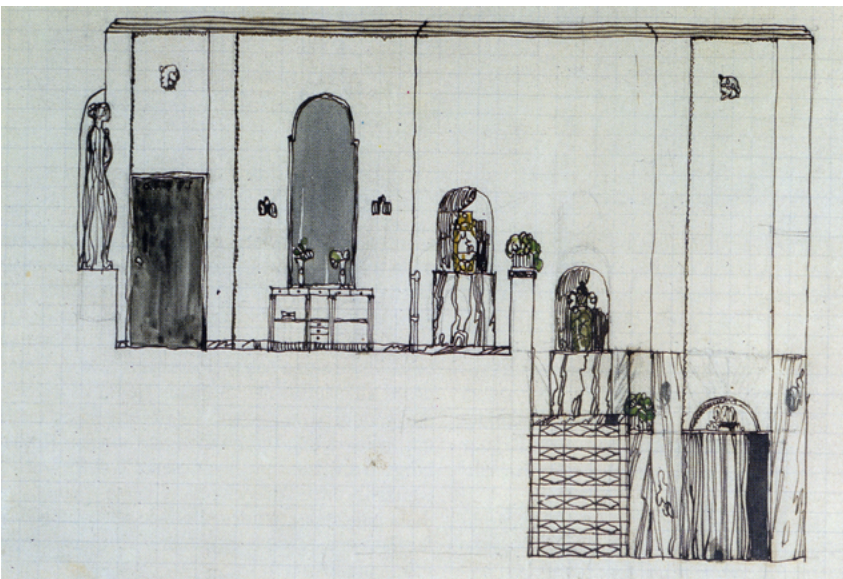


FIG. 22

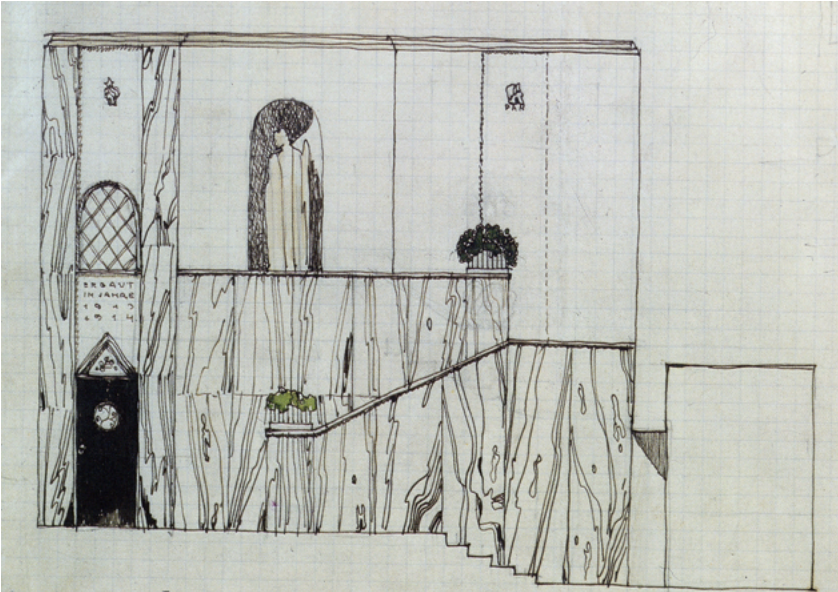


FIG. 23 20, 21, 22 and 23. Drawings by Hans Hoffmann. Interior from the Villa Primavesi, Vienna. (Images from Seckler, Eduard F., *Josef Hoffmann 1870-1956*, Milán, Electa, 1991 (1982).

fundamentals of Hoffmann's architecture, which withstands the test of time by admitting various transformations that do not alter its structure. While some questions would recall Loos, for example, who was his most recognized antithesis⁵⁹, others would move away from previous architectures. Both Loos and Hoffmann had proposed an "attempt at fluidity in spatial transition"⁶⁰, a principle inseparable from architecture of the modern movement⁶¹. [Figs. 20-21]

In this way, the different levels between spaces situated on the same level and the consequent renouncement of all possibility of external visual or solutions for continuity between adjacent rooms, along with elimination of visual connections between interior and exterior, "will accentuate the feeling of enclosure" that modern architecture in itself sought to dissolve⁶². [Figs. 22-23]

The finishes and surfaces inside "stray from the classicizing [sic] interior where real or imaginary structural elements are the basis of the composition," and, again playing with ambiguity, some are set against Loos's attitudes toward ornament, and were quick to make their radicality resonate, as in spaces where ornamental sobriety contrasts with a few scattered decorative motifs indicating a "voluntary decorativism"⁶³. It is a well known fact that Hoffmann, like Loos and many colleagues of the Viennese Secession, was an all-round artist.

Epilogue: Architecture as Representation

All those interiors, as *Arquitecturas Bis* brought to light by publishing *Il Giardenetto*, sought to refute the idea of architecture as an abstract space, and to align it more directly with several of the Viennese

59. "Given the similarity between some of the Villa's interiors with those of other contemporary architects «oblige us to reflect upon how in the faithfulness to its time and awareness of its own career, those others who in time felt distant as Loos and Hoffmann from each other, seem to converge", *ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. Seckler, "L'apice della fase decorativa e il debito verso il cubismo e l'espressionismo", in *Josef Hoffmann 1870-1956* (Milán: Electa, 1991, 1982), 197-228.

62. "We observe the willingness to limit the space in the central hall of the main floor, polemically desired by the author. Even the staircase that communicates with the second floor ends in a door. Fluid spaces are disdained; the most important achievement of its immediate predecessor architecture", Federico Correa, "Juegos post-secesionistas. Un paseo por la Villa Primavesi de Hoffmann", 7.

63. *Ibid.*



FIG. 24 Interior view. Christa Metek boutique, Vienna (Hans Hollein, 1966-1967). (Photo: Hans Hollein Archive. Online: <https://www.hollein.com>).

interiors that Hollein had developed at the close of the previous decade, such as the Retti candle store (1966) or Boutique Christa Metek (1967), [Figs. 11-24] and especially contemporary projects like the Culture and Press Office in Moscow, designed in 1973-1974 for the United States government. [Fig. 25] The response offered by Correa and Milà – as a question of design, of disciplinary tools and techniques – differed from projects of similar programs that they had drawn up some time before.

Hence, the restaurant Reno (1961) had as a modern work put emphasis on an “abstract definition of space that, through mastery and exhibition of a given language, would effectively build an atmosphere”⁶⁴, with clear allusions, for example, to Gardella (whose lamps were reproduced for the place), and with the furniture design (by the architects) taking on a very central role; in contrast, the nearby omelette café Flash Flash (1966) used imagination, Pop, and all the potential of photography (the logic of consumerism through the erotized image of a woman’s body), establishing relationships with other spaces through mechanisms of evocation. [Figs. 26-27]

On the other hand, with the discussions of the 1970s overcome, the Giardinetto project came across as distanced from the avant-gardes and from that early 20th-century modern architecture that had wanted to present a “definitive solution from pure visualism”⁶⁵, moving away also from the tools of Pop Art, where the practice involved making two very

64. “This way of thinking in which assurance and correctness in the way language is manipulated would seem to be the most precious virtues”, Moneo, “Il Giardinetto de Correa y Milà”, 19.

65. Ibid.



FIG. 25 Interior detail. Press and Cultural Office US Embassy, Moscow (Hans Hollein, 1973-1974) (Photo: Hans Hollein Archive. Online: <https://www.hollein.com>).

different realities – that is, two seemingly opposed formal worlds – converge, with the objective of presenting a new image, as in Flash Flash: “None of this is present in Il Giardinetto: the formal world is completely separated from representation in terms of mimesis; neither is it a *trompe-oeil* nor the violent impression of an unexpected reality. (...) What is represented is what has already been represented at other times, it is so mediated from our sentiments and by that I mean from our past!”⁶⁶. [Figs. 25, 28-29]

In spite of everything, contradictorily, the project also revealed the Modern Movement architects’ nostalgia for total design in the face of tradition, evident in the importance that Il Giardinetti gives to the design of all the

66. Ibid.



FIG. 26 Interior view. Reno Restaurant, Barcelona (Correa-Milà, 1961).



FIG. 27 Interior view. Flash Flash restaurant, Barcelona (Correa-Milà, 1970).

elements, and in the demand for functionality: furniture (tables, auxiliary pieces, the very recognizable cylinder of the bar...), frames, passage openings, and circulation elements like the stairs.

Phenomena associated with perception of space predate understanding of architecture. Questions – that of architecture as phenomenon or “sensation” – that have always been present in “cultured architectures” and “fictional architectures,” and which have been due, above all, to the “help” of other disciplines.

Il Giardinetto gave new importance to the historical reference, complexifying the way we perceive space, suggesting an idea of architecture deviating from the “puritanism” of the avant-garde. The historical reference that Moneo availed of to illustrate his theses included Pompeian architecture and how painting was used to transform the spaces of “atmospheres” created by John Nash in Brighton. In all of them, “space was not defined as actual reality, but rather described with techniques



FIG. 28-29 Interior view. Flash Flash restaurant, Barcelona (Correa-Milà, 1970).

and disciplines that could ultimately aspire even to its complete transformation⁶⁷. Something similar takes place in Il Giardinetto, where the *trompe l'oeils* on the walls and ceilings immersed one in an “atmosphere” that detached the architectural container from the content: the depiction of the garden, removed from any temptation to resort to mimesis, for example, is subtly superposed on the space. [Fig. 30]

67. Ibid.

Contrary to abstraction of space and to the transfer of tools associated with some avant-gardes, Il Giardinetto sought to represent another reality, architecture as representation (a decisive theme for treatise writers of the



FIG. 30 The Banqueting Room at the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, John Nash's Views of the Royal Pavilion (1826).

17th and 18th centuries), “which in some way requires, as a prior condition, knowing that which is to be recounted”⁶⁸; that is, to conceive from the viewpoint of architectural representation, of the drawing, a picture of what the space will represent. This explains the inclination for perspectives in the design processes of Correa and Milà, a tool that would spread to an entire generation of architects trained under them or influenced by their work, from Studio PER onward.

Today, with the updating of phenomenological texts under the wing of energy theories on the built environment, they are called ‘atmospheres’ – formerly ‘ambiances’ – instead of spaces, and the rate of thermodynamic transfer is spoken of as the key to understanding the material nature of architecture. Moneo’s text would also come in the form of a small defense of this manner of thinking of space as something not reduced to a solid or material, but something elusive: built atmospheres. “A place like this, where people gather, is above all a defined ambience, or, if you wish, a space, an atmosphere with the capacity to accommodate relationships that are rather imprecise and generic. Impossible to apply to the Corbusian metaphor, never will a restaurant be a machine for eating”⁶⁹. Sigfried Giedion already referred to the concept of atmosphere in his Harvard lessons, published together in *Space, Time and Architecture*⁷⁰, stressing its ambivalence: “the concept of atmosphere hinders architectural discourse: it hunts down those who try to avoid it and eludes those who pursue it”⁷¹.

In particular relation to design and interiors, many of the unique aspects of the work of the practice that Correa ran with Milà are explained by their stint in the studio of Coderch, where they worked as students in the early 1950s and would continue to collaborate after graduating in 1953 and 1952, respectively: “we did interiors with Coderch and in works of Coderch”⁷². Coderch at that time had the Barceloneta residential building on his desk, and had just very successfully completed the Spanish Pavilion at the 9th Milan Triennale, where it won the Grand Prize and Gold Medal. From participating in Team X Coderch brought back to Barcelona important contacts that would become friendships, as with Aldo van Eyck, and Correa would continue that relationship, as shown by a conversation held between them which the magazine published in 1977⁷³.

By that time Gio Ponti had visited Barcelona and disseminated Coderch’s work (several of the early Sitges houses were featured in *Domus* and other media abroad). In Spain, the role of Coderch was instrumental to our understanding of an entire genealogy of names and influences that range from Central Europe (with the epicenter in northern Italy, in Milan) to the north of continental Europe and Great Britain beyond. But if Coderch, as we know, is associated with Ponti, the generational leap allows us to link Correa to Gardella. The generation of Gardella, Rogers, Albini⁷⁴, and company “meant [an ideological and architectural] position opposed to

68. “It is not by coincidence, not even simple design technique that splendid perspective drawings appear in the very basis of Correa-Milà designs, witnesses of such initial efforts to achieve the image”, *Ibid*, 19.

69. *Ibid*.

70. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture. The Growth of a New Tradition, The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures for 1838-1939* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1941)

71. Wigley, Mark, “La arquitectura de la atmósfera”, in Cristina Díaz Moreno and Efrén García Grinda (ed.), *Breathable* (Madrid: Universidad Europea de Madrid, 2009), 84.

72. José Ramón Sierra, “Recuerdos del verano del 52: entrevista con Federico Correa”, in Ginés Garrido and Andrés Cánovas (ed.), *Textos de Crítica de Arquitectura comentados 1* (Madrid: Departamento de Proyectos ETSAM-UPM, 2003), 471.

73. Federico Correa, “Aldo van Eyck: una conversación biográfica”, *Arquitecturas Bis* 19 (November 1977): 1, 17-21.

74. “...I am an admirer of his work, I was his disciple, I fell passionate and still today kind of iconoclastic...”, Federico Correa, “En la muerte de Albini”, *Arquitecturas Bis* 20 (January 1976): 32.

Ponti”⁷⁵, as they were able to verify, in spite of their inexperience, in the CIAM workshop held in Venice which they attended thanks to Coderch and the intercession of Josep Lluís Sert, a figure unknown to those who were studying architecture in the Barcelona of the postwar, Spain’s and Europe’s alike. [Fig. 31]

75. Ibid.

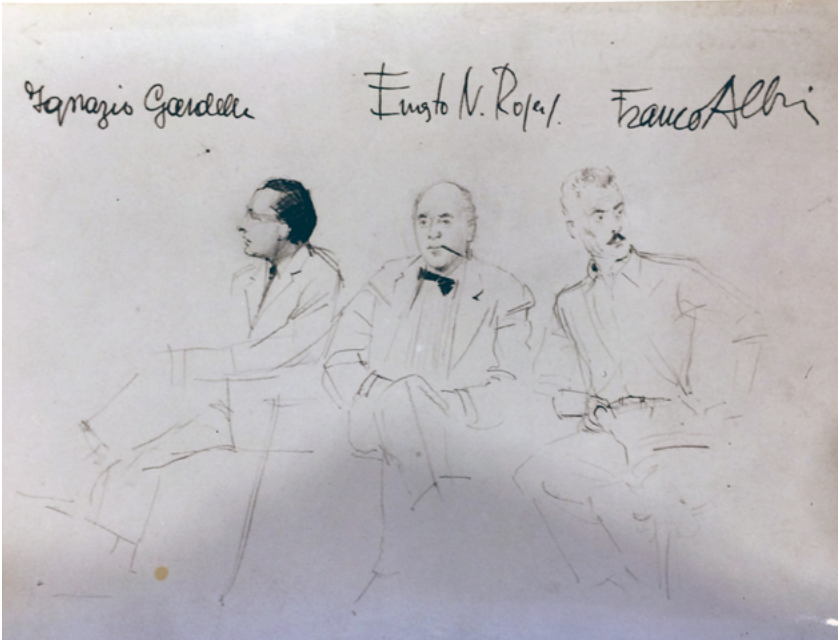


FIG. 31 Ignazio Gardella, Ernesto N. Rogers and Franco Albini portayed by Federico Correa (Venice, summer 1952). Published in *Arquitecturas Bis* n. 35 (January-March 1981). (Arquitecturas Bis Archive, COAC, Barcelona. Photo: Author).

The Story of Another Idea: *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten's.* Construction of Netherlander Contemporary Urban Landscape

Rebeca Merino del Río

University of Seville
rmdelrio@us.es

Rebeca Merino graduated from Valladolid School of Architecture in 2013. She holds a University Master's Degree in Architectural Research (University of Valladolid, 2014). She has made research at University of Valladolid for four years and is now a research fellow of the Spanish Ministry at University of Seville. Doctoral candidate at University of Seville and University of Florence. Visiting scholar at Delft University of Technology and University of Florence. She has published in *ZARCH*, *Constelaciones*, *Proyecto Progreso Arquitectura*, *EGA* y *VLC*.

ABSTRACT

"The Story of Another Idea" is the title provided to the first and the last issues of *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* edited by the Dutch representatives of Team 10. From 1959 to 1967, *Forum* journal was the media employed by Aldo van Eyck and Jaap Bakema to spread not only the ideas shared during Team 10's meetings but also their own research. The editorial board was comprised by other architects, like Herman Hertzberger or Joop Hardy, who developed outstanding careers afterwards. Despite the manifold authorships and formats, there is a common thread underlying all *Forum's* contributions: the criticism of the functional city and the definition of an alternative urban model based on human relationships. The deliberate selection of the word 'landscape' for the title intends to narrow the focus on the visual component of urban design, which will be a distinctive feature of their theoretical investigations and more idealistic proposals. *Forum's* issues published in this period are dissected by isolating those entries considered essential to reconstruct the evolution of the editors' critical discourse on the construction of contemporary city mainly as a reaction against the functionalist approach encouraged by outstanding members of CIAM years before.

This article aims to shed light on the importance given by Dutch Team 10 to habitat configuration and visual composition in the design of contemporary city after the Second World War and the establishment of the Welfare State in the 1950s. The chronological ordering of selected contributions to *Forum* since 1959 until 1967, helps us to identify the changes in the editors' research on urban design, as well as to contextualize it in the post-war social, political, and cultural framework. To conclude, this study intends to demonstrate in which way *Forum's* content contributed to characterize an alternative Dutch post-war urban landscape.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9619>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Rebeca Merino del Río



KEYWORDS:

Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten; *The Netherlands*; Aldo van Eyck; Jaap Bakema; contemporary city

Forum journal starts its record in 1946 managed by SUN in Nijmegen. Soon afterwards, Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia in collaboration with Bond van Nederlandsche Architecten [the Royal Institute of Dutch Architects] take over its edition until 1998. This journal is conceived as a media for the spreading of a critical architectural discourse with scientific investigations, study trip reports, monographies, biographies, and philosophical essays. The thorough typographical design is part of an innovative and experimental strategy that finds in *Wendingen* magazine its clearer precursor.¹ Whether it should be considered a mass media or a scientific journal will remain shrouded until an in-depth analysis of its content and potential readers are identified.

1. https://www.aeta.nl/wat_is_forum-3414 (Consulted on June 19, 2019).

Since September 1959 until 1963, the editors' board of *Forum* is comprised by Aldo van Eyck, Jaap B. Bakema, Dick C. Apon, Gerrit Boon, Joop Hardy, Herman Hertzberger and Jurriaan Schrofer. They managed to publish twenty-three issues of the journal, which were grouped in four different volumes. First volume is completed with five monthly-released issues continuing with the preceding publishing frequency. Volume fifteen is comprised by nine issues produced between 1960 and 1961, while volume sixteen is formed by six issues published each two months in 1962. Last volume seventeen – formed by four issues – was mainly developed in 1963, although last issue was compiled and published in a special number four years afterwards.

As part of the editorial team, the youngest architects came across outstanding figures of Dutch post-war architectural scene, such as Aldo van Eyck or Jaap Bakema. By then, their participation in the CIAM's congresses and their intellectual and practical contributions – together with other architects of Opbouw or De 8 – to Nagele's town planning (1947-1957), Rotterdam's Lijnbaan (1948-1953), and the design of numerous districts – such as Pendrecht or Alexander-Polder – had increased their influence. The contact with these authors allows the youngest generations to keep abreast of Team 10's criticism to CIAM's functional city model and their alternative answers. Far from being a homogeneous group, Team 10 is set up as an international platform for discussion and exchange built on a series of common objectives, where authors from diverse places and with different ways of understanding architecture bring together. Diverse factions are distinguished within Team 10's ranks, such as the English wing, headed by Alison and Peter Smithson, or the Netherlander wing, led by Van Eyck and Bakema. In this sense, Van Eyck and Bakema are the ones who share the advances presented at CIAM and Team 10's meetings by using *Forum* journal as a broadcast platform. On this basis, new architectural research lines are developed not only by them, but also by the youngest architects who assist them and collaborate in the edition of the different issues.

“The Story of Another Idea:” An Unconventional Editorial Project in Shifting Times

Under the title “The Story of Another Idea,” first issue coordinated by the editors’ board mentioned above is endowed with an eminently theoretical character. In the cover, which is composed by several phrases and key words circularly arranged [Fig. 1], the main preoccupations and research lines proposed by the editors are stated: change, growth, corridor space, city as a community interior, identity, human associations hierarchy or harmony in movement. The content becomes a statement of intent because of the references driven by Aldo van Eyck and Jaap Bakema that bring the editorial line closer to Team 10’s reactive activity against the architectural and urban model promoted by CIAM.² Writings and oral contributions by Van Eyck and Bakema to the different congresses and intermediate meetings of CIAM are complemented by many quotes and references to other architects like Le Corbusier, John Voelcker, Peter Smithson and Alison Smithson, or intellectuals like Giedion, Ortega y Gasset, Martin Buber and Franz Boas. Text quotations manifest the increasing unease of some of the attendees about the incapacity of the organisation to evolve in parallel to society and give appropriate answers to new requirements. A general picture of the architectural scene before Team 10’s irruption and CIAM’s dismantlement is therefore rendered. The diagrams exposed by the Smithsons and Howell during the CIAM intermediate meeting held in Aix-en-Provence in 1953 are included in this issue, where the different scales of association are identified. Urban realities are re-grouped around these scales of association, in which inhabitants should be able to recognise themselves if a suitable spatial response is pursued. The “Statement of Habitat” is also published here, which was conducted during the CIAM intermediate meeting held in Doorn in 1954 [Fig. 2]. This manifesto arose as a response to “La Charte de l’Habitat,” the formal declaration stemmed from the ninth CIAM conference that advocated the continuity of the functionalist urban logic. In the last pages, Pendrecht and Alexander-Polder urban proposals designed by Van den Broek and Bakema office via Opbouw are published. Both proposals had already been presented to the CIAM conference held in Dubrovnik in 1956. In these projects, the themes of visual group and growth by means of a system of clusters, are developed.³ Although the idea of growing by some exponential systems of spatial relations is quite innovative, these urban designs were developed in the fifties when the

2. Team 10 core members – Alison Smithson, Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck, Jaap Bakema, Shadrach Woods, Georges Candilis and Giancarlo de Carlo – had attended to the last CIAM conferences where they decided to coordinate as they shared common interests opposed to the prevailing CIAM position. Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10. 1953-1981: In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers, 2014).

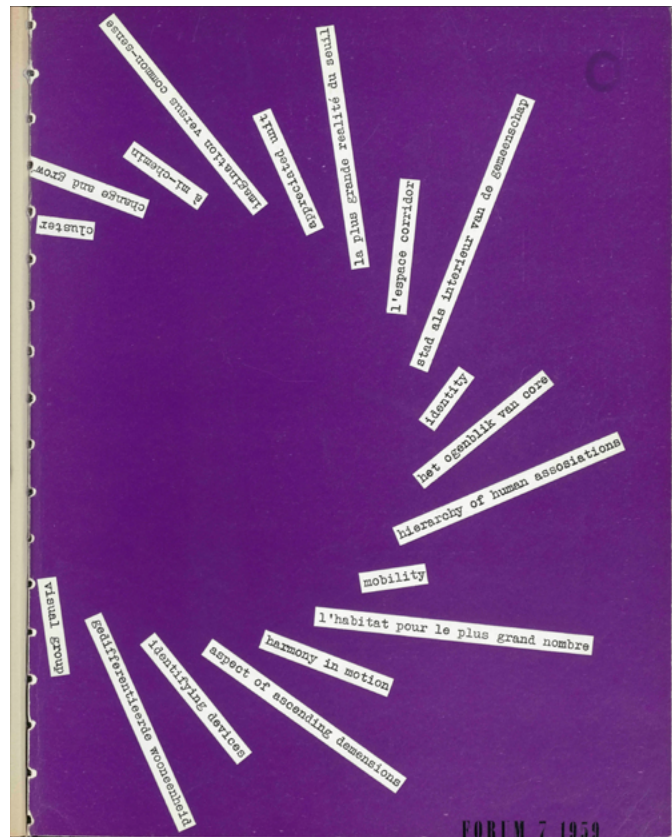


FIG. 1 Cover of *Forum* 1959, n. 7 “The Story of Another Idea.” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 14, n. 7 (1959).

3. Yet in the smallest urban entities, they try to encourage the commixture of urban functions: a small green area of recreation, different housing arrangements, proximity facilities and services. Several clusters are grouped in a district, where district’s facilities and services are incorporated along with larger areas for public use and housing. Neighbourhood arises as the sum of multiple district’s units and the preceding pattern of growth is repeated, by which new larger facilities and services appeared linked to their corresponding traffic system and urban network of public spaces.

State of Welfare was being established, and so they retain some traces of the functionalist urban logic that underlay most part of the planning made in those years.

The eighth issue edited by Van Eyck and Bakema, titled “Threshold and Encounter: The Form of In-Betweenness,” begins with an extract of *Das Problem des Menschen*. Here, Martin Buber affirms that the main problem for man in the post-war era is the dissociation between individuality and collectivity, acknowledging the capacity of the physical environment to restore this segregation. Several pictures and paintings of architectural spaces of transition – for example, *Interieur* by Pieter de Hooch – are referenced in this issue, which allow the editors to put the emphasis on those places where historically encounter with our fellows has been incited. The possibility of recognising larger urban realities from the secure sphere of the house increases the feeling of control over the surroundings and has a direct impact on how the individual experiments the space.⁴ Visual component has, in the editors’ opinion, a major role in habitat design as it proves to be useful to promote spatial appropriation and a feeling of togetherness.

English translations of the texts appear for the very first time out of the strict content in the ninth issue, what reveals the increasing interest in Van Eyck and Bakema’s intellectual activity – as part of the recently established Team 10 – beyond Dutch borders. Five projects that were considered interesting by the editors’ board are selected. The awarded proposal for Auschwitz monument and Torre Valentina residential tower in Costa Brava, both presented respectively by Oskar Hansen and José Antonio Coderch during the last CIAM conference held in Oterloo in 1959, are included.⁵ Despite the criticism, CIAM are recognised as a meritorious exchange platform and broadcast media, a model that they shortly try to reproduce via B.P.H. Moreover, some sketches of the design for a terraced housing by Alison and Peter Smithson are published as the editors consider this project an example of alternative high storey housing solutions. This number concludes with a contribution signed by Jaap Bakema titled “Oterloo... or from CIAM to B.P.H.” In this writing, he subjectively presents the events leading to CIAM’s decline and the birth of B.P.H. – the French initials of Post Box for the Development of the Habitat – that managed to publish eighteen issues between 1959 and 1971. Correspondence with personalities, institutions and academics is published in B.P.H. Through this

4. Rebeca Merino, Julio Grijalba Bengoetxea, and Alberto Grijalba Bengoetxea, “Paisajes urbanos. El edificio como una ciudad. Centraal Beheer,” *ZARCH* 0, n. 7 (2016): 144-157.

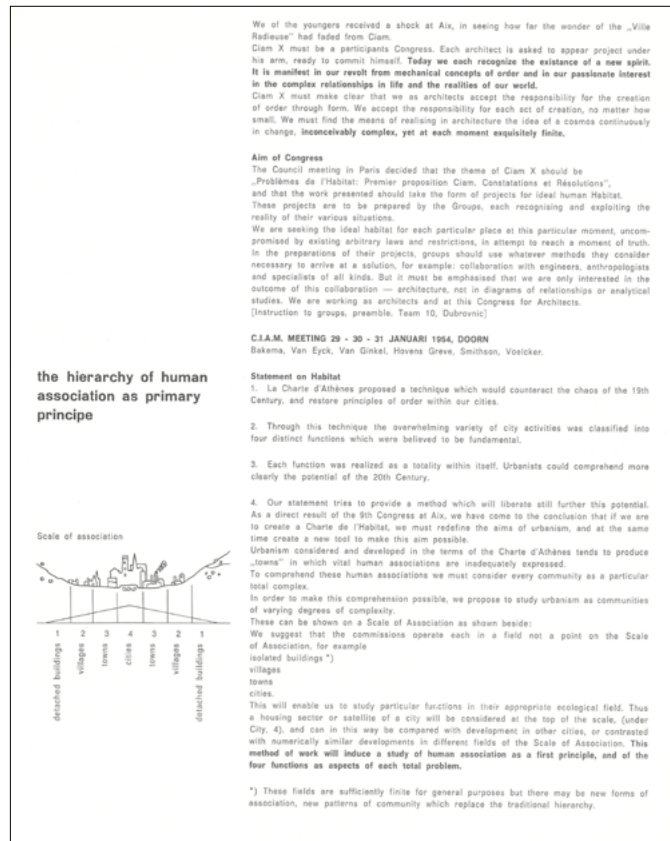


FIG. 2 Page of *Forum* 1959, n. 7 “The Story of Another Idea.” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 14, n. 7 (1959): 221.

5. Both Van Eyck and Bakema participated in this last CIAM conference by presenting respectively Amsterdam’s orphanage and Kennemerland’s preliminary study for a later urbanisation. Risselada and Heuvel, eds., *Team 10. 1953-1981: In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, 64-71.

platform, which is complementary to *Forum*, the editors aimed to keep international contact and to incite the exchange of information, especially on the matter of habitat.⁶

An evocative issue titled “Day and Night” finishes this volume [Fig. 3], where the editors’ board gets closer to European counterculture at the hands of Guillaume Apollinaire and Lucebert.⁷ A *Zone*’s piece of poem prologues the main content, in which Apollinaire’s subjective description of the activity and atmosphere in an industrial street in Paris is posed. Far from being fortuitous, this choice evidences the soundness of one of the major surrealist themes: the sensitive experiencing of the surroundings. In fact, several cutting-edge movements of the fifties and the sixties, like Cobra, Letrist International or Situationist International, were working over this motive again and so assuming the surrealist presumptions.⁸ The main body is formed by a succession of songs and poems, written in Dutch by Lucebert based on a sensitive experiencing of everyday ambiences, and a selection of several inspiring photographs of variegated urban spaces. Therefore, graphic narrative acquires meaning thanks to different verse lines following a purely architectural thread like the theme of the city and the urban landscapes [Fig. 4]. The approach to other arts such as poetry and photography directly links the content to the idea of ‘total art’, and so the journal’s activity is placed in the counterculture because of assuming its characteristic formats. In relation to their content, the selected songs are part of a Lucebert’s cycle of writings in which quotidian urban experiences become an inspiring artistic source, and so surrealist motivations and the experimental technique of *flâneur*, are also retraced.

This issue completes a first series in which the foundations for the development of the new editorial project are laid. The starting point of this initiative is the criticism of the functional city, as the editors believe that this model is no longer valid at the end of the fifties because of the changing needs and expectations of society. In this moment, the first social reactions appear after the establishment of post-war governmental schemes and its translation into the urban and territorial planning starts to show signs of being inefficient. Some of the disastrous consequences stemmed from the homogenization, the splitting of functions and the removal of the citizen from the decision making are the increasing sense of rootlessness and the lack of identity. Mainly, the editors aim to justify Team 10’s vehement refusal to what they believed it was an obsolete

6. Dirk van den Heuvel, ed., *Jaap Bakema and the Open Society* (Archis: Amsterdam, 2018).

7. Lucebert was part of the poets’ group *De Vijftigers* along with Jan G. Elburg or Gerrit Kouwenaar. His early associations with the Dutch Experimental Group and, latterly, with Cobra group, supposed the internationalization of his oeuvre. He contributed to several *Reflex* issues by publishing his first poems accompanied by graphic works to promote a collaborative production. Sheila D. Muller, *Dutch Art: An Encyclopedia* (New York-London: Routledge, 2011).

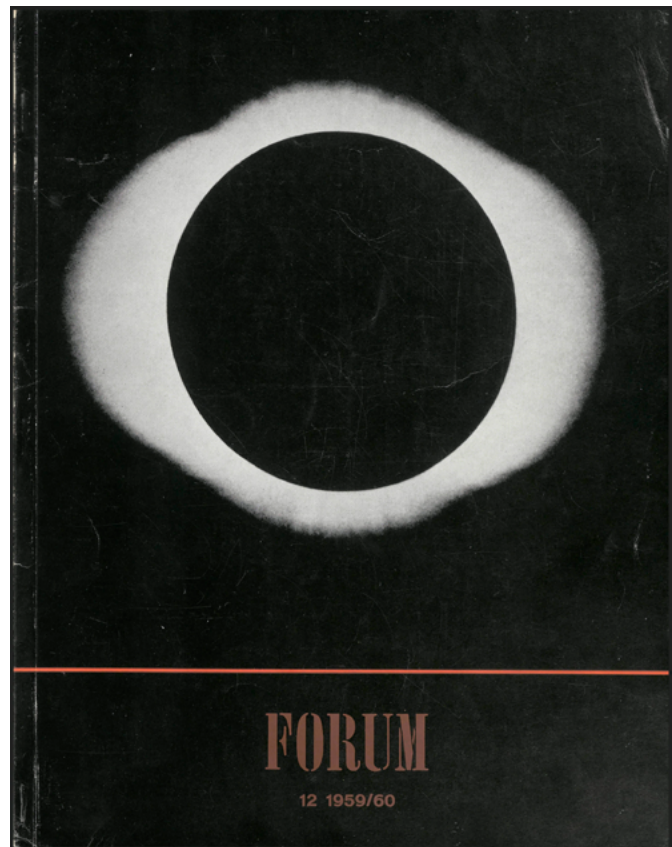


FIG. 3 Cover of *Forum* 1959, n. 12 “Day and Night.” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 14, n. 12 (1959).

8. Merlin Coverley, *Psychogeography* (Harpenden: Pocket, 2010), 72-81.

urban paradigm, ruled by out-fashioned postulates, whose maintenance over time could only cause even more dysfunctions. Some traces of existentialism are observed, not only in the text quotations, for instance of Martin Buber, but also when referring to the sensitive experiencing of the city, since psychological impact of the physical environment is stressed.

Sailing over troubled water: challenging local and international criticism

Volume fifteen is comprised by nine issues, which were produced between 1960 and 1961. In two of the issues, divergencies between *Forum's* editorial board, headed by Van Eyck and Bakema, and several Netherlander architects and academics arise and prevail over other content, not to mention the unceasing reciprocal reproaches between CIAM and Dutch Team 10 through B.P.H.

In the first issue, five projects are analysed continuing the trend of previous numbers. Hertzberger's prologue forwards to the content of the number twelve of 1959, which allows us to grasp how he understands it and the influence on his imagery.⁹ He demands a complementary reading of the city, not as a reduction and addition of functions, but as a complex juxtaposition of objective and sensitive realities that have a direct influence on individuals, social relationships and the way people interact with their habitat. Ralph Erskine's project for a city in the Arctic is thence presented, in which the British architect studies the external conditionings and formal circumstances to be considered in a hypothetical design of a city in the Arctic. In contrast, Herman Haan's "Life in the Desert" is revisited. Attention is drawn to the way human beings have adapted to extreme conditions by carefully arranging their towns without overlooking communal life as a key factor to achieve a full life. It is precisely this observation and the comprehension of the physical environment looking for indications to use when designing what the editors believe that is fundamental to face the deficiencies of modern town planning. Thirdly, a series of guidelines written by Alison and Peter Smithson are posed, which prove to be useful in an occasional architectural criticism of mass housing. Following the spatial hierarchy announced in the Smithsons scale of associations, "Zone" by Pat Crooke, Andrew Derbyshire and John Voelcker is selected as an example of a territorial plan that departs from the architectural gesture. Lastly, Kennermerland regional study, by Van den Broek and Bakema, is used by the editors to advocate a



FIG. 4 Page of *Forum* 1959, n. 12 "Day and Night." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 14, n. 12 (1959): 413.

9. Herman Hertzberger, "Editorial," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 1 (1960-1). For more of this topic, Rebeca Merino del Río and Julio Grijalba Bengoetxea, "Centraal Beheer: los límites del estructuralismo en la configuración de un espacio-soporte," *Proyecto, Progreso, Arquitectura* 0, n. 19 (2018): 38.

balanced urban planning where tradition meets technology in such a way that man's identity is reinforced because of his larger implication in the definition of the physical environment. The selection of these projects evidences how Van Eyck and Bakema's editorial discourse is deeply rooted in CIAM's activity at first, insofar as Erskine's Subartic Habitat, Haan's "Life in the Desert" and Bakema's Kennemerland regional study were presented during the Otterlo conference in 1959.¹⁰

"Door and Window" is the title of the third issue [Fig. 5], centred on the design of these architectural elements and the intermediate spaces around them. The editors believe that social activity is more intense there, since man has historically related to his fellowmen through these openings. Van Eyck's contribution must be stood out because of the graphic content that accompanies the text-fragments, somehow remembering the layout used in 1959 twelfth issue. Van Eyck refers to the capacity of these openings to become the points from where man looks, hears, and feels his fellows, and so he puts the emphasis on their design [Fig. 6]. He continues: "Space has no room, time not a moment for man. He is excluded [...] In order to include him — help his homecoming — he must be gathered into their meaning."¹¹ With this statement, he announces a more humanistic approach to architectural and urban design, more sensitive to man's physiological and psychological needs. In his opinion, contemporary planning along with the increasing tend to distribute dwellings in high-storey buildings, were confining man's freedom and so playing a part in his loss of identity.

10. Risselada and Heuvel, eds., *Team 10. 1953-1981: In Search of a Utopia of the Present*.

11. Aldo van Eyck, "Editorial," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 3 (1960-1): 107.

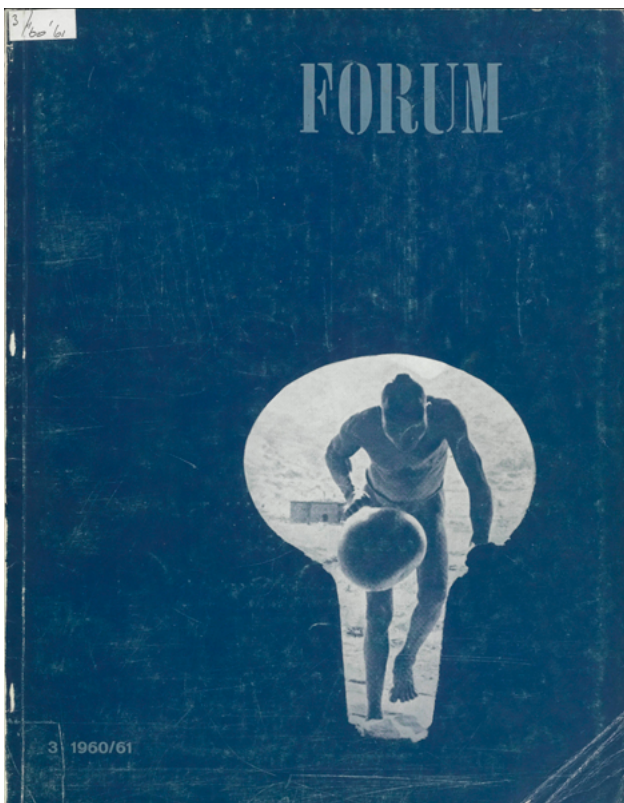


FIG. 5 Cover of *Forum* 1960-1, n. 3. "Door and Window." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 3 (1960-1).

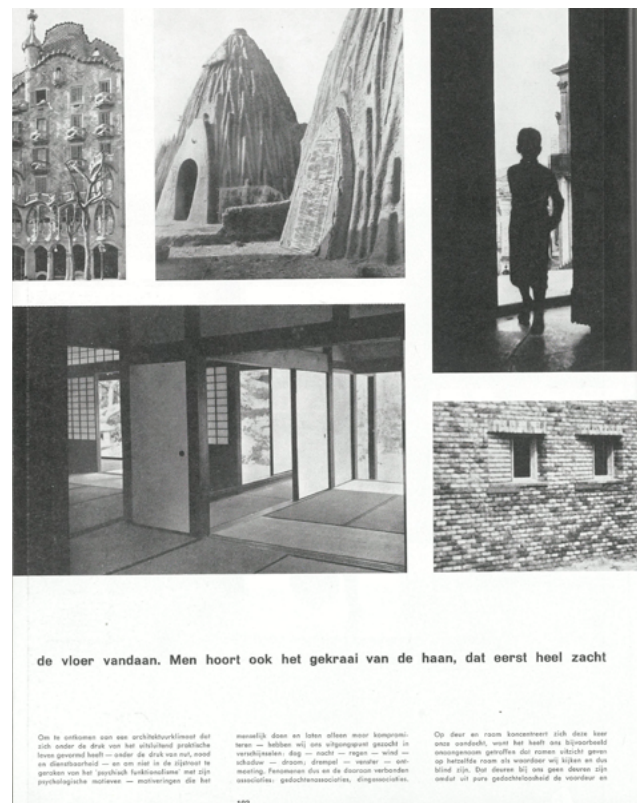


FIG. 6 Page of *Forum* 1960-1, n. 3. "Door and Window." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 3 (1960-1): 102.

As mentioned above, in this volume there are several issues in which the editorial board's stance is criticized. The fourth issue – whose title is “Re-Action” – collects criticisms and the editors' particular reactions to all of them. It is divided into two sections and exclusively written in Dutch. First section depicts reviews and criticisms on the editors' leeway made by other architects and academics, which had been published in diverse Netherlander media. Second section is formed by the editors' reactions to those criticisms.

Fifth number is centred on housing design. Concretely, it is focused on experimental systems to relate housing units to each other in such a way that they configure an alternative urban landscape. Hertzberger reflects on the problems stemmed from the systematic design of high-storey housing in the introduction. This housing typology had become generalised after the Second World War and European contemporary urban landscape was mainly shaped by homogeneous high-storey buildings. In his opinion, the problem of the standardization of the ways of life, derived from a functionalist scheme, is amplified because of the simple repetition entailed by a deficient design of collective housing: “Together with the repetition, necessary because of the vastness of number, this turbidity comes forward because, once one has started from an arbitrary division, this can only lead to an enormous addition sum of again arbitrary units without identity.”¹² Spanger's housing project by Michiel Brinkman is brought as reference. Despite the interior arrangements of the houses were no longer valid for the post-war society, the way these units are organized encourages, in Bakema's opinion, the sense of being part of a community, something he pursues through the architectural design. Out of the main pages, correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Team 10 is published. The collection of writings reveals the tensions still existing between directing members of CIAM and Team 10, because of the use of CIAM's nomenclature by the members of Team 10 to refer to its work.¹³

The double issue six and seven [Fig. 7], titled “The Medicine of Reciprocity tentatively illustrated,” depicts a photographic report of Aldo van Eyck's recently finished orphanage. This building, which is considered by many critics as an example of proto structuralism,¹⁴ is key for the next generation of architects in the wake of Van Eyck. The program is developed around several courtyards [Fig. 8]. The specific rooms are distributed on the ground floor, except for few dormitories and living areas that

12. Herman Hertzberger, “Editorial,” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 5 (1960-1): 159.

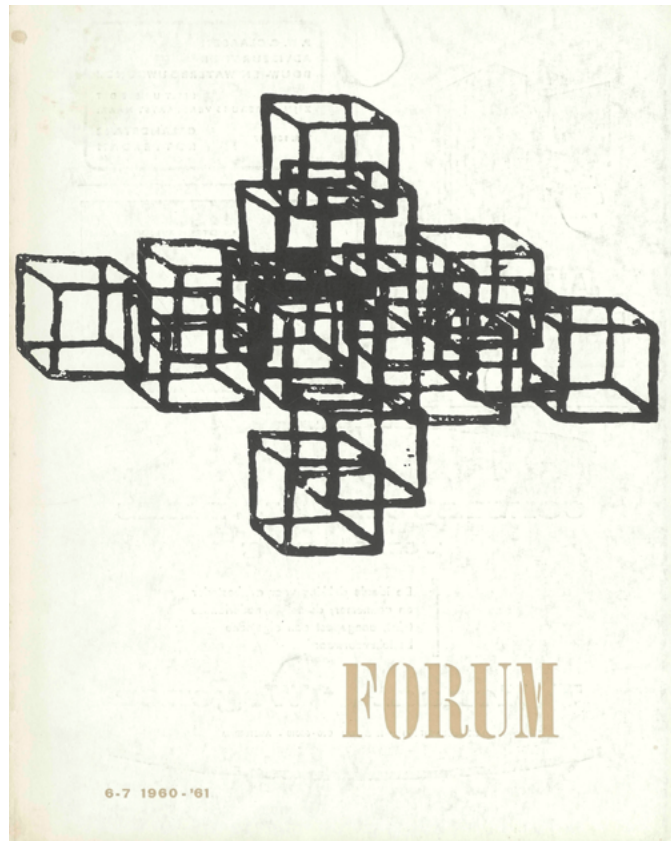


FIG. 7 Cover of *Forum* 1960-1, n. 6-7 “The Medicine of Reciprocity Tentatively Illustrated.” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 6-7 (1960-1).

13. Giedion sent a letter in which he presents a list of the facts leading to CIAM dissolution and the role played by the youngest generation of architects, accusing them of precipitating the events. Bakema is the one who replies to Giedion. He argues that the new times required the revision of the outdated guiding principles that were once acceptable.

14. Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998).

are placed on the first floor in a clearly differentiated volume. The building is organised according to an urban logic. Aldo van Eyck's intention was to remove the spatial limits between outside and inside to encourage a fluid behaviour and the social relationships characteristic of public spaces. When describing the building, Van Eyck recognizes that its guiding principle was to reconcile "the idea unity with the idea diversity in architectural terms."¹⁵ He defends "that diversity is only attainable through unity" as so do happen to unity which is "only attainable through diversity."¹⁶ This reference is key to understand Hertzberger's proposals for Amsterdam's town hall and Centraal Beheer office building designed between 1966 and 1969. Despite the generative principles are different, the idea of designing the building as a city lies behind all these projects. The same principles guide some of Piet Blom's masterpieces, such as the proposal for Pestalozzi child village or his various housing projects in Hengelo, Helmond or Rotterdam, designed between 1962 and 1978.

"The Other Housing" precludes the content of the eighth issue. Bakema's reference to Schindler's theoretical work allows us to extract one text-fragment vital inasmuch as most of the editors' architectural proposals rely on its content: "Rhythm is a spatial relationship. It cannot be achieved by an arithmetical repetition of the same parts but must be maintained by related spacings of parts whether they are similar or not."¹⁷ In Bakema's opinion, architectural design for a mass society should take this into account, as dealing with the 'great number' (comillas simples) usually entails the repetition of some formulas based on the commonest ways of life. The mere repetition of a structural unit or urban cluster is not enough to fulfil man's needs. In fact, it can lead to a standardization of the patterns of life. To avoid this, correct articulation of the parts and changeability are necessary. Otherwise, architects can contribute to the homogenization of the social tissue. In "Towards a Vertical Residential Area," Hertzberger inquires into some innovative architectural solutions to amplify the individual's identity and his sense of belonging when designing high-storey housing. He takes as reference the recently finished building of Van den Broek, Bakema and Stokla in Berlin, where the experience of arriving home is socially enhanced by the provision with elevated street-like corridors. He demands a careful design of collective spaces where contact between neighbours and with the surroundings is increased. This way, disruption from public space to dwellings is removed and becomes a sum of intermediate spaces with social function.¹⁸



FIG. 8 Page of *Forum* 1960-1, n. 6-7 "The Medicine of Reciprocity Tentatively Illustrated." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 6-7 (1960-1): 229.

15. Aldo van Eyck, "Kindertehuis in Amsterdam," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 6-7 (1960-1): 237.

16. This sort of narrative, symmetrically composed by confronting opposed realities, is characteristic of Van Eyck's discourse. This literary resource can lead to misunderstandings as it seeks to cast a dramatic image instead of express reality objectively. Eyck, "Kindertehuis in..." 237.

17. Rudolf Schindler, "Reference Frames in Space," *Architect and Engineer* 165, n. April (1946): 40-43. Cited in Jaap Bakema, "Schindler's Spel Met de Ruimte," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 8 (1960-1): 256.

18. He affirms: "Abolishing the partition between building and town means that they merge into one another; the continuity of a gradual succession of areas, each being more inside than its predecessor, together: the interior town." Herman Hertzberger, "Naar een Vertikale Woonbuurt," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 15, n. 8 (1960-1): 273.

An austere cover presents the two sections that form the ninth and last issue of this volume. In the second section the interventions of different attendees to the debates organised by *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia* are summarised. Rietveld, Van den Broek, and Bakema were among them. Mostly, *Forum's* guidance under the supervision of Van Eyck and Bakema is challenged, as well as the architectural model they advocate. The most critical attendees refuse to believe that architects were responsible of the social failures associated to certain architectural and urban decisions, while they cast doubts on 'kasbaism'¹⁹ – one of the architectural models Dutch Team 10 was working on in that moment –. This cycle of issues brings to the fore the local discussions arisen just one year after the appointment of the aforementioned editorial board. Dutch Team 10's assertive discourse is contested with the same vehemence by local scholars and architects as stated in the records. Despite the general feeling that Netherlander post-war architectural scene revolves around Van Eyck and Bakema's work, it is defended that their ideological stance was not widely accepted. Rather, their prospects were considered idealistic and constituted an alternative, minoritarian option. Far from making the editorial board to cease, these contestations turned to be a catalyst for a reorganisation of the editors' research line on the basis of some innovative design strategies. First approaches are made in this sense when the editors regard the importance of a greater environmental comprehension and social involvement in the decision-making.



FIG. 9 Cover of *Forum* 1962, n. 2 "The Anonymous Client." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 2 (1962).

19. Dirk van den Heuvel, "The Kasbah of Suburbia," *AA files*, n. 62 (2011): 82-89.

Looking for a distinctive urban identity

Volume sixteen is comprised by six issues. Mostly, the editorial board assesses ancient primitive examples looking for architectural and urban formulas that have proved to be able to satisfy human needs for centuries. They try to extract some essential mechanisms of composition in order to latterly apply them to the project of an alternative habitat for the post-war society in an attempt to avoid problems stemmed from a deficient, monotonous spatial configuration.

Issue number two [Fig. 9], under the title "The Anonymous Client," is centred on the disappearance of the traditional link between architect and client because of the advent of mass society. Bearing in mind the hasty growth of population because of the better vital perspectives and the lack

of housing after the Second World War, most of the architectural efforts in the fifties and the sixties are centred on collective housing design for the so-called anonymous client. Bakema develops the main article, in which he puts forward some architectural strategies to deal with mass society requirements, such as the creation of diversity or the architectural capacity to change. After that, he gathers the feedback from the study trip to Split in "An Emperor's House at Split became a town for 3000 People." He highlights the intensive use and different interpretations of the ancient structure of a Roman palace made by the people through the centuries, which is still recognisable in that moment. A sequence of patterns of use is reconstructed by means of historical plans and paintings, sketches, photographs, and technical drawings, which allow the reader to observe the mechanisms of appropriation employed by the man [Fig. 10].²⁰ In the last pages, B.P.H. correspondence is included. The letter written by Le Corbusier after the distribution of the book *CIAM 1959 at Otterlo* among the board members and attendees to the last conference, is published. In this letter, Le Corbusier acknowledges Team 10's efforts and underscore the different socioeconomic scenario this generation must deal with. Following this text, Bakema revisits the initial discourse on the new methodologies applicable to architecture in view of the problems arisen in the sixties. It is precisely in this side text that he more freely expresses his concerns and radical ideas. He envisages a possible superseding of the social model, where architecture has a fundamental role to the extent that it can contribute to the user's release.²¹ In his own words:

20. This way, Bakema not only suggests the hypothesis of a possible architectural design of urban superstructures able to persist over time and to bear change, but he also detects the graphic mechanism to be used when the design is aimed to provide both characteristics, i.e. persistence and changeability. Alberto Grijalba Bengoetxea, Rebeca Merino del Río, y Julio Grijalba Bengoetxea, "Representando el tiempo: polivalencia espacial en las viviendas Diagoon y Central Beheer," *EGA Expresión Gráfica Arquitectónica* 24, n. 35 (2019): 169-170.

21. Rebeca Merino del Río, "Entre la utopía y el idealismo: análisis de las correspondencias entre los modelos urbanos de Bakema y Constant para la ciudad del futuro," *Temporánea* (in press).

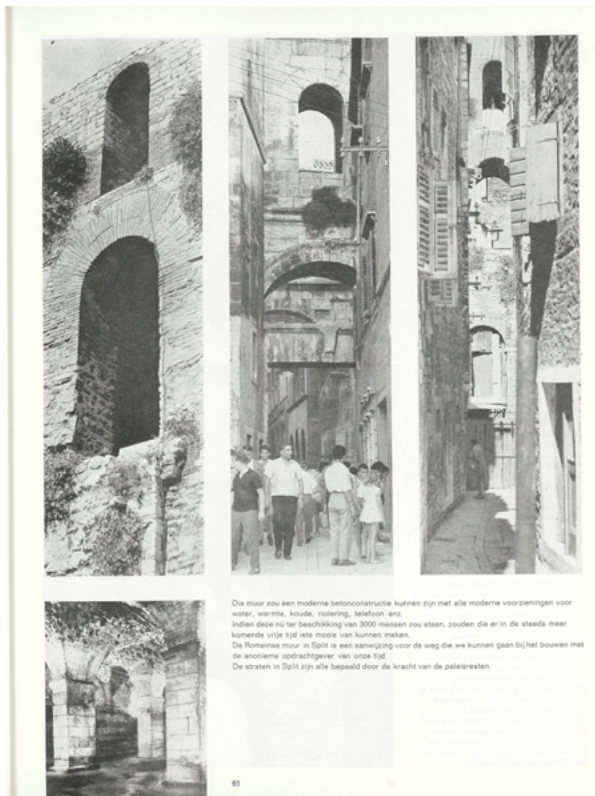


FIG. 10 Page of *Forum* 1962, n. 2 "The Anonymous Client." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 2 (1962): 61.



FIG. 11 Cover of *Forum* 1962, n. 3 "The Fake Client and the Great Word 'No.'" *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 3 (1962).

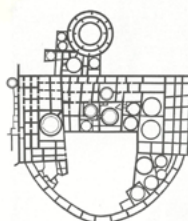
We know that change of our social structure will only make sense if it gives more chance to more people for having a personal (free) way of life [...] Our urban districts could surprise and stimulate again if only the hidden potential of our new social structure (the open society) were to be expressed by building for the anonymous client.²²

22. Jaap Bakema, "Otterlo 1959 – 1962," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 2 (1962): 74.

A series of essays by Van Eyck carry the most weight in the third issue [Fig. 11] titled "The Fake Client and the Great Word 'No.'" His writing "Steps towards a Configurative Discipline" outlines the theoretical and architectural principles that will be later employed to catalogue certain works as part of the movement internationally known as Dutch structuralism.²³ Several formal mechanisms are emphasized that, in Van Eyck's opinion, are key to make advances towards a reinterpretation of the architectural discipline from an urban logic. As for our research, his defence of the right-size, the approach to a configurative discipline, or the coincidence of urban identity and dwelling configuration, must be highlighted. In fact, they are related to each other. A configurative discipline takes as the starting point the human-scale spatial unit, which is latterly replicated by following different patterns of growth to set up a habitat. Functional city disregards, in Van Eyck's opinion, the importance of controlling the size and distances, what fosters social and spatial disruption. By changing the departure point from the whole to the constituent parts it is believed that this problem can be properly handled. In this sense, residential function is fundamental to reinvigorate the contemporary urban tissue and to promote a sense of identity in a certain place. The constituents are defended to be designed by tightly merging this residential function with others – such as public facilities and open-air spaces, services, or infrastructures –, and so architects can contribute to generate urban identity.

23. The choice of this terminology has been criticised by some authors, like Francis Strauven. For more on this topic see Heuvel, Dirk van den et al., "Structuralism: An Installation in Four Acts," *Volume (Amsterdam, Netherlands)* 42, n. 4 (2014).

In "The Pueblos" some primitive towns in the south of the current United States are analysed. Van Eyck considers these ancient towns illustrative of the joint evolution of man and nature, as the external conditionings are fundamental in the built environment configuration and so it happens with the collective ways of life. Design of infrastructures and dwellings, as well as the strategies for colonising the territory, are analysed in order to decipher the intentional logic of urban design [Fig. 12]. Insofar as the study goes back to a primitive status of urban design, it is possible to get a simplified, essential reading of the link between man and the built environment. Van Eyck intends to uncover the common



Pueblo Arroyo ligt slechts 300 m van Pueblo Bonito verwijderd. Het gaat hier om een veel kleinere nederzetting.
Pueblo Arroyo, approximately 300 yards from Pueblo Bonito, is a far smaller settlement.

Pueblo Bonito is de grootste van de 12 in Chaco Canyon gegroepde geboude pueblos - de afstand tussen de verst gelegen is slechts 12 km. Tegenover de natuurlijke rug van de rotsblokken in het Mesa Verde-gebied, waarin de gaten, voor de verdiepingbalken uitgehakt, nog aanwezig zijn, hier een enorme 17 m hoge en 235 m lange gebogen ononderbroken muur, waarbinnen ruim 600 vertrekken (ca. 1200 kamers), van vijf trapsgewijs naar het midden toe tot één verdieping dalend, werden gebouwd. 20 grote en kleine kivas liggen bovendien binnen deze grandioze muur beschermd. Als men bedenkt dat het aantal keuring behoeven en verwerkte stenen ca. 50.000.000 bedraagt, terwijl voor de dikken tienduizenden palen werden gebruikt, dat slechts een gedeelte van de gemeenschap zich met het haken, bijhakken en metselen van al deze stenen kon hebben beziggehouden; dat verder niemand er met een zweep bij stond (d.w.z. dat er van dwangarbeid geen sprake was) - wetste, dat zal men begrijpen wat een arme gemeenschap uit eigen kracht voor zichzelf vermag te volbrengen.

Pueblo Bonito is the largest of the 12 pueblos built close together in Chaco Canyon - the greatest distance between the outermost is only 8 miles. In contrast with the natural backing of the rock-cavities in the Mesa Verde area, in which the holes for the floor-beams are still to be seen, we here see an enormous uninterrupted curved wall, 60 ft. high and 700 ft. long, within which more than 600 rooms (app. 1200 inhabitants) were built descending stepwise from five stories to one story in the middle. There are, furthermore, 20 kivas large and small sheltered within this wall. If one takes into consideration the fact that the number of stones, neatly hewn and worked up, is about 50 millions while tens of thousands of poles were needed for the roofs, that only part of the community were able to occupy themselves with the fetching, heaving and masonry of all these stones, and furthermore that nobody stood watching them who in hand [they knew of no such thing as forced labour], there one will realize what a humble community can achieve.

FIG. 12 Page of *Forum* 1962, n. 3 "The Fake Client and the Great Word 'No.'" *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 3 (1962): 104.

architectural-urban structures created through centuries as a reflect of social relationships to export them to contemporary planning and, this way, to respond to mass society's demands.

This third number is also essential in that it includes for the very first time Herman Hertzberger's writing "Flexibility and Polyvalency." In his article he reconsiders Bakema's conclusions extracted from the case study of Split and Van Eyck's reflections on "The Pueblos." Here, man's lack of recognition in the built environment as part of its history is the main diagnosed deficiency of contemporary city. Despite his urban motivations, the speech is redirected to the topic of dwelling given that housing design has a direct implication on habitat configuration, as stated by Van Eyck in his first contribution. Hertzberger introduces the differentiation between flexibility and polyvalence in this point, which is distinctive of his imagery.²⁴ Polyvalence is presented as a lower degree of spatial adaptability than flexibility. In his opinion, it is precisely spatial polyvalence what makes the urban tissue of old towns so rich in functions and relationships. To translate old towns' socio-spatial relationships system into a contemporary urban plan, he proposes to design identifiable mega-forms comprised by smaller elements able to bear different interpretations and accommodate various uses over time. He states: "The mega form that will be needed in the metropolis as identification in order that one may know where one is – can only impart identity to the passive clients again if the collective interpretation of individual patterns of life is abandoned."²⁵ In this regard, he gets closer to Bakema, who also supports the design of recognisable urban superstructures easily comprehensible and able to bear different interpretations as time goes by.²⁶

The 1962 fourth issue, "The Belgian-Netherlands Section in the Berlin Exhibition 'Our Neighbours are Building,'" depicts photographs and theoretical reflections extracted from the exhibition with the same name held in the Academy of Arts of Berlin in 1962. The focus is put on the relationships between spatial elements at different scales, which correspond to those presented by Alison and Peter Smithson in the *Statement of Habitat* using Geddes' valley section. Bakema's essay entitled "From Doorstep to Town" precludes the catalogue and gathers his diagnosis of the habitability conditions in the contemporary city. In this writing, which undoubtedly possesses a revolutionary inclination, he appeals to a change of the social paradigm coincident with the development of the mass society.²⁷ Bakema

24. Grijalba, Merino, y Grijalba. "Representando el tiempo..." 170-171.



FIG. 13 Cover of *Forum* 1962, n. 5 "The Other Housing." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 5 (1962).

25. Herman Hertzberger, "Flexibiliteit en Polyvalentie," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 3 (1962): 118.

26. In this line, other contemporaries, like Yona Friedman or Constant, were developing parallel investigations. Dominique Rouillard, "Megaspace structure Yona Friedman and Eckhard Schulze-Fielitz," *Histories of Postwar Architecture* 1, n. 3 (2018): 3-18.

27. For more on this topic, Heuvel, ed., *Jaap Bakema and the Open Society*.

defends an intelligible architecture and urbanism that allow the user to interpret and take part in the habitat configuration at different scales and so he is included in his meaning. Main problems are concentrated at the urban and territorial scales, due to the lack of an inclusive planning. Bakema ascertains that “the meaning of town and region can only be shaped if architects recognise the decisive circumstances in the programs for buildings, towns and regions, and if they can state the spatial consequences at the very moment decision are made in the planning-group,”²⁸ and so he advocates a holistic approach to habitat configuration in which architects and urban planners collaborate. Architectural projects by Dutch and Belgian architects are complemented by some of Van Eyck and Bakema’s most celebrated works, such as Amsterdam’s orphanage, Nagele’s urban plan or Lijnbaan. Dams and artificial riverbeds are included in the last section as these huge infrastructures have left an imprint on the population imagery and now form part of the collective identity of the whole region.

Fifth number, titled “The Other Housing,” is focused on experimental housing proposals in which urban planning and landscape are inextricably interwoven with habitat configuration [Fig. 13]. The editors lend weight to some architectural projects of different outstanding architects of the international scene who were working around similar themes than those developed by Team 10. Moshe Safdie’s essays “Fallacies, Nostalgia and Reality” and “A Case for City Living” manifest the complex socio-economic reality that United States and Canada were facing by 1960 and the subsequent changes in their urban policy. In contrast to American characteristic low-density urbanism, a future scenario for the last decades of the twentieth century is envisaged where density of habitation is increased by means of the generalisation of high-storey housing.²⁹ Three studies where Safdie explores different urban systems are then displayed [Fig. 14]. Dwelling design and definition of growing laws allow the formation of heterogeneous communal structures that together contribute to setting up a stimulating contemporary urban landscape. In the academic proposal of G. Manten for an agricultural community in Aalsmeer, directed by Hertzberger, the scales of association are carefully considered and clearly organize the plan at successive levels, from clusters to districts. This proves how Team 10’s knowledge was starting to become widespread among the youngest *Forum’s* collaborators.

28. Jaap Bakema, “Von Schwelle bis Stadt,” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 4 (1962): 127.

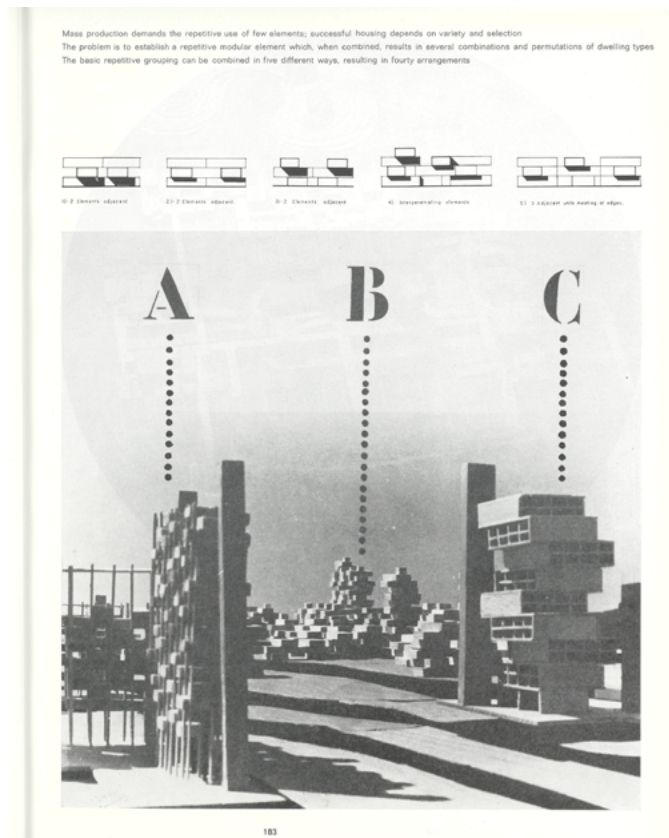


FIG. 14 Page of *Forum* 1962, n. 5 “The Other Housing.” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 5 (1962): 183.

29. Moshe Safdie, “A Case for City Living,” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 16, n. 5 (1962): 173-174.

In this third series, it is observed how the authors abandon the criticism of the functional city model to start identifying some mechanisms to provide the environment with greater accessibility and changeability. The editors support that rootlessness and lack of identity can be handled by paying more attention to these spatial features when designing. To face the new socioeconomic scenario, the editors not only suggest new architectural models, but also some innovative approaches, which are mainly based on the greater involvement of future inhabitants in their habitat configuration. Problems arise to define the nature of these inhabitants, as they are no longer recognisable nor individualised. In fact, Bakema refers to them as the anonymous clients. Major deficiencies of post-war neighbourhoods are defended to have their origin in the urban and architectural design by imposing some restrictive, individual patterns of life to large groups of anonymous clients. Designing for a mass society implies the detection and the identification of some common, basic needs – including the social encounter – that become the guiding lines for future works.

The prompt end of an enthusiastic beginning: envisaging the city of the future

First issue is mainly devoted to the proposals presented by Piet Blom and Joop van Stigt to the Prix de Rome. Although some proposals presented to the Amsterdam's town hall competition are considered to be the starting point of Dutch structuralism – after the cataloguing of some



FIG. 15 Cover of *Forum* 1963, n. 2 "Architecture as an Instrument of Man's Self-Realization." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 2 (1963).

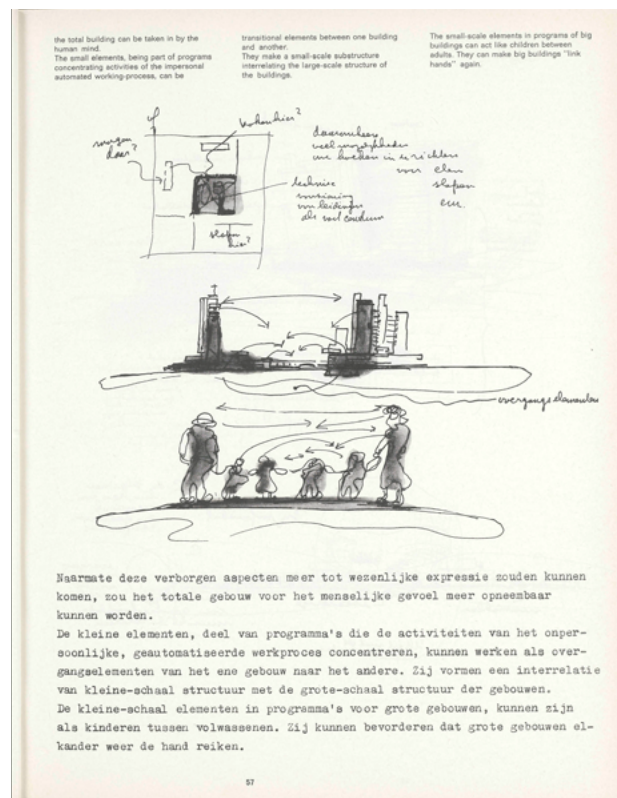


FIG. 16 Page of *Forum* 1963, n. 2 "Architecture as an Instrument of Man's Self-Realization." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 2 (1963): 57.

of the entries under the theme *the building as a city* —,³⁰ Blom and Van Stigt's proposals to the Prix de Rome already include most of the configurative features of this trend. Both projects are based on a spatial system that departs from the definition of a structural cell and several growing laws. In both cases, the result is an atomised unitarian organism composed by smaller elements that bring the scale closer to the inhabitant, which are grouped by following an urban logic. This mechanism allows the authors to deal with the problem of taking care of the different scales of association, at the same time that growth is encouraged by following some rules for the transformation established beforehand. These exercises materialise, in the editors' opinion, some of Team 10's core principles, and so transmission of knowledge to the youngest generations is again proved.³¹

In the second issue [Fig. 15] titled, "Architecture as an Instrument of Man's Self-Realization," Bakema's contributions are predominant. He stresses the necessity of a larger ethical commitment of architects when designing everyday environments. In his opinion, sense of identity can be enlarged if habitat configuration takes into consideration human diversity and a wide range of architectural solutions are provided to the anonymous client.³² Visual control, as the mechanism to contribute to the inhabitant's greater accessibility, is also stressed [Fig. 16]. Then, plan Bochum, a proposal designed in 1962 by Van den Broek and Bakema office for a university campus in Germany, is presented. Van den Broek and Bakema intend to develop an integral university program by means of a megastructure, which is superimposed onto the existing topography, colonising and demarcating the territory. Natural variations of the ground's height are used to ease accessibility and legibility by far. Thorough studies of pedestrian and vehicles traffic between the cores, as well as circulations to-and-fro the city, are conducted.

The third issue of the 1963 volume is a special number in which Joseph Rykwert's essay "The Idea of the Town" is published for the very first time. Van Eyck's introduction addresses the importance of legibility and spatial knowledge to strengthen the relationship between man and the built environment. Given the complexity of post-war urban reality, it is by taking part in its meaning that the city becomes intelligible and decipherable for the user. To deal with this problem, architects must implement some mechanisms at various scales — from house to town — to incite man's larger involvement in the configuration of the city. In Van Eyck's words: "The town has no room for the citizen — no meaning at all — unless he is gathered into its meaning. As for architecture; it need do no more than assist man's homecoming."³³ Selection of Rykwert's writing is but a master movement by the editors to defend the close relation between life in community and habitat configuration. This historical study also serves as a nexus with other ethnologic investigations that were being simultaneously

30. <http://static.nai.nl/stopera/en/index.html> (Consulted on June 22, 2019).

31. Rejection by other members of Team 10 quickly discourages the *Forum's* group to continue in this line. Criticism of these architectural models is focus on the severity of the repetition, as well as on their incapacity to sensitively generate an entwined urban tissue. This makes the designs introspected and isolated. However, it should be noted the meritorious efforts for controlling the scale and the growing processes.

32. Jaap Bakema, "Architectuur als Instrument in het Menselijk Bewustwordingsproces," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 2 (1963): 53.

33. Aldo van Eyck, "Editorial," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 3 (1963): 98.

developed internationally. Rykwert tries to unravel the features common to the towns' setting up in the classical antiquity and several primitive civilizations, as well as, to demonstrate the natural origin of some of the rites and ceremonies linked to these establishments. He draws attention to the labyrinthine dances and *templum* primitive ritual. In both cases, knowledge of spatial relations and external conditionings enlarges man's sense of belonging and encourages spatial appropriation.³⁴ This way, man's inherent need for a larger comprehension of the surroundings over time is proved, what supports the editorial board's hypotheses on the major role of the visual component to foster spatial knowledge and the importance of focusing efforts on this aspect when designing urban landscapes.

Last issue of *Forum* was devised in 1963 and was eventually published four years afterwards in July 1967 [Fig. 17]. A fragmentary discourse formed by texts of Aldo van Eyck, Peter Smithson, and Werner Heisenberg, opens this number. The full picture of Team 10's general framework and progresses is thus portrayed. Along with other entries, Herman Hertzberger signs two theoretical essays in which his future research lines are defined. In his essay "Form and Programme are Reciprocally Evocative," the principles of the transposition of the structuralist premises to the architectural practice are outlined. Contrary to social homogenization encouraged by architectural and urban forms based on individual patterns of life, Hertzberger stands up for designs grounded in collective patterns of life. These guarantee that basic common needs are satisfied – including social exchange –, while the individual's interpretation is not only permitted, but encouraged. He maintains that the only way to give a response to the problem of the standardization and the coagulation of the freedom to choose, is by designing polyvalent forms able to bear diverse interpretations. In "Identiteit," he focuses on the way the greater interpretability of architecture is a feasible response to solve the lack of identity experienced by post-war society: "Only with a diversity of interpretations that is qualitative will there be a question of choice, on which the establishment of a maximally variegated social pattern can be based."³⁵ Plans and pictures of the students' housing in Amsterdam designed by Hertzberger are published in this last issue. Here, special attention is paid to the design of collective spaces, such as communal facilities, interior corridors, staircases or elevated streets.

34. Pre-Roman civilizations try to reconstruct a hypothetical labyrinthine pathway during towns setting-up celebrations to demonstrate their spatial control and sureness when moving to-and-fro different points. Whereas, *templum* ritual, based on observation, allows them to establish the city's axes and so a new artificial human order is imposed.

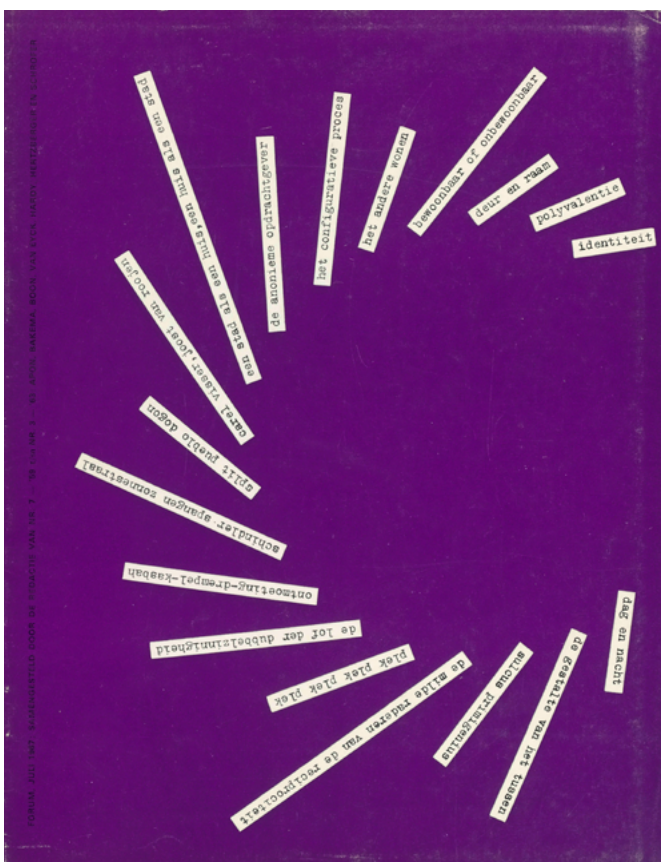


FIG. 17 Cover of *Forum* 1967, n. 4 "The Story of Another Idea." *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 4 (1967).

35. Herman Hertzberger, "Identiteit," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 4 (1967): 17.

Documentation of Sonsbeek’s pavilion, built in 1966, is shown. After that, Van Eyck’s ethnographic report titled “Dogon” accounts some of the situations experienced by Dr. Paul Parin, Dr. Fritz Morgenthaler and Van Eyck himself, during a study trip to Africa. Some Dogon social conventions are used by Van Eyck to support his belief that man’s sense of belonging to a certain place arises when he is able to recognise himself in its history and collective spaces are assumed as own. “De Spiegelmeester: Joost van Roojen” is a catalogue of paintings and architectural collaborations made by Joost van Roojen. Van Eyck had been awarded with the Sikkens prize in 1961 because of his Amsterdam’s orphanage, along with the painter Joost van Roojen because of their collaboration in integrating colour and architectural design in Amsterdam’s playground of Zeedijk in 1958. Only one year before, Van Eyck and Constant had received the same award in recognition of their manifesto “Vooren Spatial Colorisme.”³⁶ To conclude, a variation of Van Eyck’s prologue to the 1963 third issue is published. He lends importance to architectural design in terms of visual perception not only as such but also as part of a wider urban reality. In his words: “With this in mind I have come to regard architecture conceived in terms of ‘space’ depending primarily on visibility (visibility taken for granted!) as arbitrary and abstract; only physically accessible and therefore closed.”³⁷ Sensitive composition fosters the spatial experiencing and helps the user to internalize and identify himself in a certain place.

This special issue concludes with some entries signed by Bakema. Firstly, Van den Broek and Bakema’s Aula building for Delft University of Technology and the 1964 awarded proposal for Zürich’s municipal theatre are collected. This last project is quite remarkable due to the superimposition of urban functions in section that, in Bakema’s opinion, intensifies social relationships between man and the built environment. The theatre’s structure stands over a huge public square where shops, restaurants and parking are located. Public space behind the suspended structure is compressed and dilated by the characteristic counter-form of the theatre. From outside, user can perceive the counter-form of the theatre and easily comprehend how this public facility is incorporated into the urban tissue [Fig. 18]. His essay “The Primary Need for Images” should be carefully considered, as it is at this point that Bakema’s speech reaches maximum maturity. Mainly, we find in this writing the essence of the concepts of ‘total space’ and ‘open society,’ distinctive of his imagery and inextricably interwoven.³⁸

36. Aldo van Eyck, Vincent Ligetlijn, and Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck: Writings* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2008), 169.



FIG. 18 Page of *Forum* 1967, n. 4 “The Story of Another Idea.” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 4 (1967): 83.

37. Aldo van Eyck, “Editorial,” *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 4 (1967): 51.

38. Merino, “Entre la utopía y el idealismo...”

In his own words:

Thus, there will come into existence a new kind of inter-relationship between publicly- and privately-used space, and it is certainly a task for architects to bring forward in good time the expression of this new inter-relationship so that its consequence can be considered in respect to all aspects of total life.³⁹

39. Jaap Bakema, "Het Beeld van Totale Verstedelijking," *Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten* 17, n. 4 (1967): 84.

Last issues of *Forum* give evidence of the editors-in-chief intellectual evolution since 1959. At the end of their editorial contribution to *Forum*, Van Eyck and Bakema's architectural production had reached a degree of maturity and publicity that have placed them in the international scene. However, an increasing distance between their positions is appreciated. On the one hand, Van Eyck's more sensitive approach to the architectural design, due to his closeness to some cutting-edge artistic trends, is clearly materialised in his built works and artistic collaborations, as well as in his theoretical production. Thus, his focus on primitiveness as source of essential knowledge and inspiration is reminiscent of some surrealist and Cobra practices. "Pueblos", "Dogon," or even the introduction to "The Idea of a Town," revolve around the primitive establishment of rapports between communities and environment based on the observation and processing of information. These rapports are the ones that he intends to reconstruct by exciting the users with an emotional architecture. On the other hand, Bakema's socio-political project is increasingly present in his writings towards 1963. He claims that post-war urban planning is no more a social project, but rather a political one, which exclusively pursues the economic growth and an increasing production efficiency. To make the construction of the city a social project again, it is necessary to face the coercive governmental power by involving the citizen in the urban decision-making, something that would lead in turn to a transformation of society itself. In accordance with this objective, the scale of his most celebrated architectural designs – mainly superstructures and urban plans – is larger than, for example Van Eyck's, in an attempt to have a further impact on society. The complementary nature and scope of Van Eyck and Bakema's stances make their association a fruitful ideological project aimed to propose a spatial model for the city of the future. This complementarity is also perceptible in the next generation of authors, what makes difficult to establish convergencies between them.

Conclusions

The first conclusion extracted refers to the editorial board's attention paid to the construction of contemporary city. Aldo van Eyck and Jaap Bakema, both attendees to CIAM's conferences and core members of Team 10, are the ones who direct *Forum's* editorial line towards the criticism of the functional urban model. This criticism is complemented, in the

intermediate volumes, with incipient research on some architectural-urban elements that the editors consider fundamental to design an alternative contemporary urban landscape. *Forum's* unconventional approach to urban design takes anthropologic and ethnographic studies as reference in an attempt to extract those mechanisms that have turned some architectural-urban structures into paradigmatic examples of changeable environments. Habitat design carries the most weight as the editors consider that the residential function is the only one able to encourage a sense of belonging and identity. This way, they point at the disruption of the urban functions – characteristic of functional city – as one of the main deficiencies of post-war planning. They advocate a different approach to urban design grounded on hierarchical socio-spatial relationships and so enduring the Smithsons hypotheses. In this model, first urban relationship is that between dwellings, which is defined as the translation of the primary relationship between man and his fellowmen to spatial terms. The editors dedicate most of *Forum's* issues to analyse alternative housing solutions and habitat arrangements as it is by taking care of this prime relationship between dwellings that architects can incite social use of space and increase the feeling of togetherness. Socio-spatial relationships become more and more entangled at larger scales. For this reason, they propose to cope with deficiencies arisen at urban and territorial scales by means of composition mechanisms in which simultaneous or progressive perception of different urban elements eases the comprehension of complex urban reality.

Even though the editors lend importance on criticism of the functional urban model in the first issues, this initial trend becomes less and less prominent towards 1962, when they clearly pursue to unveil those mechanisms and strategies that lead to an alternative urban design for the city of the future. The evolution of Dutch Team 10's research about habitat and urban models after CIAM's dissolution is perceptible after ordering Van Eyck and Bakema's contributions to *Forum*. During the first months, the Smithsons theories about the scales of association and the "Statement of Habitat" have a huge influence on *Forum's* content, while more personal approaches and innovative reflections by the editors' board appear in volume sixteen. In that moment, they start to put the emphasis on historical and ethnographic studies, looking for primary architectural-urban structures adaptable to contemporary urban design.

It is demonstrated that *Forum* constitutes the local scholarly journal where an alternative, cutting-edge image of Dutch post-war city is forged and that it contributes to the spreading of the most innovative theories on urban design. Poetical narrative and conceptual depth of the writings place *Forum* within humanistic, scientific journals, somehow far from conventional magazines due to its content's specificity and opaqueness. Although it is widely accepted that Van Eyck's contributions to *Forum* are

the ones with a deeper conceptual weight, Bakema's work is considered equally relevant in relation to urban studies. Both contribute to lay the foundations for a criticism of contemporary city and become architects of reference for the youngest generations. Most of the built works and proposals that are shown in the journal from 1959 to 1963 served as formal references to generate an architectural own identity in The Netherlands. Bakema's influence on some of his contemporaries work as part of Opbouw group is quite significant. For instance, Pendrecht and Alexanderpolder preliminar studies by Van den Broek and Bakema office served as the basis for the final project conducted by Lotte Stam-Beese. On the other hand, Van Eyck's reflections for the plan of Nagele were fundamental during the coordination meetings with Opbouw and De 8 representatives, as well as his drawings, which were taken as reference for the finally executed plan. The youngest architects who contributed to *Forum* worked along the on the same research lines as Van Eyck and Bakema. Centraal Beheer office building, Diagoon-type housing, Delft's Montessori School or Utrecht's theatre are some of Hertzberger's masterpieces influenced by *Forum's* theoretical assumptions and formal references. The proposals for Kasbah housing in Hengelo and Kubus-type housing in Helmond and Rotterdam by Piet Blom are clearly inspired by *Forum's* statements, as well as some of Joop van Stigt's university facilities. Thus, it is possible to assert that both Van Eyck and Bakema had a major role in shaping an alternative Netherlander urban landscape in the years after the Second World War – thanks to their outstanding positions, both as professionals and academics –. In this sense, it is defended that *Forum's* theoretical postulates (the criticism of the functional city, the configurative discipline, or 'total space') are the basis of most part of the built works that are considered paradigmatic examples of Dutch structuralism.

“DEAR ALISON”

The Diffusion of J.A. Coderch’s Work through his Participation in Team Ten

Julio Garnica González-Bárcena

Architect and associate professor at the Department of Theory and History of Architecture at the ETSAB-UPC
 juliogarnica@coac.net

Architect and associate professor at the Department of Theory and History of Architecture at the ETSAB-UPC since 2004. He has published several books and articles, has curated of several exhibitions on 20th-century Spanish architecture, and has been a lecturer in different architecture international conferences. In addition to his teaching and research activities, he also works in his own architecture studio.

ABSTRACT

In March 1967, the Spanish architect J.A. Coderch (1913-1984) responded to a questionnaire he had received from Team Ten in a letter to the English architect Alison Smithson. It is a short text in which Coderch regrets having little to say about his work in response to the questionnaire, despite having practiced for nearly 30 years, while recognizing having been unable to collaborate with Team Ten as much as he would have liked. Attempting to respond to Smithson, whom he addresses as “My dear editress” in the letter’s greeting, Coderch makes a list of the professional questions of most concern to him at the time: the wide variety of commission types and the resulting inconsistency of one’s built work; teaching in architecture and what stance to take when dealing with young architects; the always problematic relationship between architects, developers and construction companies; and the difficulties of group work, an aspect Coderch found tiresome. And also, especially, “the necessity that we have to project great blocks of dwellings”, recognizing that George Candilis “was right when he answered me in Royaumont that we had to face the problem and answer yes leaving aside romantic positions that cannot compete with the modern systems of construction”.

In the late 1960s, when he wrote the letter to Alison Smithson, he had received the commission for a housing complex in Barcelona: the project known as “Las Cocheras”, which he eventually presented at the 1971 meeting in Toulouse-Le Mirail. The project, around 500 apartments, became the largest residential complex of Coderch’s career, the great big yes to addressing the problem of housing, which his friends from Team 10 had encouraged him to pursue, in a relationship that is no doubt fundamental to understanding the project. “Las Cocheras” inevitably represents the built project with the closest ties to the fundamental questions addressed by the group: humanizing the city, rediscovering the street as public space, the need for collective housing, preserving identity amid the masses, the hierarchy of groupings, etc.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9815>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Julio Garnica González-Bárcena



KEYWORDS:

Coderch; Team Ten; Las Cocheras

In March 1967, the Spanish architect J.A. Coderch (1913-1984)¹ responded to a questionnaire he had received from Team Ten in a letter to the English architect Alison Smithson² [Fig. 1]. It is a short text in which Coderch regrets having little to say about his work in response to the questionnaire, despite having practiced for nearly 30 years, while recognizing having been unable to collaborate with Team Ten as much as he would have liked. Attempting to respond to Smithson, whom he addresses as “My dear editress” in the letter’s greeting, Coderch makes a list of the professional questions of most concern to him at the time: the wide variety of commission types and the resulting inconsistency of one’s built work; teaching in architecture and what stance to take when dealing with young architects; the always problematic relationship between architects, developers and construction companies; and the difficulties of group work, an aspect Coderch found tiresome. And also, especially, “the necessity that we have to project great blocks of dwellings”, recognizing that George Candilis “was right when he answered me in Royaumont that we had to face the problem and answer yes leaving aside romantic positions that cannot compete with the modern systems of construction”. At the end of the letter, Coderch’s closing takes a very pessimistic tone, “my english is worst every day and I feel myself ill, old and stupid”, yet he attests to a great confidence in Team 10, “I have a great faith in the Team 10 and you all.”

In fact, just five years earlier, at the Team 10 meeting at Royaumont Abbey (September 12-16 1962, organization: Candilis-Woods), Coderch

1. Antón Capitel, Javier Ortega, *J.A. Coderch* (Madrid: Xarait, 1978); Enrique Soria, *J.A. Coderch de Sentmenat. Conversaciones* (Barcelona: Editorial Blume, 1979); Carles Fochs, *J.A. Coderch de Sentmenat 1913-1984* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1989); Antonio Pízza, Josep M. Rovira, eds., *Coderch 1940-1964. En busca del hogar* (Barcelona: COAC, 2000).

2. The Coderch Archive contains at least two different versions of the letter: an undated typed version in Spanish, and another typed version in English dated March 27, 1967 (the transcription maintains spelling errors from the original). The Coderch Archive is currently being inventoried and photographed at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía. The documents cited in this article were consulted before the move, at the Coderch Archive, ETSAV-UPC. For the purposes of this article, the archive documents are referred to using the label CA (Coderch Archive).

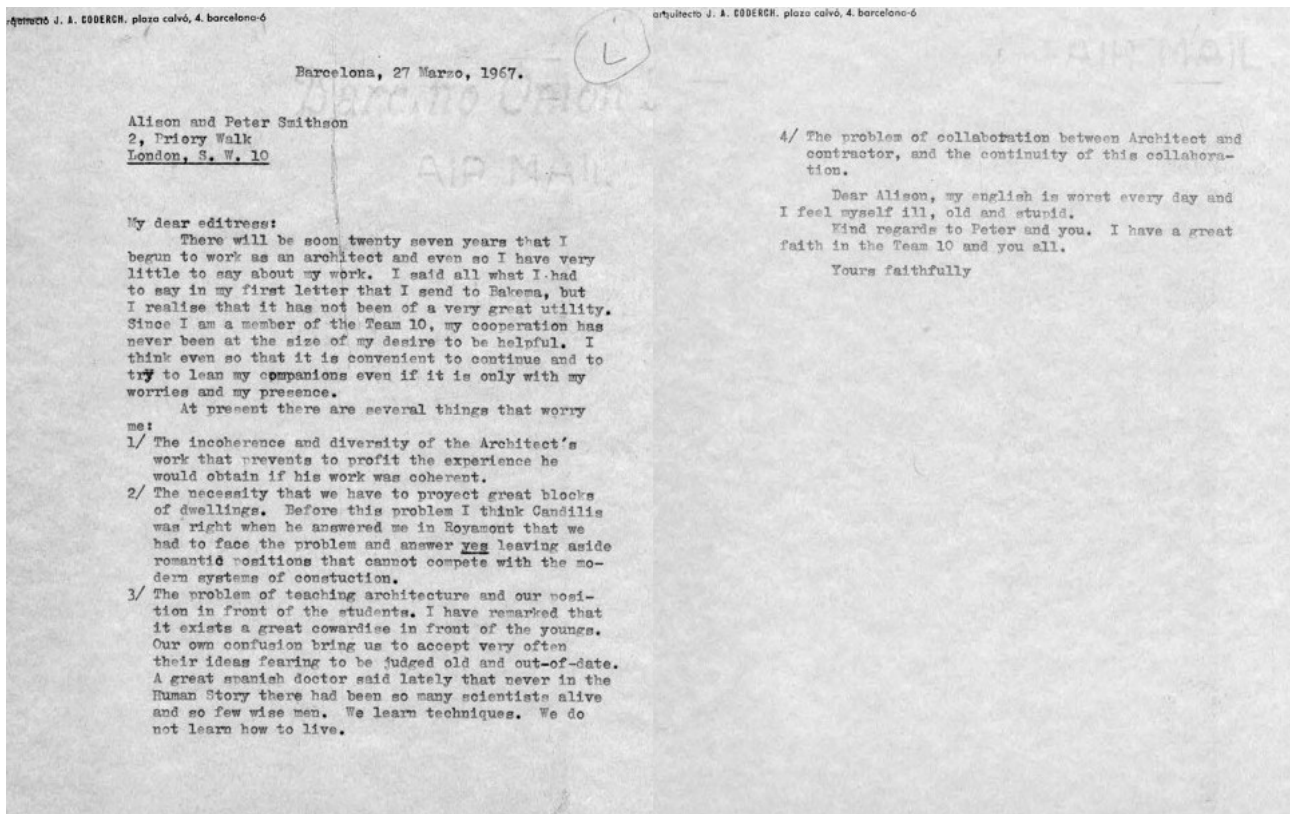


FIG. 1 Letter sent by Coderch to Alison Smithson in 1967.

was there for the presentation of the design developed by the team Candilis-Josic-Woods for the competition for Toulouse-Le Mirail, a new neighborhood with 25,000 housing units, intended for 100,000 inhabitants. After the presentation of the project, and in the presence of some of the most influential members of Team Ten, including Jaap Bakema, Georges Candilis himself, Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, and Alison and Peter Smithson, Coderch, who was skeptical about large-scale housing projects, defended the need to spend at least six months on designing a single house, contrasting with the ease with which Candilis designed an entire city.³

Bakema responded immediately to Coderch, despite not being very familiar with Spain, that he was sure “there are many people who need houses.” Along with Bakema, Amancio Guedes, G. Candilis, P. Smithson and A. Van Eyck joined the debate, in an intense exchange regarding the architect’s moral responsibility, the difficulty of envisioning the spaces for Toulouse-Le Mirail, the need to think about large numbers of people, (but not like Le Corbusier), and the limits of architectural knowledge and technology in the design of large housing complexes. The heated debate brought to light the different points of view of each of the architects, in some cases in clear opposition, but it also revealed the Team 10 members’ respect for J.A. Coderch, despite not sharing some of his opinions.

Coderch as a Member of Team Ten

What was the foundation for this respect for a Spanish architect who was a newcomer to Team 10? Before the CIAM Conference held at the Krölller-Müller Museum in Otterlo (September 7-15, 1959; organization: Van Ginkel / Bakema), it is likely that most members of Team 10 would have had very little information about J.A. Coderch; they might even have known nothing about him. However, in early 1959, J. L. Sert, president of the CIAM since 1947, proposed Coderch’s participation in the Otterlo Congress. The Spanish architect J.L. Sert (1907-1983),⁴ also born in Barcelona – alma mater of the CIAM Congresses until the late 1930s – and one of the most contemporary-leaning and least dogmatic members of the “old guard”, had maintained an interest, from his exile in the United States, in the development of Coderch’s career.⁵ As such, he decided to sponsor his participation in what was officially the last Congress in the history of the CIAM and, unofficially, the first meeting in the history of Team 10. In March 1959, Coderch confirmed his attendance in Otterlo in a letter to Bakema.⁶

During the Congress, Coderch presented his design for Torre Valentina, an apartment building and hotel on the famous Costa Brava, in northern Spain. In a privileged landscape by the sea, Coderch and his partner Manuel Valls designed a tourist complex comprised of a series of rows

3. “It’s only that, to me, it seems that it would take me six months to plan a house. I can’t understand it.” in Alison Smithson, ed., “Team 10 at Royaumont”, *Architectural Design* vol. XLV (1975): 687.

4. See: Josep M. Rovira, *Jose Luis Sert, 1901-1983* (Milan: Electa, 2000); Josep M. Rovira, ed., *Sert. 1928-1979. Medio siglo de arquitectura. Obra Completa* (Barcelona: Fundació Miro, 2005).

5. Letter from Coderch to Gio Ponti, 08/31/1951. Gio Ponti Archives, Milan. Cited in Antonio Pizza, “Raigambre y universalismo de un proyecto doméstico” in Rovira and Pizza, *Coderch 1940-1964. En busca del hogar*.

6. Letter from J.A. Coderch to J. Bakema, 03/17/1959. CA.



FIG. 2 Otterlo, 1959. Coderch during the presentation of the Torre Valentina project.

of terraced houses, adapted to the sloping terrain, guaranteeing good southwest orientation, views of the sea, and the independence of each of the dwellings by staggering them in plan and in section.⁷ The design sparked the interest of the main members of Team Ten, as can be seen in the well-known photographs of the presentation, which feature Bakema, A. Smithson, G. Grung, J. Solztan and Ernest Rogers [Fig. 2], among others, and from its later publication among the Congress materials.⁸

The initial consequence of the meeting in Otterlo was that, unexpectedly, Coderch came to be considered as one of the members of Team 10, something like “one of us”. The theoretical concepts that had been posited by the group in the preceding years – variety, flexibility, elasticity, the adjustment of density, the systematization of solutions, etc. – were captured in a design by an architect who was as much unknown as he was both serious and circumspect (in the photographs from the presentation, he is wearing a suit and tie, compared with Bakema, for example, in shirtsleeves), and although he came from the unfamiliar territory of Spain, he immediately caught the attention of Team 10 members.

Nonetheless, he was not part of the core group formed by J. Bakema, G. Candilis, G. De Carlo, A. Van Eyck, A. and P. Smithson, and S. Woods. He was an unknown who, despite not having attended the CIAM IX in Aix-en-Provence in 1953 dedicated to the “Charte de l’Habitat”, not being familiar with the Doorn Manifesto from 1954 (one of Team 10’s foundational documents in which the famous city of four functions from the Athens Charter is replaced by the sequence house-village-town-city), not participating in the meetings from 1954 and 1955 (London, Paris, Le Sarraz), or attending the CIAM X in Dubrovnik in 1956, etc.,⁹ put into practice, in a project designed in far-away Spain, some of the principles that concerned

7. Fernando Távora et al., *J.A. Coderch. Torre Valentina* (Barcelona: ETSAV and Ediciones UPC, 1999).

8. Oscar Newman, *CIAM’59 in Otterlo: Group for the Research of Social and Visual Interrelationships* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1959).

9. Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10: 1953-81: In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2005).

Team 10, such as clustering, growth and change, identity, the hierarchy of human associations, mobility, collective housing, etc.¹⁰

The second consequence of the presentation of Torre Valentina in Otterlo was the immediate appearance of the design – and with the design, Coderch; and with Coderch, Spanish architecture – in specialized international media. It became the architect's most widely published project outside Spain, despite the fact that, paradoxically, it was never built. Coderch's designs and his name had appeared regularly in the Italian magazine *Domus* since 1949, due to the influence of Gio Ponti, with whom he had forged an intense professional and personal relationship, and, to a lesser extent, in the French magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*.¹¹ Nonetheless, beginning in 1959, from one day to the next and as though by magic, the Torre Valentina project appeared over the following years (1960, 61, 62, 63, etc.) in specialized publications in France, Germany, England, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Portugal, Norway, and so on.¹²

In the right place at the right time. The project had sparked curiosity among the members of Team 10, having been designed by an architect who was as unexpected in the international forum as the country he came from, isolated from European democracies since the end of the Spanish Civil War. He belonged to their generation (Coderch was born in 1913, like G. Candilis, R. Erskine and Jerzy Soltan; Bakema was born in 1914; Van Eyck, 1918; Giancarlo De Carlo, 1919; Peter Smithson, 1923; and Alison Smithson, 1928) and apparently shared their interest in breaking free from the rigid orthodoxy of the early Modern movement.

For one or more reasons, whatever they may have been, Coderch fit in with the group. He fit in so well that, a few months later, when he was unable to attend the following gathering in the French city of Bagnols-sur-Cèze (July 25-30, 1960; organization G. Candilis) – which could be considered the first official Team Ten meeting, some of the members wrote him a charming postcard [Fig. 3] sending their regards and hoping to get together soon. The signatures on the postcard include, among

10. As the reader will note, these are the concepts that appeared on the famous cover of the magazine *Forum* from September 1959, which Coderch logically could not have seen before his attendance at the Congress in Otterlo. See: *Forum* vol. XIV, no. 7 (1959).

11. Antonio Piza, "Raigambre y universalismo de un proyecto doméstico".

12. Joan Teixidor, "Jose Coderch & Manuel Valls", *Zodiac*, no. 5 (1959): 147; Gio Ponti, "Un albergo e centotrentum case a Torre Valentina, Costa Brava", *Domus*, no. 364 (1960):1-4; "Bebouwingsplan voor Torre Valentina", *Forum*, vol. II, no.9 (1959): 292-299; "Siedlung von Einfamilienhäusern und ein Hotel an der Costa Brava", *Bauen + Wohnen*, no. 6 (1960): 203-207; "Project d'hotel et de villas a Torre Valentina, Costa Brava", *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 89 (1960): 27; "Hotel und Ferienhausprojekt bei Palamós an der Costa Brava", *AW Architektur und Wohnform-Innendekoration*, no. 6 (1960): 21-24; "Hotel & Apartments at Torre Valentina", *Architectural Design*, no. 5 (1960): 198-199; Liv Schiodt, "Under forvandlingsens lov", *Bonytt*, no. 9 (1960): 151-153; Rafael Echaide, "Espanha. Os pequenos congressos", *Binario*, no. 31 (1961): 197-202; "Hotel und Apartmenthäuser in Torre Valentina, Costa Brava", *DBZ Deutsche Bau Zeitschrift*, no. 2 (1961): 143-146; "5 obras de José A. Coderch e M. Valls Vergés", *Arquitectura: Revista de Arte E Construção*, no. 73 (1961): 3-18; "Hotel und Apartmenthäuser in Torre Valentina, Costa Brava", *Deutsche Bauzeitschrift*, no. 2 (1961): 143-146; "Spanische Architektur", *Werk*, no. 49 (1962): 186-212; "Village de vacances sur la Costa Brava", *Realités*, no. 207 (1963): III-IV; "Urbanización Torre Valentina, Gerona Costa Brava: José A. Coderch, Manuel Valls", *Lotus: Architectural Annual 1964-1965* (1965): 26-31; "J. A. Coderch", *Zodiac*, no. 15 (1965): 58-61; RED, "Twee woonhuizen in Spanje: architect José A. Coderch en Manuel Valls", *Bouw*, no. 52 (1968): 2142-2147.

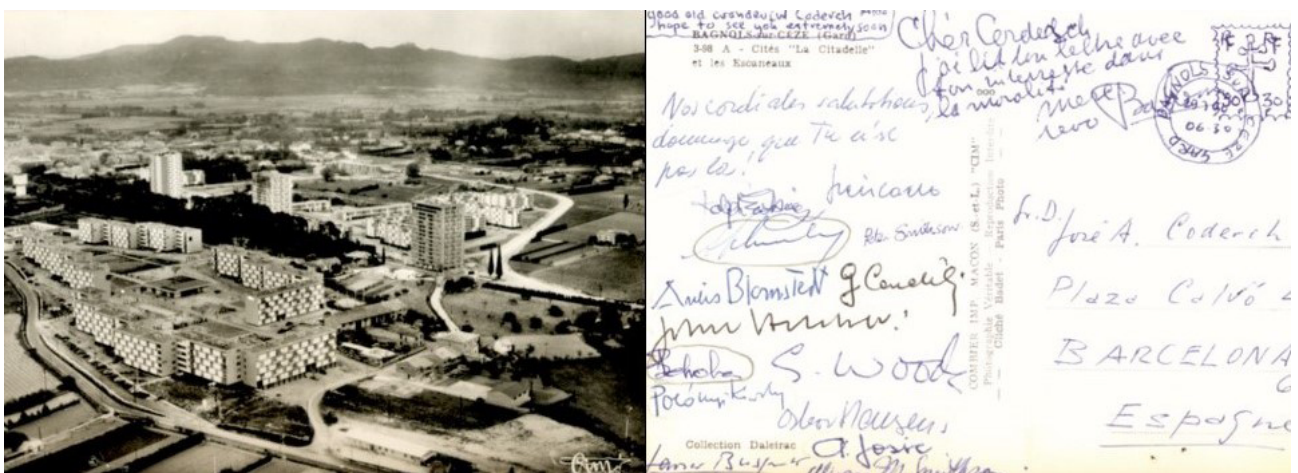


FIG. 3 Bagnols-sur-Cèze, July 1960. Postcard addressed to Coderch and signed by the members of Team X.

others, those of A. Van Eyck, J. Bakema, R. Erskine, P. Smithson, Blomstedt, G. Candilis, J. Voeckler, S. Woods, O. Hansen, A. Josic, A. Smithson and the Spanish architect J. Busquets (who participated in the meeting as a representative of Coderch, and who was responsible for hand delivering the postcard, as can be inferred by the drawing imitating a stamp with which the card was “posted”).

Despite this initial absence, Coderch maintained a relationship with the group, beginning a constant correspondence with a few of its members, sending letters during 1960 to Bakema, Candilis, De Carlo and Hansen, among others. In August 1961, he sent the text of “It is not geniuses that we need today” to Bakema, as secretary of Team Ten, through the “Post Box for the Development of Habitat” in Rotterdam.¹³ It was a declaration of intentions, between professional and personal, in which he defends – instead of grand figures in architecture (geniuses) – a sense of professional responsibility, supported by both the living tradition and modern technology. Written in a hermetic tone in some of its fragments, the text, which was also published in the Italian magazine *Domus* in November 1961,¹⁴ became the cornerstone of Coderch’s limited theoretical production, open to a variety of interpretations due to its sophisticated tone.

The correspondence also helps us confirm the date of Coderch’s “formal” admittance to Team Ten. In a letter from May 1962, Coderch sent Bakema a series of thoughts on the Congress in Otterlo (nearly three years after it was held), proposing a number of ideas to improve how the meetings worked (including technical aspects such as the presence of stenographers to take notes on the presentations and guarantee their subsequent discussion and dissemination). In the postscript, Coderch also requests acceptance as a member of Team Ten.¹⁵ Following the local “failure” of Grup R, founded in Barcelona in 1951 in his own office, the relationship with Team 10 was likely the only element of sociability within Coderch’s reach. He held onto it, convinced that it was worth maintaining contact with an international group that was paving the way to overcoming the most orthodox currents of the Modern movement, an issue that had preoccupied Coderch since the beginning of his professional career.

In 1962, Coderch attended the meeting at the Royaumont Abbey (September 12-16, 1962; organization Candilis-Josic-Woods), accompanied by the architect F. Correa – collaborator, colleague and friend at the time). He was recognized on the invitation as a “member” of Team 10, which suggests his automatic acceptance by the group following his letter from May of that same year. At the meeting, which was the setting for the debate cited above, Coderch presented his project for the apartment building in the Barceloneta neighborhood of Barcelona, designed in 1951, and made reference to a study of the shack typology (“barracas”), which he had carried out in 1952.

13. Letter from Coderch to Gio Ponti, J. Bakema, 08/01/1961. CA.

14. Jose A. Coderch, “No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora | It is not geniuses that we need to-day” in *Domus*, no. 384 (1961); 1-10. It was also published in several Spanish and foreign magazines: *Arquitectura* (Portugal), no. 73 (1961); 3-4; *Arquitectura* (Madrid), no. 28 (1962); *Hogar y Arquitectura* (Madrid), no. 42 (1962); *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (Paris), no. 100 (1962), as well as in: Alison Smithson. (ed.), “Team 10 Primer 1953-1962”, in *Architectural Design* (London), no. 12 (1962).

15. “P.S.: As I am convinced that the Team-ten is really useful and may become the impulse of many necessary reforms and initiatives for our trade of Architects, I have made up my mind to beg you – as the Secretary of the Team 10 – to accept me as member of the Team 10 – if you think that my taking part in it would be useful.” Letter 05/22/1962. Team 10 Archive NAi. Published in Ana Rodríguez, “No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora’. Una reflexión sobre el escrito de J.A. Coderch en el contexto de Team 10”, in *l Congreso Pioneros de la Arquitectura Moderna Española: Vigencia de su pensamiento y obra. Actas digitales de las Comunicaciones aceptadas al Congreso* (Madrid: Fundación Alejandro de la Sota, 2014).

In 1964, he attended the seminar organized by the Stylos students' association at TU Delft; the only participants were Bakema, De Carlo, Coderch himself, A. van Eyck, O. Hansen and S. Woods. In 1966, he attended the meeting in Urbino (September 1966) organized by Giancarlo De Carlo. In 1971, he participated in the meeting in Toulouse-Le Mirail (April 9-12, 1971) organized by Candilis, where he presented the Las Cocheras apartment complex in Barcelona. Finally, in 1976, he attended the meeting in Spoleto, Italy (June 2-6, 1976), organized by De Carlo, accompanied by his two children.

As such, following Otterlo, a total of five participations in Team Ten meetings and some 60 letters,¹⁶ bear witness to Coderch's relationship with the intelligentsia of European architecture during the long postwar period. It is surprising enough for someone with such a complex character, who was openly right-leaning in his politics and a declared conservative, and who also had certain difficulties with the English language, to have participated in a progressive, clearly leftist atmosphere. 16. CA.

1967. "LAS COCHERAS" IN SARRIÀ, BARCELONA.

Of all the times J.A. Coderch participated in the debates and meetings held by Team Ten, perhaps the most unusual was the meeting in Toulouse-Le Mirail in 1971. There, Coderch presented his design for Las Cocheras in Barcelona, a fact that provides an opportunity to investigate the fruitful exchange that resulted from his involvement with the international group during those years.

That participation cannot be understood without looking back at the letter from 1967 that opens this article: the short text in which Coderch recognizes the need to address the problem of housing with a big "YES" – emphasized in the text of the letter – while setting aside romantic approaches that conflicted with modern building systems. It was a clear recognition of the lesson learned during the debate in 1962, five years earlier, at the meeting in Royaumont.

Until that point, and for more than two decades, since the early 1940s, Coderch had dedicated six-month periods – if not more, to the exasperation of clients, contractors and collaborators – to the design of individual single-family homes, most of which were located in towns along the Catalan coast, including Sitges, Caldes d'Estrach (the famous Casa Ugalde, from 1951) or Cadaqués, among other places. In Barcelona, he had also built the apartment block in the Barceloneta neighborhood (1951), presented at Royaumont, and the building on Compositor Bach street (1958), as well as the Girasol apartment building in Madrid (1966).

However, in the late 1960s, when he wrote the letter to Alison Smithson, he had received two commissions for housing complexes in

Barcelona. In 1967, he began the complex known as Banco Urquijo, and in 1968 the project known as Las Cocheras began, which he eventually presented at the 1971 meeting in Toulouse-Le Mirail. The latter complex was much larger than the Urquijo building, around 500 apartments, on the land that was once occupied by the old depot for buses and streetcars [*cocheras*, in Spanish] in the neighborhood of Sarrià, an old village that was annexed to the city of Barcelona in the early 20th century. The project became the largest residential complex of Coderch's career, the great big yes to addressing the problem of housing, which his friends from Team 10 had encouraged him to pursue, in a relationship that is no doubt fundamental to understanding the project. Las Cocheras inevitably represents the built project with the closest ties to the fundamental questions addressed by the group: humanizing the city, rediscovering the street as public space, the need for collective housing, preserving identity amid the masses, the hierarchy of groupings, etc.

From this perspective, we can no doubt rethink some of the generalized assessments of the project in its time, which reduced the design for the Las Cocheras complex to the extrusion in section of one of the many single-family homes Coderch had designed up to that point. That extrusion would have resulted in a densified, if not populist, version of the Banco Urquijo project, without any of its interest or quality.¹⁷

However, in the design for Las Cocheras, Coderch takes up a new urban scale, for which he proposes – and builds, for the first time – an ideal city founded on firm personal positions and a variety of origins. The design moves away both from the traditional model, exemplified in Barcelona by the Eixample, and from the main tenets of modern orthodoxy, which were summed up in the planning for the site that had been proposed two years earlier by A. Bonet Castellana. Coderch explored both those models in detail in the preliminary studies for the design and openly ruled them out. Instead of a city with a single function (or four separate functions), instead of buildings comprised of a commercial ground floor and housing towers above, and instead of giving importance to cars, Coderch based his strategy on one fundamental element: a landscaped pedestrian street. A “garden-street”, as he called it in the design brief,¹⁸ open to public use and oriented north-south. [Fig. 4]

The garden-street has a variable width, from 20 m – the width of a regular Eixample street – to 40 m in the areas that correspond to the more private sections of the housing units. Vehicle circulation is limited to the underground level, pedestrian crossings are

17. In Coderch's own words and those of his interviewees, in both Sòria Badia, *J.A. Coderch de Sentmenat. Conversaciones*, 74; and José A. Coderch, *Entrevista pòstuma a Coderch*, interview by Antonio Pizza, *UPC Comunicacions* (1984): 9.

18. “It has become fashionable to talk about public parks. It's great to have them in cities; there's no doubt about that. But people generally have to get there by car, and if their time is limited, they don't end up making use of them. I think it would be better to put one or two squares in each superblock, and to make the pedestrian walkways into garden-streets,” in José Antonio Coderch, “Memoria de la Propuesta de ordenación de supermanzana singular que afecta a la manzana limitada por las calles Benedito Mateo, Farmacéutico Carbonell, Paseo de San Juan Bosco y Paseo de Manuel Girona” (Barcelona: CA, April 1970), 6.



FIG. 4 Las Cocheras de Sarrià, 1967. View of the one of the garden-streets in the complex.

located on the garden-street level, lengthwise, following the natural slope of the plot, and access to the apartments for residents take place on different levels of the landscaped terraces that protect the ground-floor levels of the housing blocks, leading up to the covered entrances, generating a shaded threshold for each entrance. The complex generates a space that has a human scale, with small landscaped squares, and promenades without vehicle traffic, where residents mingle with passing pedestrians. It is a pacified street, as can be seen in the black-and-white images taken by the photographer F. Català Roca in the early 1970s. A street that is urbanized with brick pieces, following the criterion of restriction to a single material – and color and texture – which makes the exposed brick façade uniform, while also providing a permeable and public use of a space that is still private property.

The complex takes on the appearance of a linear building, nonetheless characterized by the fragmentation of its volumes. The resulting block actually corresponds to a series of towers with a staggered perimeter, six stories each, articulated by their tangent in plan [Fig. 6]. Contrasted with the rectangular volume – so rationalist, so CIAM..., so monotonous – the complex melts into the repetitive diversity of the voids and openings of the façades, highlighted by the depth of the shadows, where not even the block's front wall seems differentiated from the whole. It is all the result of the possibilities of technology (normalization and repetition)¹⁹ emphasized during the Team 10 debates, harnessed for the design of collective housing.

19. "This can be achieved in the context of normalization and repetition necessary today – the only way to reduce the cost of the apartments, taking advantage, as far as possible, of the means that technical advances in construction have provided us." Again, in José A. Coderch, "Memoria para la propuesta de ordenación de supermanzana", 7.

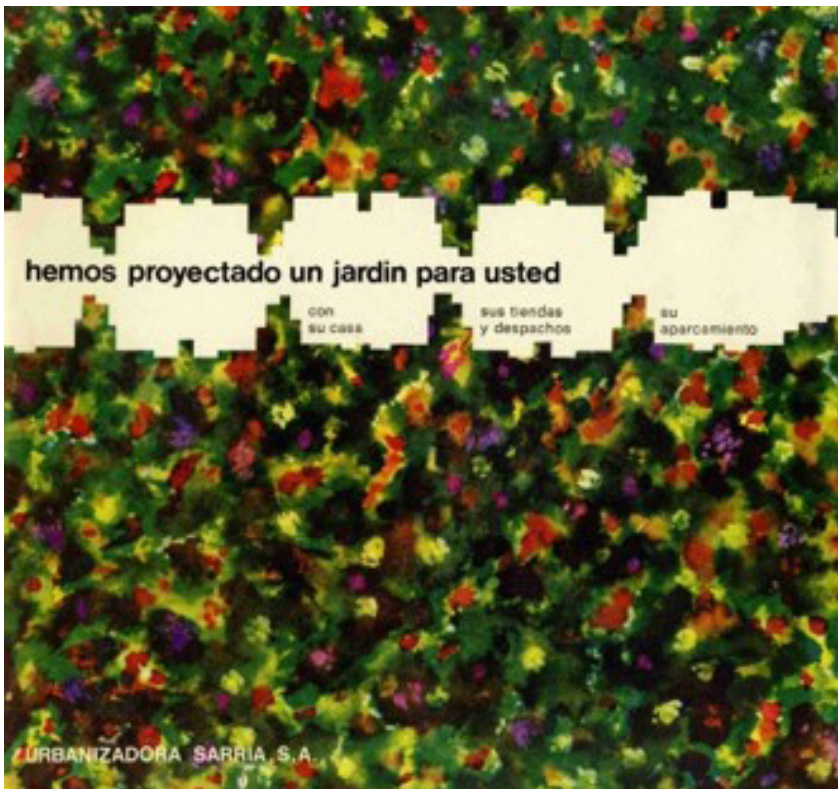


FIG. 5 Advertisement for the housing complex developed by Urbanizadora Sarrìa S.A.

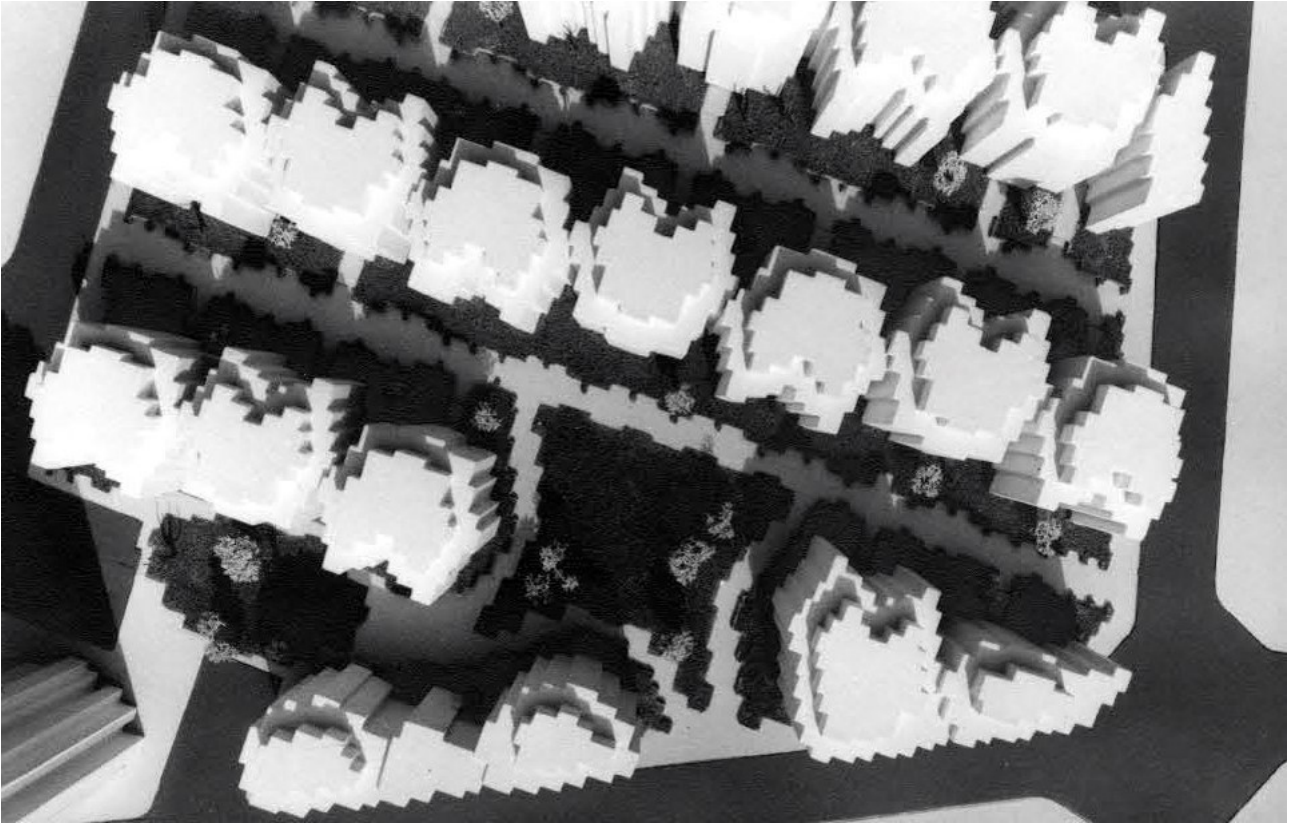


FIG. 6 Las Cocheras in Sarrià model, aerial view, c.1970

Although it is not, evidently, a public housing project, Coderch's design, very much in line with the ideas of his foreign colleagues, connected with the local "masses" in Barcelona. The advertisements and commercial leaflets – which, incidentally, aptly reflected the architectural spirit of the project – were not put to any use, since the units were all sold off the floor plans before they were built.²⁰ [Fig. 5]

In terms of the apartments, the adjusted extrusion of the single-family models designed by Coderch over the preceding years hides a series of unexpected aspects, including typological variety, which, in the initial versions of the design, grouped together offices, one-bedrooms, and apartments with 3, 4 and 7 bedrooms all on the same floor, a flexibility within an apparently rigid framework, which, unfortunately, disappeared from the definitive version. Another example is the corner window, inserted into an apparently repetitive and boring extrusion. It was a new element in Coderch's repertoire, with a type of opening – hardly ever seen before in the single-family homes he had designed previously – in both perpendicular directions, in response to a particular relationship to the street, providing diagonal views of the exterior.²¹ And there were many other aspects: such as maintaining the distribution scheme of day area (living room, dining room), night area (bedrooms), and working area (kitchen and services), which reduces much larger single-family units into a caricature of 110 m²; the requirement for all bedrooms to open onto an exterior; the absence of interior courtyards, and ventilation for the stairways through the laundry rooms; the kitchen as laboratory, with up to 12 smoke doors,

20. "I'd also like to say that people have reacted amazingly to this project. The construction of the foundations began just three months ago, and nearly all the apartments have been sold already. All the advertising has been word of mouth. The mockup leaflets that were put together are just sitting in a cabinet somewhere." From José A. Coderch, "Un proyecto de viviendas", *Arquitectura*, no. 162 (1972): 20.

21. Víctor Rahola, "Coderch", *Revista Otto Zutz* (Barcelona, 1992): 22. "The door is located at one end. The entrance of light is vertical, from floor to ceiling (never a window). Opposite and diagonally, the space will appear larger than normal, since the dimensions of the spaces depend on the light and their location. When you open the door, one of the walls acts as a lightbox. The corner that lets in light disappears. There is an effect of *chiaroscuro*, a magical effect on your perception of the space, using purely architectural resources. Nothing is borrowed."

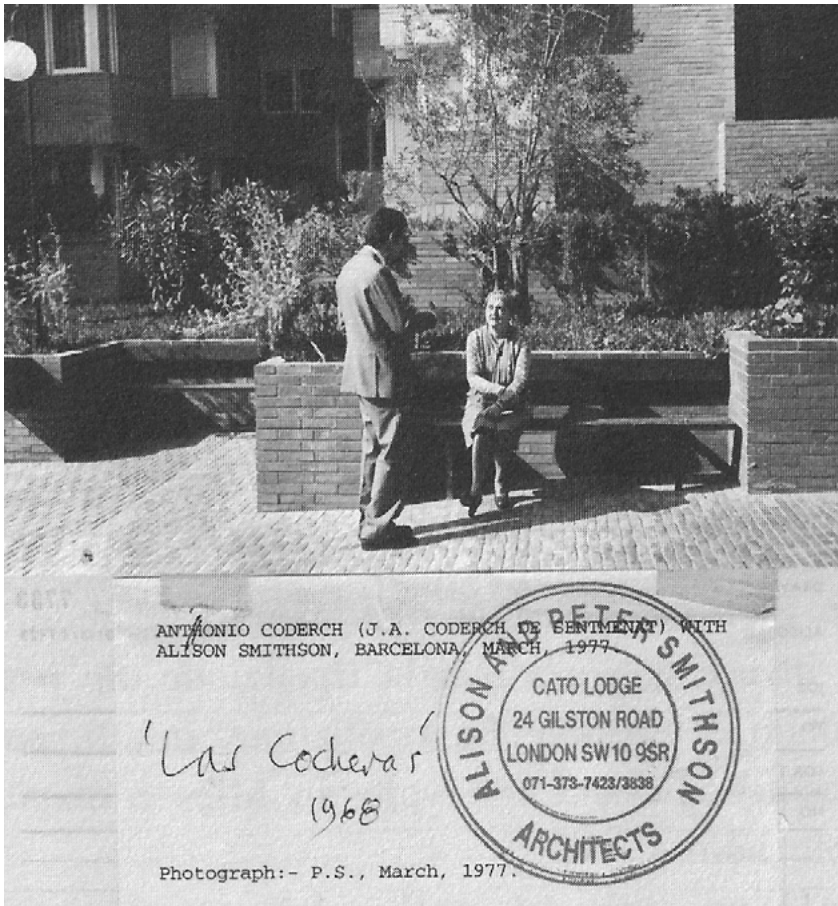


FIG. 7 Barcelona, 1977. Photograph of Coderch and Alison Smithson taken at Las Cocheras in Sarrià.

divided circulations... with an adjacent independent “apartment” for the house staff; and the symbolism of the home, with the fireplace presiding at the center of family life, similar to his designs for single-family houses.²²

It all shows a commitment to a detailed investigation, developed over three decades, centered on the domestic sphere and the definition of the home, as well as a commitment to the vocabulary – flexibility, elasticity, variety – defined by Team 10 to imagine a new “habitat”: intermediate spaces, thresholds, labyrinthine clarity, etc. How can we not see the influence and dissemination of Team 10’s principles in Coderch’s work? How can we not read, in the elements of this architecture, the words, snippets and conversations from the meetings in which the architect participated? How can we not unearth the relationship of mutual admiration? The Smithsons’ words, upon visiting Coderch in 1977, when they were photographed at Las Cocheras [Fig. 7], leave no room for doubt. “He wasn’t a traditional architect. It seems strange to say, since he was a professional. But he didn’t work to make money. He worked like a doctor or a priest, because he believed in something. Maybe he was the only architect, in that sense, in Team X. The rest of us were more like artists.”²³

Just as he had presented the Torre Valentina project in Otterlo in 1959, Coderch attended the 1971 meeting in Toulouse-Le Mirail with panels and

22. See the publication prepared for the exhibition on Las Cocheras organized in Barcelona in 2005; Julio Garnica and Josep Maldonado, eds., *J.A. Coderch a Sarrià-Sant Gervasi: Les Cotxeres* (Barcelona: COAC, 2006).

23. Simona Pierini, “Los amigos de Coderch. Entrevista a Peter Smithson”, *Circo*, no 110 (2003). See also: Simona Pierini, “Jose Antonio Coderch e il Team 10”, *Passaggio in Iberia* (Milán: Christian Marinotti Edizioni, 2008), 85-123.

a model of “Las Cocheras” to present them, 12 years later, to his Team 10 colleagues.²⁴ However, just before the public presentation, he left the Congress in a hurry to avoid running into F. Correa, his former collaborator, colleague, and friend, with whom he had fallen out due to political reasons.²⁵ Given Coderch’s sudden absence – or disappearance, even – from the Team 10 meeting in 1971, who better than Candilis [Fig. 8], and where better than Toulouse-Le Mirail, to present the project for “Las Cocheras” in Barcelona?



FIG. 8 Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1971. Candilis presenting the design for Las Cocheras in Sarrià to the other members of Team X.

24. In this case, and paradoxically, the project had less of an impact in the international media of the time, even though it had actually been built, unlike the Torre Valentina project. See: José A. Coderch, “Un proyecto de viviendas”, in *Arquitectura*, no. 162 (1972): 16-21; José A. Coderch “Hauteur moyenne et forte densité”, in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, no. 177 (1975): 71-73; “Conjunto de viviendas en Barcelona”, in *Nueva Forma*, no. 106 (1974): 42-47; “Conjunto de viviendas. Barcelona. España”, in *Informes de la Construcción*, no. 273 (1975): 35-53; “José Antonio Coderch”, in *A+U*, no. 62 (1976): 62. More recently, the design has been revisited by a number of authors. Notably, Kenneth Frampton, “Homenaje a Coderch”, in *José Antonio Coderch, Casas*, 2G, no. 33 (2006): 4-13.

25. It was a personal issue – which we would prefer not to delve into more than is strictly necessary – that momentarily complicated Coderch’s relationship with Team Ten. In the following years, the Smithsons remained in contact with their friend Coderch. In a letter from February 1973, they sent him the program for the Berlin meeting and hoped he would leave old history behind him, forwarding the list of participants “I hope you find no enemy here and that we shall meet this time.” (Letter 02/05/1973). The following year, Bakema invited him to the meeting in Rotterdam, but Coderch did not go. In 1976, he went to the meeting in Spoleto, Italy, accompanied by his children. In 1977, Alison invited him to the meeting in Paris, but Coderch was unable to attend. He had just undergone an operation and was showing the initial symptoms of the degenerative disease that would gradually force him to leave behind his work in the architecture studio. From his family home in Espolla (Girona), Coderch hand wrote a letter, his daughter Elvira typed it, and his son Pepe imitated his signature and sent it to Alison Smithson.

New Brutalism and the Myth of Japan

Yat Shun Juliana Kei

University of Liverpool

juliana.kei@network.rca.ac.uk

Yat Shun Juliana Kei is lecturer in architecture at The University of Liverpool. Her PhD research in History of Design, at the Royal College of Art, examines the intersections between preservation advocacies and Postmodern architecture in late 20th century Britain. Her other research interests include late/post-colonial architecture and exhibitions.

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to shed new lights on the New Brutalism through re-orienting attention to the repeated evocations of Japan in Alison and Peter Smithson's writings since the 1950s. In these articles, the Smithsons did not only present Japanese architectural tradition as a yardstick of the Modern Movement and hence New Brutalism, but also took pride in the fact that their understandings of Japanese culture were based on the mass media. This study examines how New Brutalism was simultaneously shaped by mass media's post-war media boom and their portrayal of Japan. It suggests that Japan had several efficacies for New Brutalism, including as an inspiration for mass-produced architecture and mass-produced culture. The problems associated with their references to Japan will also be considered.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9633>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Yat Shun Juliana Kei



KEYWORDS:

New Brutalism; Japan; Architectural Design magazine; Standardised Architecture

Introduction

In January 1955, the *Architectural Design* (*AD*) printed a one-page editor note on New Brutalism.¹ This is the second piece dedicated to New Brutalism in the magazine, following a short article on the Smithsons' SoHo House published in December 1953 when the term was first coined.² The 1955 *AD* article also predated Peter Reyner Banham's seminal essay on New Brutalism, in the December issue of the *Architectural Review* (*AR*), by eleven months.³ The date of publication and the format of this 1955 *AD* article signified its importance, suggesting it could be seen as the "manifesto" of New Brutalism – which was later confirmed by Banham in his 1966 publication *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?*⁴

The 1955 *AD* manifesto was co-authored by Alison and Peter Smithson and *AD*'s then technical editor Theo Crosby, an ally and close friend of the couple.⁵ Crosby wrote the introduction and conclusion which bracketed seven sentences, presented as "a definition or statement" of the movement, written by the Smithsons. In the introduction, Crosby explained New Brutalism was "a re-valuation of those advanced buildings of the twenties and thirties whose lessons (because of a few plaster cracks) have been forgotten."⁶ In order to revive the spirit of the Modern Movement, Crosby added, New Brutalism learnt from historian Rudolf Wittkower's study on "the formal use of proportion" and from Japanese architecture a "respect for the sensuous use of each material."⁷

In the article, more than half of the passages by the Smithsons was dedicated to discussion on the importance of Japanese architecture. They suggested that the main instigators of the Modern Movement including Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, and Mies van der Rohe, were all "seduced" by Japanese architecture.⁸ The importance of New Brutalism, the Smithsons stated, was that it also used the "underlying ideas, principles, and spirit" of Japanese architecture as its yardstick.⁹ Through this shared reverence to Japanese architecture, the Smithson concluded, "the Brutalism is the only possible development *for this moment* from the Modern Movement."¹⁰

Using their recently completed Hunstanton School as an example, the Smithsons argued that New Brutalism "probably [owed] as much to the existence of Japanese architecture as to Mies."¹¹ They pointed out that New Brutalism was inspired by Japanese's approach to "FORM (capitalised in original)" as "part of a general conception of life, a sort of reverence for the natural world and, from that, for the materials of the built world."¹² Through Japan, they concluded that New Brutalism "[saw] architecture as the direct result of a way of life."¹³ The manifesto also outlined the critical agenda of New Brutalism was to elevate the handling of "Materials" as an "intellectual appraisal."¹⁴ Moving beyond an honest usage of material in

1. Theo Crosby, Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism", *Architectural Design* (January 1955).

2. Peter Smithson, "House in SoHo, London", *Architectural Design* (December 1953).

3. Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism", *Architectural Review* (December 1955).

4. Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: Academy Press, 1966): 48.

5. Crosby shared a flat with Peter Smithson from 1948 and when Alison and Peter married in 1949 Crosby became their neighbours. Stephen Parnell, "Brute Forces", *Architectural Review* (June 2012); Theo Crosby, *Night Thoughts of a Faded Utopia*, in *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990): 197-99.

6. Theo Crosby, Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism", *Architectural Design* (January 1955): 1.

7. *Ibid.*; Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Wiley, 1998, 3rd ed.).

8. Theo Crosby, Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism", *Architectural Design* (January 1955): 1.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

construction, the Smithsons proposed, New Brutalism sought “a realisation of the affinity which can be established between building and man.”¹⁵

The Smithsons and Crosby’s ambition was clear: they sought to distinguish New Brutalism from other competing expressions in post-war Modernism. They established New Brutalism as a movement that found “its closest affinities, not in a past architectural style, but in peasant dwelling forms.”¹⁶ This evocation of peasant dwellings could be seen as a reverberation of the influence of Mediterranean architecture on Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion and other members of the *Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne* (CIAM IV), reinforcing the claim that New Brutalism would be the only heir to the Modern Movement.¹⁷ Many similarities emerged when reading this manifesto in conjunction with Banham’s later but more influential article on New Brutalism. For example, the Smithsons’ statement on “Materials” could be interpreted as the basis of the “as found” ideal.¹⁸ The call for seeing “the direct result of a way of life”, found in the *AD* article, also echoed Banham’s emphasis on the “Image”, as “the thing itself, in its totality, and with all its overtones of human association.”¹⁹ These similarities signposted the importance of this *AD* manifesto, suggesting it should be regarded as an important benchmark in the formulation of New Brutalism.

The Smithsons’ admiration of Japanese architectural culture, however, was curious in the post-war context. In particular, Peter Smithson had experienced first-hand the Japanese war aggressions through his service in India and Burma as part of the Queen Victoria’s Own Madras Sappers and Miners. Equally worthy of noting was that neither Crosby, Alison or Peter Smithson had in-depth exposure to Japanese culture nor had any of them been to Japan when the *AD* article was published.²⁰ In the manifesto, Crosby and the Smithsons had acknowledged this issue by declaring they did not intend to evoke an accurate understanding of Japanese architecture. They added a footnote explaining their perception of Japan was through mass media, writing: “The Japanese film ‘Gate of Hell’ showed houses, a monastery and palace, in colour for the first time.”²¹

Using this reference to media as a starting point, this paper argues that the statements made by Crosby and the Smithsons embodied Roland Barthes’ almost contemporaneous critique of myths in mass culture.²² In the *AD* article, the trio formulated Japan as a signifier of an advanced architectural culture but in so doing also mythicized Japan. The manifesto’s reconceptualization of early 20th-century Modernist architecture through Japan could also be regarded as a process described by Barthes as “through the concept” – the New Brutalism – “a whole new history is implanted in the myth.”²³ The discussions found in the *AD* article also suggested that the Japan of New Brutalism was a signifier that linked with several previous systems, including Japan employed by the

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: Academy Press, 1966).

18. Reyner Banham, “The New Brutalism”, *Architectural Review* (December 1955).

19. *Ibid.*, 360.

20. Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: Academy Press, 1966): 46.

21. Theo Crosby, Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, “The New Brutalism”, *Architectural Design* (January 1955): 1.

22. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1972, 2nd ed.).

23. *Ibid.*, 117.

Modernist avant-gardes and Japan in post-war mass media. Through Barthes' framework, this article re-examines the New Brutalism manifesto and subsequent writings by the Smithsons. How can we understand their evocation of Japan in the broader context of post-war media culture? What were the motives that drove the Smithsons and Crosby to a process of mythologization? What else will emerge in the field of vision when we examine New Brutalism through the vantage point of myths?

Gate of Hell and the "Discovery" of Japan

The *AD* manifesto, at first glance, seemed to focus more on the importance of Japanese architecture than on what New Brutalist architecture was. Banham noted this issue in his *New Brutalism: Ethics or Aesthetics*.²⁴ He explained Japan was merely "severing to illustrate the sense of the sudden discovery of a whole culture capable of carrying, as naturally as clothes, a traditional architecture whose spatial sophistication seemed light-years beyond the capacity of the West."²⁵ By presenting Japan as a discovery, the Smithsons and Crosby could then rebuild the history and remodel the culture of Japan to suit their needs. This "discovery" of Japan could be regarded as symptomatic of Western media's portrayal of the country. According to media scholar Philip Hammond that, in spite of the War, "a truism about British media reporting of Japan is that there is not much of it."²⁶ In British media, not only the Japanese were distant; they were also different. Unlike Germany which was presented simply as an enemy, the reporting of Japan tended to include a mythization of the Japanese's unthinkable loyalty, fanaticism, and even barbarism.²⁷ This difference was also sometimes underscored by racial overtones.²⁸ This portrayal, moreover, enabled Japan to become a continuous source of discovery and rediscovery in Western media.

This distance from an authentic understanding of Japan also meant that audiences could perceive Japanese culture through their own gaze. In the case of the Smithsons and Crosby, they consumed the film *Gate of Hell (Jigokuon)* mostly through the lens of Modern architecture. Directed by Teinosuke Kinugasa, the film was about an ill-fated romance between a samurai and a noblewoman. Their relationship was unravelled alongside political upheavals in the royal palace. In the movie, characters moved and talked between spaces partitioned by panels and curtains, presenting a radical sense of openness and transparency. Moreover, the events in the film unfolded in an environment where the boundary between interior and exterior spaces were blurred, showcasing a spatial complexity that the Modernists would hanker after.

What Crosby and Smithsons found in *Gate of Hell* was not only the spatial quality of an advanced architecture but also a means of referencing the past without appearing to be anachronistic or nostalgic.

24. Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: Academy Press, 1966): 46.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Philip Hammond (ed.), *Cultural Difference, Media Memories: Anglo-American Images of Japan* (London: Cassell, 1997): ix.

27. *Ibid.*, xiii.

28. Richard Weight, "Losing The Peace: Germany, Japan, America and the Shaping of British National Identity in the Age of Affluence", in *An Affluent Society? Britain's Post-War "Golden Age" Revisited*, edited by Lawrence Black and Hugh Pemberton (London: Routledge, 2004): 210.

One may even argue that a retrieval and revitalising of the past was what first brought post-war Japanese film to international attention. As Jasper Sharp noted, the first post-war Japanese films that won international awards including *Rashomon* (1950), *Ugetsu* (1953), and *Gate of Hell* were all *jidai-geki*, or period dramas, even though two thirds of the films produced in Japan at the time were actually “modern plays.”²⁹ A retrieval and revitalising of the past could also be found in other influential Japanese film of the same period, including Akira Kurosawa’s *Rashomon* (1950), which won the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival. Although the film was set in the Edo period (1603-1868), its exploration into fundamental human iterations and emotions could readily resonate with the post-war audiences. Similarly, in *Gate of Hell*, Kinugasa used the supposed stern formality of nobility life in 12th century to contrast the agonies and passion in the love affairs between the main characters. Moreover, post-war Japanese films had also been praised for reviving the techniques and aesthetics of silent films of the early 20th-century. In Japanese films, the Smithsons and Crosby did not only find a sophisticated architectural space that they yearned for but also cinematography that bolstered connection with early 20th-century avant-gardes. In short, post-war Japanese films provided a means of retrieval for New Brutalism.

This retrieval was also used, in the *AD* manifesto, as a contrast against conditions in post-war Britain. In the introduction to the article, Crosby expressed his distaste of Modernist architectural expressions of his time,

For many years since the war we have continued in our habit of debasing the coinage of M. le Corbusier, and had created a style – ‘Contemporary’ – easily recognised by its misuse of traditional materials and its veneer of ‘modern details, frames, recessed plinths, decorative piloti.

The use of *Gate of Hell* as a critique and contrast was not limited to discourse in Modern architecture, but also the everyday environment in post-war Britain. *Gate of Hell* was one of the first films made with Kodak Eastmancolour, and the first colour Japanese film to be screened outside of Japan. It was described by the *New York Times*’ film critic as “in colour of a richness and harmony that matches that of any film we’ve ever seen.”³⁰ It was of particular appeal to the Western architects because Kinugasa, as film critic Tadao Sato notes, “places emphasis on the beauty of forms.”³¹ In post-war Britain, the amazement posted by the colour film would probably be even more staggering. In the early 1950s, Britain was still in rationing and its urban landscape was still scarred by war-time destruction and reconstruction.³² The contrasts between the colour found in the mass media and the grim everyday surroundings were part of the reason that Crosby and the Smithsons were drawn to films, magazines, advertisements and other mass media culture.³³

29. Jasper Sharp, *Japanese Widescreen Cinema: Commerce, Technology and Aesthetics*, PhD Dissertation (Sheffield: Sheffield University, 2003): 11.

30. Bosley Crowther, “The Screen in Review”, *The New York Times* (December 14, 1954).

31. Tadao Sato, *Japanese Cinema and the Traditional Arts: Imagery, Technique and Cultural Context*, in *Japanese Cinema and the Traditional Arts: Imagery, Technique and Cultural Context*, by Linda Ehrlich and David Desser, translated by Ann Sherif (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994): 165–86.

32. Anthony Vidler, “Another Brick in the Wall”, *October*, no. 136 (2010): 105–32.

33. Barry Curtis, *From Ivory Tower to Control Tower*, in *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990): 221–27.

At stake was that the colour of the film, emphasised by Crosby and the Smithsons in the *AD* article, can be understood as another attempt to mythicize Japan. A passage by Barthes in his critique of the 1954 Italian film *Lost Continent* (*Continente Perduto*) could be employed as an appropriate description for this,

Colouring the world is always a means of denying it (and perhaps one should at this point begin an inquiry into the use of colour in the cinema). Deprived of all substance, driven back into colour, disembodied through the very glamour of the 'images', the Orient is ready for the spiriting away which the film has in store for it.³⁴

In the 1955 *AD* manifesto, a similar process was at work: aspects of Japanese architecture and culture were mapped against tenets of Modernism. The original meanings and motivations of Japanese architecture and culture were emptied out, and their value was to be found within the discussion of Modern architecture.

This emptying-out of history was not only found in cinema and the New Brutalism manifesto but could also be seen as part of a more wide-spread phenomenon in the portrayal of Japan in post-war media. According to journalist Daniel Ben-Ami, Japanese culture was often presented not as a product of human activities and preferences of the time, but something that had already been determined and bearing down upon the people.³⁵ Using anthropologist Ruth Benedict's influential 1946 publication *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* as an example, Ben-Ami pointed out there was a tendency to cast Japanese culture as constant. Japanese culture was not seen as something that evolve, despite the fact that the country had undergone a similarly rapid modernisation and industrialisation process as many Western countries.³⁶

This ahistorical approach was also found in the architectural press coverage of Japan in the immediate post-war era. Until the early 1950s, Western architectural magazines were dominated by only two types of articles on Japan: surveys of war damage and introduction of ancient Japanese architecture and gardens.³⁷ Only in the mid-1950s that reconstruction and contemporary architectural works took a more prominent place in Western architectural magazines. While this affirmation to history and ancient culture could be seen as a reaction to the rupture created by the War, it also created a danger in a highly selective reading of the past. In the Smithsons writings, we found not only an ahistorical but also a historicist approach towards Japan. A year after the manifesto, they reiterated the efficacy of ahistorical Japan in their influential article "But Today We Collect Ads."³⁸ They wrote,

To the architects of the twenties, 'Japan' was the Japanese house of prints and paintings, the house with its roof off the plane bound together by thin black lines. (To quote Gropius, 'the whole country

34. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1972, 2nd ed.): 94.

35. Daniel Ben-Ami, *Is Japan Different?, in Cultural Difference, Media Memories: Anglo-American Images of Japan*, edited by Philip Hammond (London: Cassell, 1995): 11.

36. Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946).

37. Publications includes: Samuel Newsom, "Secrets of Japanese Gardens", *Asia and the Americas* (June 1946); "Japanese Living Room", *Architectural Review* (June 1947); "Defense of the Imperial Hotel", *Architectural Forum* (January 1947); Charlotte Perriand, "Une Habitation Au Japon", *Techniques et Architecture* (1946).

38. Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, "But Today We Collect Ads", *Ark: Journal of the Royal College of Art* (November 1956).

looks like one gigantic basic design course. In the thirties Japan meant gardens, the garden entering the house, the tokonoma.³⁹

39. *Ibid.*

In the statement, the Smithsons traced the progress in Western Modernism, yet Japanese architectural culture remained in its traditional form. Moreover, they also percolated the view that the success of the Modern Movement was in debt to the lessons offered by traditional Japanese architecture.

This paradox was also indicative of an inherent contradiction within New Brutalism. As Crosby and Smithsons had explained, they posited New Brutalism as a movement came after the supposed eclipse of the Modern Movement. As a result, they struggled to make connections with past architectural styles and expressions since the value of history had been denied by the Modern Movement. The eternal and ahistorical quality of Japan offered an outlet for Crosby and the Smithsons to connect with the past – including the early 20th-century Modernist avant-gardes – without explicitly stating the value of history. The *AD* manifesto's entanglement with history had been pointed out by Reyner Banham in his 1955 *AR* article, where he expressed his concern about New Brutalism's "academicism."⁴⁰ In the first passage of the article, Banham also asked the question of "What has been the influence of contemporary architectural historians on the history of contemporary architecture?"⁴¹ Banham's concern was also a response to another "lesson" mentioned by Crosby in the *AD* article: the studies conducted by historian Rudolf Wittkower into formal proportions.⁴²

40. Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism", *Architectural Review* (December 1955).

41. *Ibid.*, 354.

42. Theo Crosby, Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism", *Architectural Design* (January 1955): 1.

Rudolf Wittkower's 1948 *Architecture in the Age of Humanism*, as Wittkower himself observed, had "caused more than a polite stir" in post-war British architecture.⁴³ In the polemic publication, Wittkower re-examined the architecture of Alberti and Palladio, suggesting Classical architecture was not frozen geometrical rules but a set of principles that subjected to invention and innovation.⁴⁴ Wittkower's study also exposed the tension between an architect's creative faculty and his supposed responsibility to the patrons and the cultural discourse of his place and time.⁴⁵ These arguments found in Wittkower's work served as an invaluable framework for the younger generation of architects to critically examine Modern architecture. The "stir" caused by *Architecture in the Age of Humanism* was further accentuated by debates initiated by Wittkower's student Colin Rowe's work on Modern Movement's indebtedness to Palladian architecture and Mannerism, including "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa" which was published in the *AR* in 1947.⁴⁶ Wittkower and Rowe's studies, for the post-war architects, bore several efficacies: not only did they establish the Modern Movement as part of the living tradition of Classicism; they also injected new energy into post-war Modern architecture. Wittkower's study, in particular, served as a means to reconcile the pursuit for rationality and the call for human-centric design in post-war

43. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Wiley, 1998, 3rd ed.): 1.

44. Chapter II of *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* discussed the progress and evolution of Alberti's design. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Wiley, 1998, 3rd ed.): 33-35.

45. *Ibid.*, 57-71.

46. Colin Rowe, "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa", *Architectural Review* (March 1947).

Modernism. The *AD* manifesto's method of revisiting a distant past, Japan, in order to justify their movement could be seen as an echo of Wittkower's method.

In the *AR* article, Banham's focuses had been on undermining the influences of Wittkowerian influence and to steer the discussion on New Brutalism towards a POP sensitivity that he advocated.⁴⁷ According to Peter Smithson, as well as historians of post-war British architecture, the interest in proportion in the guise of a "Palladian Revival" had waned by 1957.⁴⁸ However, this shift should not be mistaken as a turn away from the study of proportion and symmetry in the discussion of New Brutalism. The Smithsons, as the following part of this paper illustrates, would continue to use traditional Japanese architecture to retrieve cultural values that the Renaissance proportional systems could not offer. Hence, in his 1966 *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic*, Banham shifted his attention and argued the *AD* manifesto's emphasis on Japanese architecture and peasant dwelling was to him "confusing and/or misleading."⁴⁹ He also suggested Crosby and the Smithsons' understandings of Japan was through the reading of Bruno Taut's already biased and problematic study *The Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (1936).⁵⁰

Japan and Standardisation

Although Banham was deniably right in his criticism of the flimsy understanding of Japanese architectural culture found in the *AD* manifesto, he also obscured an important message the Smithsons and Crosby took from Taut's study on Japan.⁵¹ In his twenty-page long and unapologetically biased historiography of Japanese architecture, Taut distinguished two "lines" of traditional Japanese architecture: one positive represented by the standardised architecture of Ise Shrine and resulted in the Katsura Temple. [Fig. 1] The "negative line" was epitomised by the Shrine and Temples of Nikko where construction degenerated into decoration.⁵² In short, Taut's study of Japanese architecture was through the lens of architectural Modernism which celebrated "cleanness, clarity, simplicity, cheerfulness and faithfulness to the materials of nature."⁵³

Taut went on to argue that the most valuable aspect of Japanese architecture was, through "perpetual repetition" of the structure, both physically, ceremonially and spiritually, they created an architecture that had no caprice of contradiction.⁵⁴ Using Ise Shrine – a temple rebuilt every twenty years – as an example, Taut argued that flexibility and simplicity found in standardised architectural elements was what elevated the structure into architecture.⁵⁵ It is also worthy to note that standardisation and industrialised production of architecture was an issue rooted in Crosby and the Smithsons' practices at the time. As a technical editor of the *AD*, Crosby was responsible for the content regarding building construction and

47. Dirk Van den Heuvel, "Between Brutalists. The Banham Hypothesis and the Smithson Way of Life", *The Journal of Architecture*, no. 20 (2015): 293–308.

48. Million Henry A., "Rudolf Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism: Its Influence on the Development and Interpretation of Modern Architecture", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 31 (1972): 83–91.

49. Reyner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: Academy Press, 1966): 46.

50. Bruno Taut, *The Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1936).

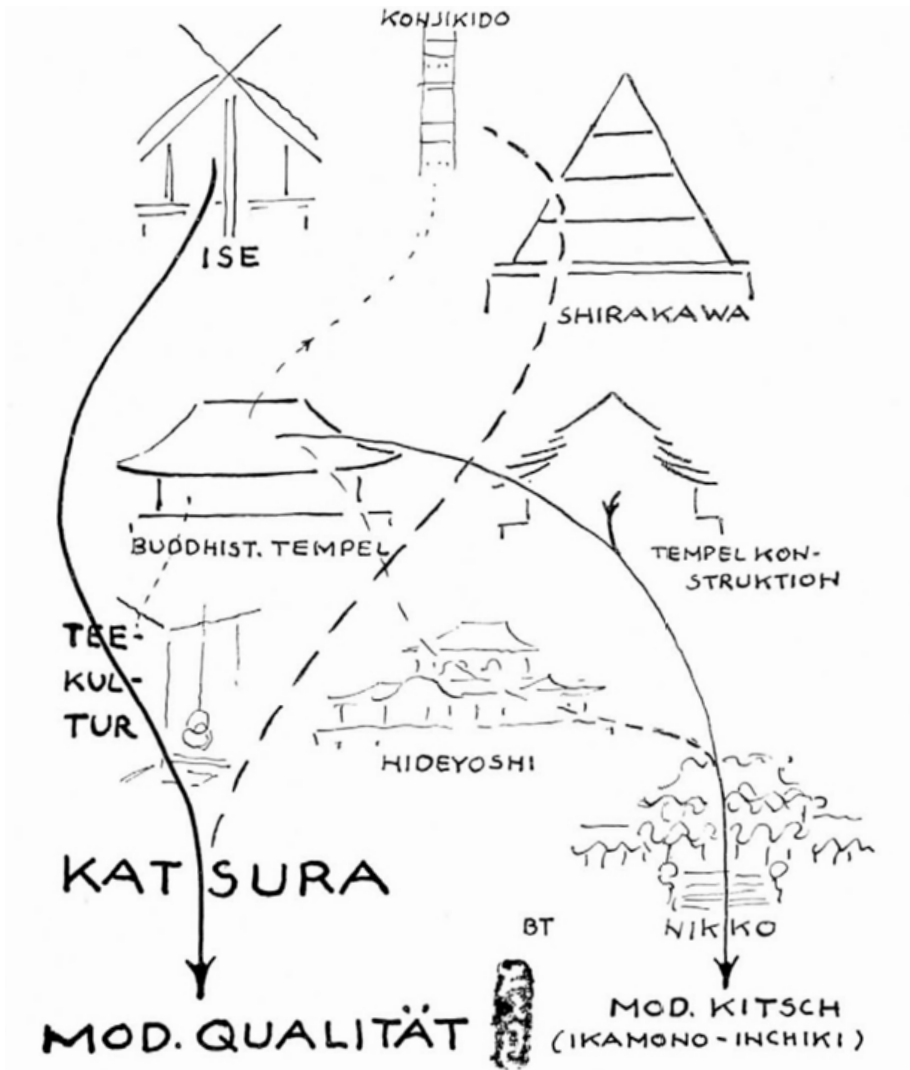
51. Peter Smithson also mentioned the influence of Jiro Harada's *The Lesson of Japanese Architecture*, first published in 1936. It was unclear whether the Smithsons had come across the book before the Second World War or acquired a copy when the book was republished in 1954. Peter Smithson, Catherine Spellman, and Karl Unglaub, *Peter Smithson: Conversations with Students* (NJ, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005): 24-25; Alexander Soper, Alexander, "Book Review: The Lesson of Japanese Architecture. By Jiro Harada", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 15 (1955): 127–28.

52. Bruno Taut, *The Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1936): 25.

53. *Ibid.*, 9.

54. *Ibid.*, 15.

55. *Ibid.*, 13.



1. The positive line, which begins in the Isé Shrines, was not diverted in consequence of Buddhist influences; but the principle of rational construction as represented in Shirakawa was later destroyed. Buddhism — particularly Zen — contributed in the Tea Ceremony a spiritual aesthetics which for the second time (that is, after Isé) brought Japanese architecture to a zenith in the Palace and garden of Katsura.

The negative line, in which the degeneration of construction into decoration was intensified by the rulers' orders for ornamentation, comes from the Buddhist temple.

[25]

FIG. 1 Letter sent by Coderch to Alison Smithson in 1967.

technology which the magazine's long-term editor Monica Pidgeon was less knowledgeable about.⁵⁶ He was, therefore, directly and frequently exposed to developments in and criticism of post-war building construction. Meanwhile, the construction of the Hunstanton School also led Alison and Peter Smithson to encounter the opportunities and difficulties presented by standardisation, which had been elucidated by Philip Johnson in his review of the building (1954).

This discussion on standardisation and industrialised production of architecture also reconciled the two aspirations of New Brutalism: Japanese architecture and Wittkower's study.⁵⁷ Published in 1949, Wittkower's *Architecture in the Age of Humanism* was immediately incorporated

56. Interview with Kenneth Frampton, April 2015.

57. Theo Crosby, Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, "The New Brutalism", *Architectural Design* (January 1955).

into debates about the mathematical rationality of architecture in post-war Britain.⁵⁸ Wittkower's analysis of Palladio's use of perfect numbers, proportion, and symmetry was put into contention with Le Corbusier's contemporaneous publication *Le Modulor*, which articulated an alternative mathematical rationale.⁵⁹ These debates were set against the backdrop of rapid development in the standardisation and mass production of architecture. Therefore, one may conclude other than serving as a link between New Brutalism and the early 20th-century Modernist avant-gardes, Japanese architectural tradition also functioned as a viable precedent of standardised architecture.

Perhaps equally important was that portrayal of Japan also provided a model for the New Brutalists' call for an architecture that could respond to mass-produced culture. (A. Smithson and Smithson 1957) In Taut's study, Japanese architecture was used as a critique of Western consumerism.⁶⁰ The Japanese house dwellers, according to both Taut, were only allowed to express their personality in the tokonoma, an alcove where arts and decoration are placed and changed seasonally. Taut presented the tokonoma as a self-evidential critique of the Western bourgeois interior:

No reminiscences attach to dark corners, and Western "cosiness" is lacking as well as much furniture, carpets, curtains, table-cloths, cushions, pictures, wallpapers and so forth. Just as the air in the room is completely changed by being open to the outside, so the reminiscences attached to the walls and corners – reminiscences which all too easily oppress the inhabitants – are erased as though impressed in dough.⁶¹

In his praise for tokonoma, Taut offered an analysis that echoed with Walter Benjamin's criticism of the burdened cluttered Western bourgeois interior.⁶² In light of the post-war consumerism boom, these criticisms had a new-found relevance to Crosby and Alison and Peter Smithson. The integration of tokonoma in a standardised Japanese construction demonstrated how to maintain individual expression in a mass-produced environment. It also provided an alternative to the mass culture, often seen as an American importation, in post-war Britain.⁶³

Despite his biased views, Taut's study of Japan had mostly situated within the country's history and religion. There were also attempts, in the book, to reflect on Western scholars and visitors' analysis of Japanese architecture. However, in his attempt to claim that Japanese architectural tradition as a knowledge that could be familiar and hence adaptable to Western civilisation, Taut had also inadvertently planted the seed for the mythization of Japan. He wrote of Japan

Here one is dealing not with engineering but with architecture, such as is the case with the Parthenon where the last definite form has also been created – there in marble and here in wood

58. Eva-Marie Neumann, "Architectural Proportion in Britain 1945–1957", *Architectural History*, no. 39 (1996): 197–221.

59. Le Corbusier, *The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954).

60. Bruno Taut, *The Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1936).

61. *Ibid.*, 11.

62. Walter Benjamin, *Reflections. Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, edited by Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken, 1978): 155.

63. Barry Curtis, *From Ivory Tower to Control Tower, in The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990): 221–27; Richard Weight, "Losing The Peace: Germany, Japan, America and the Shaping of British National Identity in the Age of Affluence", in *An Affluent Society? Britain's Post-War "Golden Age" Revisited*, edited by Lawrence Black and Hugh Pemberton (London: Routledge, 2004): 203–22.

and straw. Just as the Parthenon receives its form, as to proportions and profiles, from the clear and transparent air of Greece, so the Ise Shrine receives its form from the thickly humid and rainy air of Japan.⁶⁴

Taut's evocation of air, rain, marble, and straw could also be seen as sympathetic of Barthes' critique on how "all things are alike" in the media portrayal of non-Western cultures.⁶⁵ Barthes observed that in Western media coverage "the rites, the cultural facts, are never related to a particular historical order, an explicit economic or social status, but only to the great neutral forms of cosmic commonplaces (the seasons, storms, death, etc.)."⁶⁶ In Barthes' terms, Taut had "naturalised" Japanese culture in order to argue the rationality found in Japanese architecture was universal to architecture from different cultures and geographical conditions.

Japan beyond New Brutalism

Perhaps more at stake was that this "naturalised" Japan was what Crosby and the Smithsons took and formulated as a congenital essence of their movement. In 1961, they would present their Japan on a stage dedicated to the discussion of standardised architecture: the 6th Union of International Architects (UIA) Congress. Conspicuously entitled "An Architecture of Technology," the Congress was hoping to use standardised prefabrication as an issue that could bridge architects from the two sides of the Cold-War divide.⁶⁷ Crosby was the designer of the Congress' pavilions and catalogue, of which Peter Smithson contributed an essay.⁶⁸ In the article, Smithson argued that the contemporary discussions on prefabricated architecture were misinformed. Before pursuing higher quantity and quality in prefabricated buildings, he pointed out, architects should first ask the question of *what* to fabricated. Smithson explained that even the more successful building projects based on prefabricated standardised parts, such as the English school programmes, "have failed to develop an appropriate language to fully communicate that base, or to investigate the aesthetic implications of their technology."⁶⁹ Smithson urged architects to find a language and an appropriate expression for architecture in the emerging "technological society."⁷⁰

Smithson's discussion was accompanied by a photo of a Japanese palace, making their view that Japanese architecture would offer invaluable knowledge to contemporary debates in standardised and prefabricated building explicit [Fig.2]. A short, manifesto-like passage was inserted between Smithson's article and the photo, stating,

In a period of rapid increase throughout the world of population, of technological potentials, Above all, of expectations, the architect's problem is
Not only to provide shelter for ever-increasing numbers,

64. Bruno Taut, *The Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1936): 15.

65. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1972, 2nd ed.): 95.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Miles Glendinning, "Cold-War Conciliation: International Architectural Congress in the Late 1950s and Early 1960s", *The Journal of Architecture*, no. 14 (2009): 197–217.

68. Crosby, Theo, ed., *The Architecture of Technology* (London: Whitefrairs, 1961); Id., "Conclusion: 1961 UIA Congress", *Architectural Design* (November 1961).

69. Peter Smithson, *Untitled*, in *Architecture of Technology*, edited by Theo Crosby, n.p. (London: Whitefrairs Press, 1961).

70. *Ibid.*

To organise the complexities of traffic communications,
 But to create the possibility of a higher quality
 Of life for the individual citizen in a mass society.⁷¹

71. *Ibid.*

Smithson's rhetoric could be read as a reverberation of their 1957 declaration that "Brutalism tries to face up to a mass-production society and drag a rough poetry out of the confused and powerful forces which are at work."⁷² In the UIA Congress, not only did Smithson and Crosby suggested Japan was a model for standardised architecture but also a reflection for the industrial conditions in the post-war world.

72. "Opinion: New Brutalism", *Architectural Design* (1957).

This usage of Japan as a reflection for post-war industrial culture could also be found in popular mass media of the time, including the epic war movie *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957). The story unfolded around a group of British prisoners-of-war who were forced to construct a railway bridge across the River Kwai in Burma. The main plot followed Colonel Nicholson who supposed to represent the British industrious value and their dedication to engineering; but eventually met his tragic end with the bridge detonated killing many more innocent lives. Historian Richard Weight, for example, argued that the dynamics between the British colonel and the Japanese commander Saito in *Bridge on the River Kwai* should be seen as metaphors for "the mass production techniques that the Japanese borrowed from the Americans and honed after the war."⁷³ He pointed out the early conflict between Nicholson and Saito should be recognised the Japanese "attempt to (symbolically) at least blur class boundaries in order to inspire more efficient 'team' working practices."⁷⁴ Although it was unclear whether the Smithsons and Crosby had watched *Bridge on the River Kwai*

73. Richard Weight, "Losing The Peace: Germany, Japan, America and the Shaping of British National Identity in the Age of Affluence", in *An Affluent Society? Britain's Post-War "Golden Age" Revisited*, edited by Lawrence Black and Hugh Pemberton (London: Routledge, 2004): 211.

74. *Ibid.*

In a period of rapid increase throughout the world of population, of technological potentials, Above all, of expectations, the architect's problem is Not only to provide shelter for ever-increasing numbers, to organise the complexities of traffic communications, But to create the possibility of a higher quality Of life for the individual citizen in a mass society.

В наш век быстрого прироста населения всего мира, увеличения его технологических возможностей, а прежде всего и общих ожиданий, проблема архитектора не только в том, чтобы дать кров все большему числу людей и справиться со сложностями транспорта и связи, но и дать каждому отдельному человеку массового общественного строя возможность лучшей жизни.

Pendant une période d'augmentation rapide de la population mondiale, et pardessus tout de grands espoirs le problème de l'architecte est non seulement de fournir des abris pour des habitants en nombre sans cesse croissant, de surmonter des difficultés d'organisation et de transmission mais aussi de créer pour l'homme moyen les possibilités d'un niveau de vie plus élevé dans une société orientée vers la masse.

En una era de rápido aumento en la población mundial, de avance tecnológico y, sobre todo, de esperanzas, el arquitecto debe resolver el problema de proporcionar abrigo a un número creciente de personas, de organizar las complejidades del tráfico y de las comunicaciones y, de, en suma, deparar una vida más perfecta al ciudadano en una sociedad comunal.



FIG. 1 Letter sent by Coderch to Alison Smithson in 1967.

at the time, they shared the view that the Japanese approach to labour and work could offer new synergy to post-war industrial culture.

However, despite its many efficacies, the citation of Japan in New Brutalism was often too obscure and self-referential. Other than the UJA catalogue, in 1961 the Smithsons would also guest-edit a special issue of the *AD* entitled "The Rebirth of Japanese Architecture."⁷⁵ This article was written as a record of their first visit to Japan and included their dialogue with Japanese architects including Kenzo Tange.⁷⁶ It is thus notable that in the first page of the issue, the Smithsons declared "for a proper understanding of Japanese architecture a visit to Le Corbusier's India was an obvious prelude."⁷⁷ This statement could be seen as a reiteration of their claims in the 1955 *AD* manifesto but was also their acknowledgement of how deeply entrenched they were in the mythologization of Japan. This revelation also reflected the changing condition in the discourses about Japanese architecture. A younger generation of Modernist including Kenzo Tange and Kunio Maekawa had taken increasingly notable seats in international architecture. Therefore, not only it became more problematic to neutralise and mythologise Japanese architecture, but also that the new myths might have displaced the old myth of New Brutalism.

In the following decade, the Smithson would revisit the Japanese architectural influence in at least two occasions. Their 1973 publication *Without Rhetoric: an Architectural Aesthetic 1955-1972* began with a reprinting of the January 1955 *AD* manifesto.⁷⁸ A footnote had been added to the discussion of Japanese architecture, where Alison and Peter Smithson clarified that New Brutalism has "not much to do with the Brutalism that popularly became lumped into the style outlined in Reyner Banham's *The New Brutalism*, Architectural Press, 1966."⁷⁹ This addition could be attributed to the shifting personal and intellectual affiliation between the Alison and Peter Smithson, Banham, and Crosby; but it should also be understood that the lesson of Japan was still integral to the Smithsons' approach to architecture.⁸⁰

In 1977, Alison and Peter Smithson reused Japanese architectural tradition as the concept and representation in their proposal for the Riverside Apartments Competition. Again, they took pride in their superficial understanding of Japanese culture, stating that the Japanese figures in their drawings were cut out of a postcard from the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁸¹ In the description of the project, they revisited the tokonoma ideal:

Layering, layers, screening: even support structures being consciously layered-up in space and capable of change and extension of meaning by further layers to be added or taken away. The dressing of seasons... the decoration by the event...these are some of our oldest established themes.⁸²

75. Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, "The Rebirth of Japanese Architecture", *Architectural Design* (February 1961).

76. Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Post-War World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain* (London: Psychological Press, 2002): 126.

77. Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, "The Rebirth of Japanese Architecture", *Architectural Design* (February 1961): 55.

78. Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, *Without Rhetoric: An Architectural Aesthetic, 1955-1972* (London: Latimer New Dimension, 1973).

79. *Ibid.*, 4.

80. Dirk von den Heuvel points out that the Smithson were irritated by Banham because he published *The New Brutalism* without consulting them. Dirk Van den Heuvel, "Between Brutalists. The Banham Hypothesis and the Smithson Way of Life", *The Journal of Architecture*, 20 (2015): 297, 306. Anne Massey suggests that the Smithsons' break from Banham might contribute to the Smithson couple's absence from the film dedicated to the history of the Independent Group, *Father of Pop* (1979). Anne Massey, *Out of the Ivory Tower: The Independent Group and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013): 106-7. In the early 1970s, Crosby and the Smithsons were also collaborating on an urban regeneration project at Cherry Garden Pier, Bermondsey.

81. Peter Smithson, "AD Profile: Milbank", *Architectural Design* (1977).

82. *Ibid.*

The competition entry, emphasising the regularity and openness of the plan, echoed explicitly Taut's description of Japanese architecture which "as the air in the room is completely changed by being open to the outside."⁸³ The Smithsons did not win the competition, and the surviving drawings were published as the back cover of the AD in 1977. This revisiting of Japan could again be seen as a reflection of the conditions of British architecture of the time. By the mid-1970s the Modernist dominance in British architectural design had faded, and the rejection of hard-line aesthetic could be found in various realms of design.⁸⁴ The answer to consumerism's impact on architecture remained murky, while the economic climate of 1970s Britain seemed to pose a further challenge to the nation's continuing architectural development. However, at the moment when the Modern architecture was declared dead by younger architectural polemicists, this reference to the origin of Modern architecture by the Smithsons garnered little attention in the architectural field.⁸⁵

Conclusion:

The analysis of the Smithsons writings from 1955 to the 1960s suggested that Japan had been functioned as an inspiration and also a reflection on post-war architectural discourse. However, it is also important to note that New Brutalism did not only draw information from the media portrayal of Japan; they also employed the methods of mass media to articulate and promote their movement. This re-alignment of architecture and media could be attributed to their desire to offer something new and unprecedented, as well as to avoid a direct reference to past architectural styles. It could also be seen as a reflection of the architects' entrenchment with the modern agenda of creating an architecture of mass appeal. By adapting its methods, the New Brutalists hoped that their movement could connect with everyday life in the same ways as the mass media.

However, as the discussion of New Brutalism developed, we could also find that the Smithsons and Crosby had been increasingly aware that they were mythologizing Japan. Their writings in the 1961 *AD* special issue could be seen as an acknowledgement to this fact.⁸⁶ Due to this mythologization, the discussion on New Brutalism had also become more and more self-referential – an observation that was made early on by Banham in his 1955 *AR* article. In addition to Banham's criticism the Smithsons "talked only to each other," this study suggests the Smithsons' attitude can also be regarded as what Barthes diagnosed as "to live to the full the contradiction of [their] time" and to "make sarcasm the condition of truth."⁸⁷ New Brutalism accepted the myth created by mass media, entered into it and in doing so, mythicized itself.

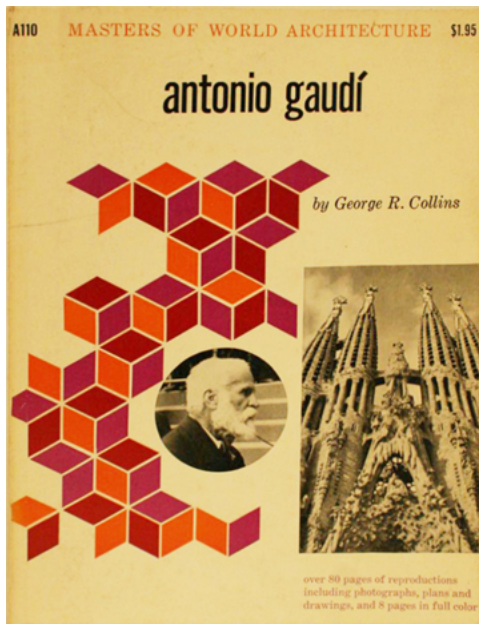
83. *Ibid.*

84. Andrew Saint, "Review: Houses from the Factory: System Building and the Welfare State 1942-74", *Construction History*, no. 6 (1990): 85–89.

85. Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).

86. Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson, "The Rebirth of Japanese Architecture", *Architectural Design*, (February 1961).

87. Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism", *Architectural Review* (December 1955); Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1972, 2nd ed.): 11.



Gaudí in the US: New Foundations in Post-War Architecture Criticism

REVIEW OF

**Collins, George R. *Antonio Gaudí*.
New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960**

Elena Trius

Polytechnic University of Catalonia
elenatrius@gmail.com

Elena Trius (1991) has been an associate professor in the department of Theory and History of Architecture at the Polytechnic University of Catalonia. She began her doctoral thesis on the Güell Palace by Antoni Gaudí in 2016 and has conducted numerous studies on the historical archives of the architect's collaborators.

ABSTRACT

George Collins' book "Antonio Gaudí" was published as part of the collection "The Masters of World Architecture Series" in 1960. In a moment of theoretical fragmentation around the figure of the architect, it quickly became a key text in the subsequent criticism study of the architectural work of Gaudí, and still today it is known as the first extensive monograph published in the English language.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9663>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Elena Trius



KEYWORDS:

Collins; Gaudí; Architecture; Barcelona; Postwar criticism

The book, which appeared in New York in 1960, and written by Professor George R. Collins (1917-1993), is known as the first extensive description and evaluation of Gaudí's works in the English language.

Launched in a time of revisionism, when the demands and promises of the first modern architecture had shown as insufficient and some works of the great masters were moving towards new plastic expressions,¹ the work of Antoni Gaudí provided of interest to the concerns of the era. That which was modern was no more a novelty and searched for its origins,² longing to establish a continuity with the History of Art. About Gaudí could be said almost anything, as seemed that removing unwanted parts of his work and life he could fit Surrealists, Expressionists, and even Rationalists (sharing with Le Corbusier an abstract and organic period). It is true that the transition architecture of the turn of the century had for decades been perceived as decadent under the modern rationality and efficiency, even so, Gaudí had his defenders, unlike most other contemporaries.

It is certainly one of the endnotes which Collins adds to the text that gives us a state of the question of the literature he encountered while writing.³ A large bulk of publications made in Catalonia, with a modest portion from abroad, and only two monographs published in a foreign language.⁴ The theoretical construction was fragmented and often dedicated to the cult of the *Sagrada Família*. Aside from the writings of those who were close to the master,⁵ two different lines of interpretation were forged around him. The first of them placing Gaudí in the Catalan version of Art Nouveau, *modernisme*. This approach built its bases with Alexandre Cirici and was widely theorized by Oriol Bohigas,⁶ but in fact, could be only partly defended.⁷ The second way was that concerning the analysis of the structural functionalism and the construction techniques. Both of them aimed to keep Gaudí's ways from the popularly established image of a series of genius intuitions worked out in old construction ways, and in fact, both can be found put together in Collins' study.⁸ However, the text does not pretend to isolate Gaudí's work as somewhat analyzable on its own, as it is shown by the diverse quotes and references to his personality and intentions.

These considerations should be put in turn with the controversy then manifested between Expressionism and Puritanism, or as David Mackay expresses in the book's review of 1961,⁹ between the humanists and the technologists. Collins itself is aware of the big picture and makes a statement from the very beginning.

The revived interest in his work today is symptomatic of a crisis in the profession of architecture as our generation seeks to humanize and to individualize the rather impersonal, cubic and puritanical tradition that we have inherited from our fathers.¹⁰

1. George R. Collins, *Antonio Gaudí* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960), 28.

2. Juan José Lahuerta, *Univers Gaudí* (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 2002), 174.

3. Collins, *Antonio Gaudí*, endnote 97, 129.

4. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Gaudí* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1957) and César Martinell, *Antonio Gaudí* (Milano: Electa, 1955).

5. Such as Joan Bergós, Joan Rubió i Bellver, Isidre Puig Boada or César Martinell.

6. Oriol Bohigas, *Reseña y catálogo de arquitectura modernista* (Barcelona: Lumen, 1973).

7. Rafael Moneo, "Sobre Gaudí", *Arquitectura* 75 (1965): 10.

8. Collins, *Antonio Gaudí*, 20.

9. David Mackay, "Antonio Gaudí, por G. R. Collins / Antonio Gaudí, por J. J. Sweeney y J. Ll. Sert", *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, no. 46 (1961): 46-47.

10. Collins, *Antonio Gaudí*, 8.

Nevertheless, the interest in Mackay's point is the comparison he makes between Collins' work and the contemporary book *Antonio Gaudí* by J. J. Sweeney and J. Ll. Sert.¹¹ We shall remember that Mackay aligned fully with the construction of *modernisme* stated by his colleague Bohigas, and that means he searched in both texts the essential role of the architect within the movement. In these terms, he considers Collins' book a valuable contribution, while he discredits Sert and Sweeney's with the terms "shy, superficial and sometimes flattering" as he cannot find any mention to *modernisme*. In fact, the introduction to the last text states clearly the conviction of the authors of the non-belonging of Gaudí to any form of Art Nouveau.¹² Sert had, since the early 30's decade, build the reading of a "modern" Gaudí, who took from nature the "true" architecture and provided of endless solutions against any kind of convention. Furthermore, in order to ward off Gaudí from whatever historical revival, his work was often presented as a set of fragments or details that evoked the plastic explorations of modern art.¹³

Collins was not fully against this approach, he too believed that dividing Gaudí's buildings into "style" groups was far from the true understanding of the architect and his way of conceiving architecture.¹⁴ When evaluating the Nativity facade of the Sagrada Familia he observes:

Considering how adept he was with abstract forms and ordinary architectural ornament, we are unprepared for the dismal figure sculpture of the Nativity facade. His first error would seem to be his quite modern belief that the architect should control every detail [...]. The second was his commitment to a so severe naturalism that he employed life molds [...] to obtain exact copies of the original.¹⁵

It seems that this element did not fit inside the dialectical operative he wanted to offer to the reader. As he observes in the final evaluation, the strongest interest in Gaudí in that decade was from artists and craftsmen, which in turn had their own appreciation of abstract forms. Also, Collins points out the coincidence between the postwar interest in the architect and the raising of an American school of Abstract Expressionism.

Although sharing similar points, Collins' final text has nothing to do with Sert and Sweeney's. We may go again to the introduction of these last and find the main intention of their writing, which was to compile the connecting values from Gaudí's work to the current time in terms of "his vision of space, ability to work out fresh structural forms and to employ texture, colour and the abstract sculptor's approach in architecture."¹⁶ On the other hand, Collins' will was to offer some structured historical foundations for the upcoming academic interest of the historiography with a clear intention of recovering Gaudí as one of the masters of twentieth-century architecture. Knowing that for a long time architects and engineers had an ambiguous relationship with Gaudí, of limited admiration and

11. James Johnson Sweeney and Josep Lluís Sert, *Antoni Gaudí* (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1960).

12. *Ibid.*, 7.

13. Juan José Lahuerta, "Sert i Gaudí" in Josep Maria Rovira (ed.), *Sert, 1928-1979: obra completa: mig segle d'arquitectura* (Barcelona: Fundació Joan Miró, 2005), 177.

14. Collins, *Antonio Gaudí*, 17.

15. Collins, *Antonio Gaudí*, 26.

16. Sweeney and Sert, *Antoni Gaudí*, 9.

quick criticism, he explicitly longed to rescue back his figure to them. The election of the book images, for example, illustrates Collins' aim to describe graphically each work of Gaudí in detail. As opposed, Sert and Sweeney built an imaginary of more and less distant relationships between the buildings and all sorts of elements.¹⁷

Collins' study on Gaudí started way later than Sert's. It was not until 1956, his first visit to Spain, when he faced the architect's work in the exposition held by *Amics de Gaudí* in the *Saló del Tinell*.¹⁸ Before this happened, around 1950, Sert and Sweeney's book was almost finished,¹⁹ and the MoMA exposition which would take place finally in 1957 had for years been postponed to coincide with the publication of the book.²⁰ As has been said before, Collins shared the concerns of the era and assumed the historiography of architecture of his century when valuing what was considered "modern", however, he was clearly skeptical about the approach of the MoMA about Gaudí.²¹ The exposition of 1936²² had included some works of Gaudí and he feared the monographic exposition to come would attribute Gaudí to Surrealism again, as it finally was somehow.²³

It may be useful to the reader to explain by what means did Collins generate his own analysis. This is connected to the aforementioned association, *Amics de Gaudí*, which was founded in 1952 (100th anniversary of the architect's birth) and responded to the necessity of guidance to preserve the legacy of the architect in a climate of civic action. The entity engaged in a variety of activities to shape the international perception of Gaudí's architecture and created an archive of documents which was later the basis of the text under study, however, their critical criterion was not unitary. Among the group associates, Josep Maria Sostres and Oriol Bohigas (both members of *Grup R*) with Joan Prats were the ones who organized the exhibition of 1956. In the FAD conference of 1958,²⁴ Sostres lets us glimpse the leitmotiv of his conception of Gaudí's work, quoting Boccioni.

The dynamic form, by its changing and evolving essence, constitutes a kind of invisible border between the object and the action, between the absolute movement and the relative movement, between the visible and the invisible, between the object and its inseparable environment. It is a kind of analogical synthesis, which exists in the limits that mediate between the real object and its ideal plastic power, and only prehensible through intuition.²⁵

Again, a plastic interpretation which is noticeable in the way the exhibition was conceived. The use of large reproductions of concrete aspects in contrast with the sober architecture of the XIVth century and the will to confront the traditional vision of the master. Simultaneously, the association had asked Dalí to offer a conference in the Park Güell in which

17. Such as oil jars, olive trees, bones or snails.

18. A review on the exhibition can be found in *2C. Construcción de la Ciudad*, no. 4, (1975): 48-49.

19. Lahuerta, "Sert i Gaudí", 178.

20. Helena Martín Nieva, "El MoMA y la Gomis-Prats connection, 1946-1960: Joan Miró, Antoni Tàpies y Antoni Gaudí" in Josep M. Rovira, Enrique Granell and Carolina B. García (ed.), *Destino Barcelona, 1911-1991. Arquitectos, viajes e intercambios* (Barcelona: Fundación Arquia, 2018), 145-159.

21. Mireia Freixa, "George R. Collins i els Amics de Gaudí USA", *L'Avenç*, no. 408 (jan. 2015): 36-41.

22. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Fantastic art, dada, surrealism* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1936).

23. Lahuerta, *Univers Gaudí, 190-191*.

24. *2C*, no. 4, 53-54.

25. *Ibid.*, 53.

he asked the assistants to attend the display, arguing that “only foreigners would visit it”.²⁶

Despite being this the first encounter between Collins and Gaudí and the start point of his interest in the architect, the book does not align at all with these interpretations. Collins met then some other integrants of Amics de Gaudí with which he would maintain a long and strong relationship (such as Enric Casanelles, who was putting together the archive mentioned before). From the exchange of materials that began then emerged The Archive of Catalan Art and Architecture, no longer as a civic entity, but a research center. This is an important issue to understand the text background; Collins was aware of the necessity to establish a documentary collection from which relate Gaudí to the context he was involved in. The book carefully reviews the main aspects of his life and work, and does not forget the ideological and symbolic content despite the short length of the text, as Rafael Moneo would express later:

I do not think, however, that going to strange influences, possibly totally alien to his work, or speaking of Gaudí as a percussor of what we call avant-garde art, exploring his work with an exclusive aestheticist approach, can take us too far; we would again distort the meaning of his work, completely forgetting the spirit with which the master conceived it.²⁷

The reviews that appeared at the time of the book's publication and its establishment as the key text for the later criticism illustrate Collins' success in placing Gaudí among the masters of modern architecture. His contribution aimed to substantiate a complete vision of the architect, without selecting or excluding unwanted parts, in view of the subsequent study of his work.

26. Joan Bassegoda i Nonell, “La conferencia de Dalí en el Parque Güell en 1956”, *Boletín de Arte*, no. 28, (mar. 2018): 610.

27. Moneo, “Sobre Gaudí”, 12.

Museum Exhibitions as Mass Media spreading Architectural Ideas from Europe to USA in 20th Century

Raffaella Russo Spena

Federico II University of Naples

DiARC - Dipartimento di Architettura Research Fellow

rrs@hotmail.it

Raffaella Russo Spena graduated in Architecture at Federico II University of Naples in 2008. From 2009 to 2015 she lived in Barcelona where she obtained first the Master in History, Art, Arquitectura y Ciudad and then the PhD in Theory and Història de la Arquitectura at the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya. In Naples she is currently contract professor of Science and Technology of Materials at Suor Orsola Benincasa University Course of Conservation of Cultural Heritage and research fellow at the Department of Architecture of the Federico II University. She collaborates with art and architecture magazines and journals.

ABSTRACT

The present paper is aimed to illustrate the role played by architectural exhibitions in promoting debates on architecture from the early thirties to the fifties of last century. Both the exhibitions and the accompanying publications such as catalogues, books and magazines, acts as significant communication media in shaping and directing architectural discourses. The first of these exhibitions was a significant historical event, which officially announced architecture of the early 20th century as "International Style" to the USA public, professional and even educational audience. Referring to Walter Benjamin's definition of "reproduction" and to the subsequent notions of "production" and "reproduction" discussed by Beatriz Colomina, the role of the New York MoMA architectural exhibitions as architectural media in reproducing the works of architecture and reformulating the agenda of 20th century modern architecture especially in USA, are emphasized. In the light of the arguments handled by Colomina, architectural exhibitions and associated books or catalogues are considered as "critical acts", in which the work of architecture, and architecture itself in theoretic, aesthetic and functional terms, is interpreted, reproduced and publicized. Architectural exhibitions, being a subject in itself, puts the objects displayed into a critical process, as a medium of reproduction in which the works are re-interpreted and diffused through magazines and other press devices. Such a spreading diffusion becomes, in turn, a further object reproduced by critics, historians and professional architects.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/9701>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Raffaella Russo Spena



KEYWORDS:

Architectural Exhibitions; NewYork MoMA and Architecture; Media Reproduction

1. The impact of 1932 N.Y. MoMa Exhibition on Architectural Profession and Education

Introducing the book *Architectureproduction*, Beatriz Colomina gives insight to the terms “production” and “reproduction” in architecture¹. She mainly refers to Walter Benjamin’s reflections on “reproduction” as it concerns both the material production of the architectural work, and the works circulation and diffusion through printed and photographic media.

In her article Colomina explains the term “reproduction” by mentioning its first use in architecture. Referring to Cretan Labyrinth, she argues that, though Daedalus was the architect of the project, he could never exactly interpret its structure. According to the author, the first reproduction in architecture was given by Ariadne who interpreted the building with the help of a conceptual device of the real object of architecture. Through this particular epitome Colomina makes a strong distinction between the production of architecture, as the “practical act” of building and the reproduction of architecture as interpretive “critical act” in which design principles, or canons, are revealed in the form of theory, history and criticism. According to this point of view, exhibitions and associated books or catalogues can be considered as the critical act of architecture where architectural work is interpreted, reproduced and introduced to a public and professional audience. So the architectural work becomes an object, which is put into a critical process. The person starting this task, being either the curator or the critic or the historian, takes the role of the interpreter, i.e. the subject who identifies the production, performing the act of reproduction. As such, he/she shows the work and supplies the communication between the producer and the audience. The audience refers to the viewer of an exhibition or the reader of a catalogue. The work, which is interpreted, criticized and reproduced by the curator, is in turn reproduced by the audience or by the viewer.

Among the many worth mentioning exhibitions at MoMA, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” in 1932 is known as the most influential event in the history of modern architecture. The plans of the exhibition were developed in the early thirties by the director of MoMA, Alfred Barr who asked Henry Russell Hitchcock, historian of modern art and architecture, and Philip Johnson, the architect known as the curator of the exhibition, to stage the first architectural exhibition at MoMA. By means of the exhibition and the accompanying publications, the architecture of the early 20th century was officially announced and labeled as the “International Style.”

MoMA had proved to be a powerful tool in promoting the modern movement in the US. For two years the exhibition “Modern Architecture” was presented in 32 installations at museums, art galleries and Department Stores in the United States. The exhibition and the book authored

1. Beatriz Colomina, “Introduction: On Architecture, Production and Reproduction,” in *Architectureproduction*, ed. Joan Ockman (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 5. For a detailed discussion on the argument see Baharak Tabibi, [Exhibitions as the Medium of Architectural Reproduction. “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition”] (MA diss., Department of Architecture of Middle East Technical University, 2005)

by Hitchcock and Johnson *International Style: Architecture Since 1922*, published in the same year, induced people to redefine the meaning of “modern architecture”. During the twenties and early thirties, in America, this name was generically used to identify the art-decò facades, the stylistic revivalism of skyscrapers, the stream-lined architecture that, as John Frederick Harbeson claimed in 1930, had to be considered “modern” because it was “quite simply, the architecture of today, the architecture which attempts to solve the problems resulting from modern social conditions, by modern methods of construction”². After 1932 this architecture began to appear to many North American critics hopelessly dated: “modern architecture”, reproduced by MoMA curators, was now synonymous with flat roofs, prismatic volumes and white walls absolutely devoid of decoration and was associated above all with Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Oud and the Bauhaus of Gropius. The MoMA, by identifying and promoting this so-called “International Style”, had actually contributed to altering the image of modern architecture in USA. Indeed, in the book by Hitchcock and Johnson – as well as in the catalog of curators – universality represented the dominant note. It seemed almost irrelevant that the International Style had originated in a specific country. The trend that was spreading all over the world was defined by Hitchcock and Johnson as: “a single new style, unified and inclusive. The International Style is broad and elastic enough for many varying talents and for many decades of development. We have, as the Egyptians had or the Chinese, as the Greeks and our own ancestors in the Middle Age before us, a style which orders the visible manifestation of a certain close relationship between structure and function. Regardless of specific types of structure or function, the style has a definable esthetic. That esthetic, like modern Technics, will develop and change; it will hardly cease to exist. It is found in the humblest buildings, as well as in monuments, fully architectural. Those who have buried architecture, whether from a thwarted desire to continue the past or from an over-anxiety to modify and hurry on the future, have been premature: We have an architecture still”³.

This statement opened a frank debate also in public audience and more specifically in US Schools of Architecture. Most historians of American architecture⁴ attribute to Joseph Hudnut – charged as Dean of the Faculty of Architecture in June 1935 by James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard University – the fundamental role of supporter and promoter of the rejuvenation process of teaching architecture. However, the need to reform the architectural studies in the *curriculum studiorum* of US universities had already been recognized for some time by distinguished teachers of the most prestigious academic institutions in the country, from Columbia, to the Universities of Ann Arbor and Chicago up to California universities, especially at Berkeley and Los Angeles. The knowledge of the contribution offered by European architects, both to the professional

2. John Frederick Harbeson, “Design in Modern Architecture, What is Modern?”, *Pencil Points* 11 (January 1930): 3-45.

3. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *International Style: Architecture Since 1922* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1932), 16.

4. See for instance Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Jill E. Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2007); Anthony Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism: Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and City Planning at Harvard* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2002).

practice, and to the educational programs introduced in schools of architecture and institutes of technology, had been communicated to the American audience especially by the MoMA exhibition of 1932.

The intense critical debate following the publication of the exhibition catalog had seen on the opposite dialectical fronts, on the one hand the supporters of functionalist rationalism and, on the other, the supporters of the organic approach. In fact, the unity of planning that Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson had wanted to point out in the production of the modern movement in Europe, although it could be justified under the generically stylistic profile, did not exactly correspond to the variety of the theoretical approaches that inspired the different professional architects. Despite the efforts made by some exponents – above all on the Eastern continental coast – to promote “modern” architecture in the United States, institutional associations such as the American Institute of Architects and almost all the Schools of Architecture, maintained a markedly conservative and traditionalist attitude. During the 1920s only the Columbia University School of Architecture, under the direction of Joseph Hudnut, had begun to implement a radical change in the organization of the training course program. The radical reforming process at Harvard School of Architecture began in 1935 when Joseph Hudnut replaced George Harold Edgell, dean of the Faculty of Architecture during the past thirty-years, architectural historian and teachers of Fine Arts. On 7 June 1935 a letter from Conant announced to Hudnut his appointment as Dean of the new Harvard Faculty of Architecture and the assignment of a chair of Architecture. The arrival of Hudnut at Harvard represented the beginning of a thorough transformation that would have deeply changed many of the School’s traditions and, above all, would have given a new address to the teaching of architecture in the United States. His previous experience as Dean of the School of Architecture at Columbia University had offered him the chance to meet John Dewey who had left the chair of philosophy at the University of Chicago in 1904 to take the professorship of the same course at the Columbia University. The theoretical works of the Burlington philosopher about the close relationship between education and democracy, the consequent implications on “learning by conscious doing”, his theory of art as aesthetic experience, and his attempt to recompose the dichotomy between “art and science” would have had an extraordinary impact on the reform strategies of studies planned by Hudnut at Harvard. Hence, by 1935, having “completed as much damage as I could possibly do at Columbia”⁵, Hudnut accepted the position of dean at Harvard. Hudnut’s reforming program at Harvard targeted three goals that he would make explicit in a series of three lectures delivered at the College of Architecture and Design, University of Michigan in 1952, titled “Three Lamps of Modern Architecture”⁶. The first of them shared Harvard’s aspiration to create a synthetic approach to education, to achieve “total design” based

5. Jill E. Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard*, 48.

6. The three lamps were: The Lamp of Progress, The Lamp of Nature, and The Lamp of Democracy. They suggest comparison with Ruskin’s Seven Lamps of Architecture, but whereas Ruskin intended his Seven Lamps to be positive guides that the architect should follow, Hudnut intends to demonstrate that the lamps of progress, nature and democracy are false beacons that should not be allowed to mislead the architect. Hudnut observes an increasing tendency, amongst modern architects, to adopt the methods and goals of engineering”. He believes that engineering methods and goals may lead to functional fulfillment and to beauty, but not to expression, and therefore not to architecture, for “expression is the supreme law of architecture”. Joseph Hudnut, “The Lamp of Progress,” *Architectural Record* (March 1953);139.

on American traditions and to unify art and architecture. The second goal pursued by Hudnut was to closely link the teaching of design to the scientific and technological aspects of professional practice. Finally, the third goal was to transfer all the cultural training disciplines, and therefore not considered to be strictly professional, as part of the preparatory diploma of first level degree courses. In January 1936 Hudnut transmitted to the Harvard Corporation a final report in which for the first time he proposed to establish a Graduate School of Design under the control of the existing School of Architecture, which in turn would have been called Faculty of Design. Hudnut proposed to dismember the Faculty of Architecture and to unify its three Schools of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and City Planning in the Graduate School of Design. The three schools were transformed into Departments of the new GSD, each related to a chairman who should have collaborated with the others under the direction of a single dean. As Hudnut himself explained "Design" described the fundamental and shared activity of architects, urban planners and landscapers. Each of them capable of interpreting ideas and realizing them in practical and aesthetic ways, translating them into "visible patterns. To design a chair and to design a cathedral is the same process: the same evolution of form, the same evolution of technique."⁷ In 1936 it happened an event which opened the chance of a radical change in GSD. Jean-Jacques Haffner, decided to resign, starting from the spring semester, freeing up a chair of Architecture. Hudnut had therefore to face the problem to find a new teacher capable of countering conservative forces and of promoting the integration of the arts and sciences following the approach given by the Modern Movement. In the summer of 1936, three candidates were in the running to replace Jean-Jacques Haffner and to steer the GSD decisively onto the modernist route: the Germans Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and the Dutch J.-J. P. Oud, who had been among the first architect to formulate the "Neue Sachlichkeit" and to believe that architecture should be inspired by technology and social needs. They had been three of the four most important "Modern Architects" in the MoMA exhibition which, in 1932, had presented the International Style to the North Americans. The fourth was Le Corbusier who, despite having stayed for two months in the USA in 1935, and given lectures at various architecture schools, was not on the list of Harvard candidates. Most probably one of the reasons for the exclusion was his poor knowledge of English, to which was added the additional circumstance that, unlike Gropius and Mies, he had no experience in managing a school.

In July Hudnut, accompanied by George Holmes Perkins, traveled in Europe, meeting Mies in Berlin, where the XI Olympic Games were held, Oud in Amsterdam and, before returning to Boston in early September, he saw Gropius in London. The latter had moved to England, with his wife Ise in 1934, owing to the German political turmoil. Although his arrival

7. Jill Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard*, 58.

in London was not generally accepted in a triumphant way that, perhaps, he hoped, he still managed to break into small “modernist” circles – as Isokon and the MARS Group, the British section of CIAM – starting a professional collaboration with Edwin Maxwell Fry. When the two Harvard teachers met him in London, Gropius was leaving for La Sarraz, where he would spend the summer holidays together with other members of the European circles of the Modern Movement including László Moholy-Nagy. Back in Boston, Hudnut reported the results of his meetings to President Conant and gave him the biographical notes of Mies and Gropius. Oud was soon removed from the list of candidates: he suffered from depression and his psychological conditions were, probably, decisive for his exclusion. The biographical profiles of Mies and Gropius written by Hudnut were decidedly impartial. However, the explicit mention of Gropius’s publications and a reference to the taciturn nature of Mies, seemed to show that, all things considered, the former was considered the most suitable candidate. The two German architects were friends and Gropius had urged Mies to take over the Bauhaus in 1931 to replace Hannes Meyer. Mies held the direction of Bauhaus for two turbulent years until the school closed in 1933, both due to the excessive controls by Gestapo and to the continuous lack of funds. In retrospect one can undoubtedly affirm that perhaps Mies, despite his reserved nature, was the architect closest to the Hudnut’s conception of planning. However some misunderstandings, discussed in detail by Pearlman, arose during the selection process that put Mies out of the competition.

In December 1936 the Harvard Faculty officially approved the call of Gropius, and included him in the ranks of the GSD starting from 1 April 1937 without yet assigning him any specific chair. On 12 March 1937, the Berlin architect embarked for USA on the transatlantic “Europa”, reaching New York after five days, where he received a telegram of greetings from Hudnut: “Welcome to America where Happiness and Success await you!”

At Harvard Gropius managed to bring other European *Bauhauslers* to Harvard among which Marcel Breuer, Martin Wagner, and Joseph Albers. However, according to Pearlman, Hudnut neither wanted nor could the GSD become the “Harvard Bauhaus”⁸, which the reforms imagined by Gropius intended to implement. The German architect believed that all architecture students should begin with a Bauhaus-inspired “preliminary course” to instill them in the fundamentals of form, composition, space, and materials. According to Hudnut, in the formation of the modern architect the collaboration between architecture, landscape architecture and urban planning was necessary: a triad of well-rooted activity in the historical schools of the Faculty of Architecture. Gropius believed instead that the collaboration should involve architects and engineers, interpreting it as a team effort. He did not fully understand how important was the role played by urban planning and landscape architecture in North

8. Jill Pearlman, “Joseph Hudnut’s Other Modernism at the Harvard-Bauhaus,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, n. 3 (December 1997).

America and especially at Harvard. Another reason for disagreement was the teaching of architectural history: Hudnut believed that knowledge of architectural history was fundamental for the training of professional architects and, above all, that it should be taught in the context of first level degree programs and therefore before the students tackled the most rigorous and specific topics of post-graduate training. For his part Gropius believed that the study of the history of architecture represented an obstacle to creativity and experimentation: the students could have attended courses in architectural history, only after having learned and assimilated in depth the formal language of Modernism thus avoiding dangerous historicist drifts. Finally, Hudnut, as a strong supporter of American Modernism, saw in the architecture of Gropius and in his teaching at GSD the expression of a functionalism so rigid as to deprive the architecture of its fundamental humanistic soul. But another Gropius autonomous initiative would have made their relationship even more conflicting. In 1945, in fact, Gropius proposed to establish a basic design course similar to the "Vorkurs" taught by Hitten and Albers in the early years of the Bauhaus. The courses at GSD should have trained the students to become familiar with a visual language focused on function, space, scale, light, shape, color and structural types. It was such an important vocabulary for Gropius that he hoped it was applied to all levels of American education, from kindergarten onwards. Furthermore the school was going through an economic and organizational crisis induced by WWII. The faculty watched the Hudnut-Gropius disagreements that finally erupt into a bitter personal challenge. During the lucrative after war years, when the G.I. Bill, i.e. the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act, swelled the school's enrollment, inflation began to slice the endowment. Hudnut rearranged his program, dropping some courses and firing some instructors, mostly Gropius' friends. Finally, he turned to Gropius' own course, "Fundamentals of Design", which had been running on a special Corporation grant. As soon as the money ran out Hudnut discontinued the course. Despite the integration of the three departments of GSD and the decision to keep active only one first common course for all three, since 1948 and due to Hudnut's tenacity, the situation was out of control. It was for this reason that Gropius suggested a solution that his successor would necessarily have had to adopt: *"I suggest promoting the closest integration of the School's departments by placing it under the direction of a single director who becomes the key figure, the person in charge; he will also direct the architecture department at the same time, because from a historical point of view the architecture and the mother of the design art from which all the others have developed"*⁹ at GSD. With this gone and the general prospect of forced economy, Gropius left the school, leaving behind the dregs of his battle and a discouraged group of people. He resigned from the academic position in the autumn of 1952; the same year Hudnut retired from the deanship, while in 1953 president Conant was appointed US Ambassador in Berlin by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

9. Quoted by Josep M. Rovira, *José Luis Sert: 1901-1983* (Milano: Electa, 2000), 87.

2. Reproducing the American mood: the 1944 MoMa Exhibition “Built in USA: 1932-1944” and aftermaths

In just a few years after 1932 Exhibition the situation at the MoMA would change: Johnson had left the Museum in December 1934 to follow an unfortunate political adventure and was replaced as head of the Department of Architecture by Philip Goodwin and Ernestine Fantl who, in turn, resigned in 1937. Just after that date, in numerous publications and exhibitions, the New York museum began a progressive detachment from the “doctrine of universality”. Now the emphasis was shifted to the climatic and cultural priorities of the geographical site, to the recognized impossibility of achieving “universal” solutions and to the emergence of “regional” architectural trends. From this point of view it could be said that the MoMA limited itself to faithfully recording the development of events as they occurred or, more cynically, intended to enhance new trends in architecture with the primary aim of attracting public attention to its halls and consolidating its position of undisputed “temple of modern taste”. But in putting the accent on regionalism, and in particular on the American one, the MoMA establishment mirrored and reflected the national mood¹⁰. This mood permeated a conspicuous part of the North American culture and art of the period: from the murals of Grant Wood, John Stuart Curry and Thomas Hart Benton, to the poems of Robert Frost and Allen Tate; from the novels of Mary Austin and Willa Cather, to the economic and social policies implemented by the presidency of F. D. Roosevelt that clearly indicated the crisis of the American Exceptionalism.

Once again, as in 1932, the MoMA would have publicized that sort of loss of cultural content and authentically human values that seemed to affect international architecture and announced the new regional trends in USA.

In 1944, Elizabeth Bauer Mock, sister of the most famous Catherine, acted as curator or narrator of the exhibition “Built in USA: 1932-1944” for the Department of Architecture and Design. The exhibition, while explicitly recalling the contents of the 1932 exhibition, reproduced the new lines of regionalist development taken by North American architecture through the works of William Wilson Wurster, Harwell Hamilton Harris, Pietro Beluschi and other architects of the US North Pacific Coast and thus providing a faithful testimony of the regionalist “resistance” of residential architecture during the 1930s to the narrow functionalist orthodoxy of the International Style. In the catalog’s foreword Philip Goodwin connected the aims of the show in tight bond with 1932’s exhibition: “In the spring of 1932 they [Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson] prepared an exhibition of foreign and native examples of true contemporary design collect an International Exhibition of Modern Architecture, held in the Museum’s first quarters in the Hecksher Building in New York. The architecture was so new and surprising that hostile and ill-informed critics and architects still frequently

10. Robert Dormann, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920-1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

assert that the Museum is trying to impose a foreign style on the United States. Such was not the Museum's intention, in the first place, nor has it been the Museum's program since"¹¹.

So Goodwin, while asserting MoMA's pride of starting in the US a fruitful and stimulating debate, defended the Museum from the charge of having promoted in the US an imported and alien architecture and significantly referred to North European "New Empiricism" and to the focus on "city planning". The most important development elements were mainly referred to single-family housing buildings: *"It is perhaps in the field of domestic architecture that our list is strongest; and that is only natural, for that is where American architect has had the most opportunities and the freest hand. Yet the small number of West Coast houses which have been included is rather misleading, for here, as we know, California has led quantity and average quality"*¹². But it is perhaps relevant to underline the reference to the challenging "crusade" that, according to Goodwin, the MoMA has contributed to, with the American research institution, to fight in the seek of modern architecture's identity.

During pre-War years the perception that the strong professional "establishment" from the East-Coast was committed basically to give credit to the idea that modern architecture's only exponents were Le Corbusier, Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Breuer, whom were all US immigrants during the 30's, started to spread, while it tended to deliberately neglect the existence of a "modernist" design orientation practiced by the West Coast architects well before the great European exodus. Elizabeth Mock performed a retrospective analysis on European architecture's impact on professional culture and on public opinion in the previous decade. She recognized to Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson the merit of introducing European architecture to the USA and especially a critique towards functionalism: *"The insistence upon aesthetic principles was particularly healthy at that time, as it deliberately opposed the highly materialistic theory of "functionalism" a credo so unrealistic, that it was never actually practiced even by those who were most articulate in its support. In a period of depression the popular slogan of "functionalism" was valuable promotion for modern architecture, but it was too often used as a specious excuse to bad design"*¹³. She underlined the fact that the curators of the 1932 exhibition contributed to the re-evaluation of Wright's organic architecture and its diffusion over the East Coast: *"The positive influence of Frank Lloyd Wright upon the development of the new theories was carefully traced in 1932 catalog and his separate and unique position was sympathetically defined. His out-reaching houses, with their warm materials and their affinity with the earth, had little to do with the weightless, closed forms and cool austerities of the Europeans"*¹⁴. So, a humanizing process was necessary for American architecture, to meet users' expectations, in opposition to the current myth of mechanization which led by Le Corbusier to define house as "machine à habiter".

11. Philip L. Goodwin, "Foreword", in *Built in USA: 1932-1944*, ed. Elizabeth Bauer Mock (New York: the Museum of Modern Art, 1944), 2.

12. Philip L. Goodwin, "Foreword", in *Built in USA: 1932-1944*, ed. Elizabeth Bauer Mock (New York: the Museum of Modern Art, 1944), 3.

13. Elizabeth Bauer Mock, *Built in USA: 1932-1944* (New York: the Museum of Modern Art, 1944), 10.

14. Elizabeth Bauer Mock, *Built in USA: 1932-1944*, 11.

Precisely from West US, where the values of North American tradition are profoundly rooted, came signals of a different approach to architectural design practiced since the century's beginning by Bernard Maybeck. This regional approach, in strong contrast with International Style-inspired cold austerity and rules code, was characterized by a closer attention to the surrounding context and by a different usage of building materials and techniques with important morphologic implications: *"Then, if the shift from masonry to steel or concrete frame, one thought to see a certain biological evolution from crustacean to vertebrate. Suddenly the vertebrate seems no more advanced than new types of crustacean. It was reinforced concrete which really started this development, but it was the use of plywood as a 'stressed skin' which encouraged it. If these skin sheets of plywood are properly glued or otherwise bonded, rather than nailed, to either side of light wood frame, this full structural exploitation of the plywood 'skin' gives the panel amazing strength. We are only beginning to explore the possibilities of this type of construction"*¹⁵.

1944's MoMA exhibition has been a particularly important turning point because dedicated exclusively to US-produced works during the previous decade from North American architects, naturalized Europeans to be precise, such as Richard Neutra, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright, Raymond M. Hood - present in 1932 exhibition - and Albert Kahn, Louis Kahn, Eero Saarinen and Pietro Belluschi. Greatly significant was the West-Coast architects', William Wilson and Harwell Hamilton Harris, presentation that testified the emancipation from a sort of American architecture's subordination to the European, underlined by 1932 exhibition. On the other hand, from a theoretic perspective, in 1945, Bruno Zevi's essay *Verso un'Architettura Organica* (Towards an Organic Architecture)¹⁶, which borrows the title from the 1921 Le Corbusier's programmatic manifesto, tried to supply a systemic fundament to Wright's organic design. Indeed in the US a different methodological approach manifested towards housing. While in Europe, in the decade between 1920's and 1930's, single family housing represented for architects an experimental phase to solve the mass social housing problem, across the ocean during the following decade the social housing topic was absorbed within "city planning" and "civic design" with a shifting that privileged the concept of house as family's "home" and "shelter", totally contrasting the "unité d'habitation" idea, with a significant downscaling in size and aesthetic principles¹⁷.

So, beginning from the 30's, West Coast architectural regionalism and design organic approach gained increasing energy reaching the climax during the 40's. The economic explosion of the second after war period eased demographic development and financial and real estate market expansion; a huge amount of underdeveloped territory was available in which to grow and build, traditional cultures were less elitist than in

15. Elizabeth Bauer Mock, *Built in USA: 1932-1944*, 16.

16. Bruno Zevi, *Verso un'Architettura Organica* (Torino: Einaudi, 1945).

17. In November 1940 the exhibition "Frank Lloyd Wright" was opened at MoMA and in its garden was showed a low-cost house prototype designed by Wright and completely furnished. This 5000 dollar proposal was considered by MoMA as a contribution to the debate focalized on the theme of industrialized buildings and on series-produced houses. Wright's prototype anticipated the 1941 project of 100 house units to be build in Pittsfield Massachusetts, for the "Division of Defense Housing". See Donald Albrecht (ed.), *World War II and the American Dream. How Wartime Building Changed a Nation* (Washington-Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).

the East Coast and the clients less conservative. This happened where new creative approaches were experimented and new design ideas were explored by William Wilson Wurster, Gardner Daily and John Dinwiddie in the Bay Area, Raphael Soriano and Charles Eames in Los Angeles, John Yeon, James Van Evera Bayley Paul Thiry and Pietro Belluschi in North-West. Themed periodic press, especially *magazines*, *journals* and *reviews* played the important role both of contrasting the European pressure from the East Coast and of critical architecture information that, with autonomous experimenting, was produced on the Pacific Coast.

John Entenza, editor of Los Angeles *California Arts & Architecture* magazine, aware of New England's historical-critic authoritativeness, played an important role in calling attention on architecture that was being built in the West. In 1940 he asked Henry-Russell Hitchcock to write an article¹⁸ on West-Coast architecture, as if to ratify the end of a sort of ostracism stated by the East Coast professional culture. On the other hand, Howard Myers, publisher of New York's *Architectural Forum* carefully followed new significant developments in the country as well and, with an open minded approach, contributed to focus critical attention Westwards.

In 1947, *Architectural Record* magazine, on Elizabeth Kendall Thompson's initiative, opened an editorial session dedicated exclusively to the US continental Western, highlighting style and approach differences compared to East, different materials – wood and natural stone specifically – and the totally different orientation related to built space's modeling and fruition. Cultural roots were considered similarly different: New England and US continental Eastern was typically more "style-conscious", opened towards European tendencies with its "modernism" influenced by Bauhaus' machine aesthetic and other International Style's doctrinal paradigms, while in the West sight was oriented towards nature, and its architectural roots to be looked for in vernacular "cottages" and "bungalows", in Arts & Crafts, in Bernard Maybeck and Greene & Greene brothers, in artisans, in Japanese East, in the organic theory and later in Alvar Aalto's work, distinctive elements of a less aggressive, less doctrinal and especially more human "modernism". Especially in the second after war period, during which the US continental Western was strongly under construction, the East Coast architects tended towards an abstract theorization, while on the North Pacific Coast were oriented towards a practical design experimentation. In the decade's last years, the overturn started to come out clear. William Wilson Wurster, in 1948, stated that US architecture "had enlarged its base". There was no longer New York's "old backward" itself; modern and good quality architecture was being produced elsewhere as well - especially in the West - and the regional challenge level was increasing. Lewis Mumford fueled the critical debate's fire and, from *The New Yorker* "Sky Line"¹⁹ columns in October 1947, compared

18. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "An Eastern Critic Looks at Western Architecture," *California Arts & Architecture* (December 1940).

19. Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line: Status Quo," *New Yorker*, n. 11 (October 1947): 94-99.

the Eastern “stodginess” with Western “freshness”, and saw in the latter a new, promising alternative to International Style.

Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre²⁰ argue that the reason why Mumford’s article started so much controversy was that, for the first time, it was considered as an alternative to International Style and, for the first time after its rooting, architecture really challenged to that “top-down”, elitist, artificial and prescriptive International Style architecture sponsored by New York’s MoMA. Bay Region Style’s identification represented his North American architecture researches and personal aspiration landing point, oriented to recognize, within this architectural expression, a genuine regional development process. The Bay Region showed an architectural design school that Mumford believed to be not only unique, but capable of realizing his regionalist philosophy as well. As the exponents of Arts and Crafts in the late nineteenth century, so the Bay Region architects collected in their work regional history, but for the first, past represented an aim, whereas for the second past only built a part of broader and more motivated philosophy of history. Furthermore, twentieth century Bay Region architects were considered “modernists” by Mumford, but their skill in incorporating and integrating the local and historical elements made their “modernism” more eloquent and mature than the coeval European “modernism” of International Style. In November 1947 Mumford suggested the idea to hold a Symposium at MoMA. Promptly he received the agreement by Alfred Barr and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, to organize a debate centered on the arguments discussed by Mumford’s in article on *The New Yorker*. On February 11, 1948, at the MoMA auditorium, was held the Symposium “What is Happening to Architecture”²¹, with Lewis Mumford as “chairman & discussant”. The debate was presented as an opposition between the supporters of the so called “New Empiricism” and “Bay Region School” and the ones whom coined the term “International Style”, Hitchcock first of all. Formally, the Symposium was a failure: the audience waited in vain to listen to appropriate answers to difficult questions. However, from the meeting emerged the representation of a significant gap in architectural thinking, which addressed professional orientations within that cultural season. Two opposite points of view dominated the debate: on one side, the inventors of the “International Style” term, and on the other side the supporters of “New Empiricism” and its American counterpart, the new-humanist “Bay Region School”. The controversy was quickly reduced to its essential opposition terms: on one side the ones whom expressed in term of style and functionality and on the other the ones whom judged labels and “-isms” as a secondary term compared to the major issue of building production. The first group was constituted by Alfred Hamilton Barr Jr., Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson whom defined the basic principles of International Style. Alfred Barr insisted particularly on the fact that, in 1932, the invention of the term

20. Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, *Critical Regionalism, Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World* (Munich: Prestel, 2003).

21. Alfred H. Barr et al, “What is Happening to Modern Architecture? A Symposium at the Museum of Modern Art” (New York: The Museum of Modern Art Bulletin, Vol. XV, n. 3, 1948), also reproduced in Vincent B. Canizaro, *Architectural Regionalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006).

"International Style" was based on an historical-artistic matrix scientific interpretation, reflection of Harvard's cultural environment in which himself and Hitchcock were trained: soon after the end of the exhibition in 1932 the distortion process that "International Style" idea was undergoing was focused. The belief that the international concept in architecture should mean the gradual awareness of a cultural centrality's disappearance in favor of a much more diffuse polycentrism was making its way. Hitchcock highlighted its methodical setting continuity and, refusing to insist on the assimilation of "Modern Architecture" and "International Style" terms, emphasized on "Architecture": modern architecture criticism during the 20's and the 30's, originated from the "Bay Region Style" and Scandinavian architecture discovery, denounced a narrow and limited conception of "International Style". The problem faced by the post-War debate was rather *"expression in architecture"*. British architect Gerhard Kallman defended the "New Empiricism"; Christopher Tunnard insisted on the need of reconciling public taste with the creation of good architecture, suggesting the study of past monumental buildings as a possible solution approach; Frederick Gutheim argued that the reference to a style canon was essential for a critical evaluation. Historian Talbot Hamlin contested the actual existence of an modern architecture internationalism, quoting Oscar Niemeyer instance, to whom the access in the US, for political reasons, was forbidden. Strongly opposed, though with different reasons, to the historical approach were Marcel Breuer, Ralph Walker, Peter Blake, Eero Saarinen, George Nelson and Carl Koch. The latter, unable to reach New York for tough weather conditions, sent his intervention paper, that was subsequently published on MoMA's Bulletin. Walter Gropius, while reducing Mumford's argumentation to a *"sentimental national prejudice"*, added that he had been *"struck by [Mumford's] definition of the Bay Region Style as something new, characterized by an expression of the terrain, the climate, and the way of life, for that was almost precisely, in the same words, the initial aim of the leading modernists in the world twenty-five years back"*²², Gropius accused him of stating that the "redwood cottage style" in architecture should have been replicated over the Pacific coast. Nelson, Blake and Koch posed the accent on immediate, practical aims of architecture, on the need of incrementing productivity and on industrialized construction. Lewis Mumford, concluding his discussion pretty late, observed that his definition of "Bay Region Style", opposed to International Style, has been broadly misunderstood, meaning that Hitchcock and Barr's stiff definition did not allow to fully comprehend "the variety and universality degree" of new architectural streams. While MoMA's Symposium have seen the contrast between a small number of academicians and professionals, without a doubt polemic but confined within a frame marked by historical and critical contents, totally different by intensity and tone has been the debate that took place in Salt-Lake City, Utah, during the American Institute of Architects eightieth "Convention", same year's late

22. Alfred H. Barr, "What is Happening to Modern Architecture?", 12.

spring. In this case, the debate was more “political” and witnessed the strong opposition of the whole professional “establishment” - dominated by the East Coast exponents - to the young architects’ generation - mainly for the West Coast - represented by Pietro Belluschi, freshly registered at the A.I.A. fellowship. Yet again the confrontation over US architecture identity rotated around the bi-polar opposition between International/Regional, International Style/Bay Region Style, but almost paradoxically, in this case the supporters of the first were considered “conservatives” while the latter “progressives”. But it was also a questioning about the technical orientation that implied a much more invasive mechanization and appear to menace or even to try to suppress the genuine *élance vitale* of social communities and their natural environment. *“Modern architecture reflects the beauty of its environment, not borrowings from the past. Machines, people, climat, local traditions cannot be disregarded, but neither can they stand in the way of logical development. Architecture must not be dictated by the machine. It must express an emotional understanding of its environment”*²³. Pietro Belluschi stated, in a conference in Spring 1948 at the University of Washington, appealing to emotive suggestions, and not only rational ones, that architecture should be capable of inspire. European modernists’ works, such as Richard Neutra and Rudolf Schindler’s in Los Angeles, or Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer’s in the Eastern area, was contested from many of their US colleagues. Not the same happened for Wright, whose work kept being of great impact, especially in the West area. Largely underestimated by the East Coast architectural “establishment”, Wright was admired and venerated by the youth, especially from Mid-Western, North-Western and Western architects.

The American Institute of Architecture is *“notoriously undemocratic”*, as can be read in the Convention’s report published on July’s issue of *Architectural Forum*, and many decisions were assumed unilaterally by its conservative “leaders”.

But, in 1948, the usual, stiff, unanimous annual *meetings* schedule was shocked by a harsh dissent. A *“rebellious younger group”*, including 150 members and delegates, signed an agenda asking that the A.I.A.’s following year Gold Medal was assigned to Wright. Despite the organizers’ efforts to erase the agenda’s argument, it was *“steam-rolled there by newly-made fellow Pietro Belluschi and passed with a few timid bleasts of ‘no’ ”*.

After all, during the previous year, Belluschi sent a letter to Arthur Mc Voy, Cambridge territorial planning consultant, in which he stigmatized A.I.A.’s leaders’ clearly conservative orientation. Belluschi argued that the Association’s Journal published, in April 1947 issue, a letter by Walter Gropius explaining the reasons why young architects faced great difficulties in obtaining A.I.A.’s “membership”.

23. Meredith L. Clausen, *Pietro Belluschi: Modern American Architect* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994), 190.

In the meantime, the West Coast party drafted an increasing number of supporters on a national base within the A.I.A. 1948 "Convention" was organized significantly in Salt-Lake City, Utah, and Belluschi was invited as speaker for two congress sessions – one on shopping malls and the other on inexpensive housing and "retail buildings" – and as coordinator for a seminary about housing project's regional characters. The meeting was attended with great attention, as to demonstrate that regionalism represented a crucial argument in the current debate over housing. *"There has always been a powerful need for the human race to harmonize itself with all the forces of nature which surround it by that token, contemporary design - as all creative architectures in the past - reflects the will to create forms which are alive, and by alive I mean appropriate, in tune with the life which flows everywhere around it"* Belluschi argued in his address²⁴.

By now the critical awareness of the existence in the USA of a tendency in architecture which was strongly opposed to International Style and in line with audience's taste, penetrated even the most conservative segments of the Western professional culture as evidenced by July 1948 issue of the Journal published the text of Pietro Belluschi's lecture at the 80th "Convention" seminar on the housing topic.

24. Pietro Belluschi, "Shopping centers," *American Institute of Architects. Address at Annual Convention, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1948.*



FIG. 1 "Modern Architecture. International Exhibition", Heckscher Building, New York, 1932.



FIG. 2 Richard Neutra, Lovell House, Los Angeles, 1927-29.



FIG. 3 Frank Lloyd Wright, Coonley House, Riverside, Illinois, 1908.



FIG. 4 Charles e Henry Greene, Gamble House, Pasadena, California, 1907-08.



FIG. 5 Alvar Aalto, Baker House, MIT, Cambridge, MA, 1947-1949.

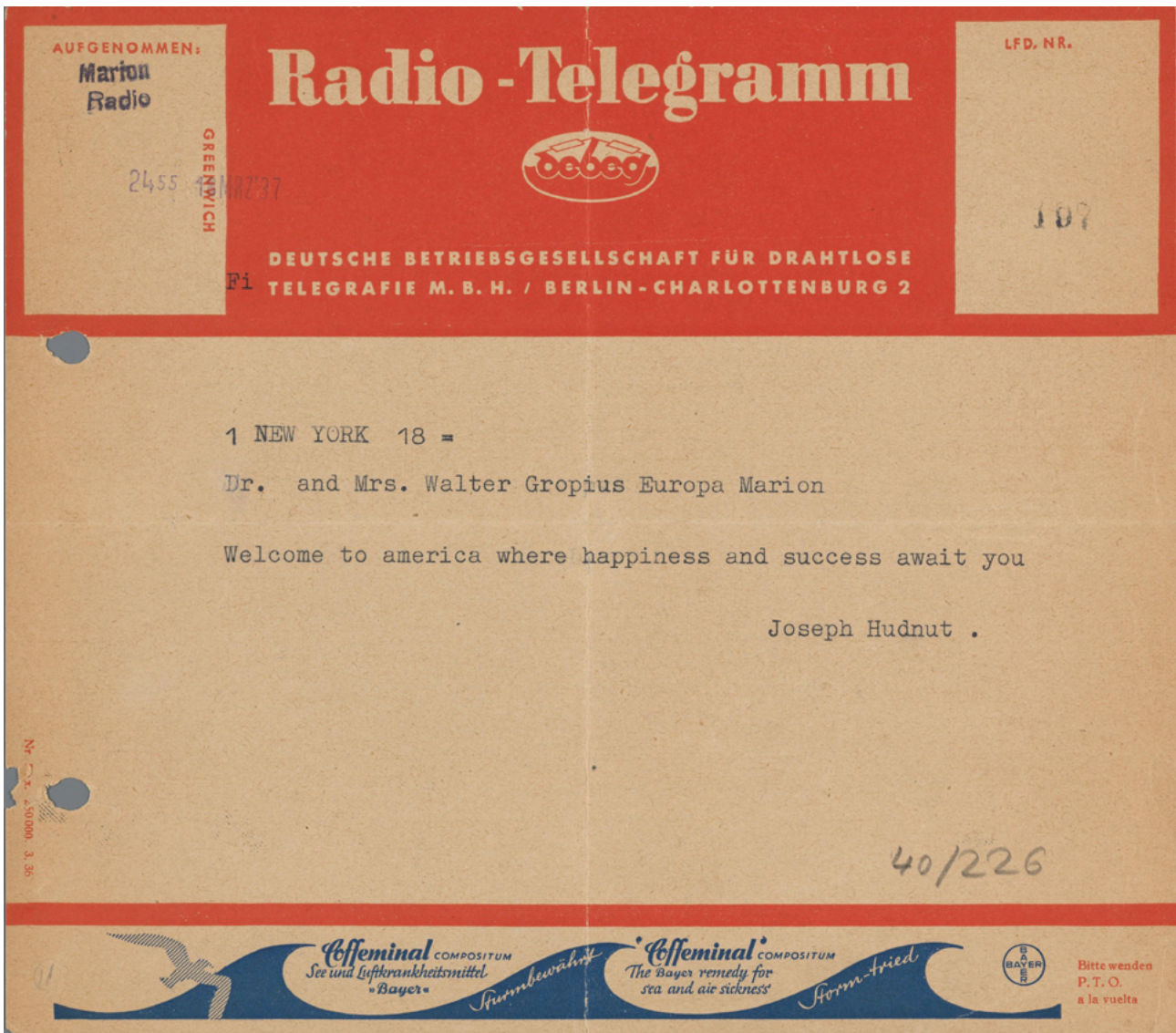


FIG. 6 Telegram from Joseph Hudnut to Walter Gropius, 1937..

Architecture Magazines in Spain from 1939 through the End of Francoism: A Historiographic Overview

Salvador Guerrero López

Technical University of Madrid (UPM)

salvador.guerrero@upm.es

Salvador Guerrero is PhD-Universidad Politécnica de Madrid and Extraordinary Doctorate Award. He teaches History of Architecture in the Department of Architectural Composition at the School of Architecture in the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid. Previously, he was a teacher at the Universidad de Alicante and the Universidad de Alcalá, and advisor of the Residencia de Estudiantes Foundation (Madrid). Salvador Guerrero's research deals with town planning and architecture history.

ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of modernity, and through to today, architecture magazines have been the primary medium for reflection, production and dissemination regarding contemporary architectural culture. As such, studying the periodicals associated with a given historical cycle is essential to understand the scope of the debates taking place in architecture and urban planning during that time.

This overview aims to “map” the Spanish architectural and urban planning culture from the postwar years and the period of desarrollismo to the early 1970s, drawing on a selection of some of the main historiographic studies centered on the most relevant architecture periodicals of the period.

Because their contents offer an “archive” of modern architecture, architecture magazines have long been genuine platforms for the exhibition and defense of new ideas. And that is not only the case for the ones that have legitimized avant-garde postures; it also includes the ones that opted to defend conservative approaches, and whose pages were home to the formulations of the architectural and/or urban planning proposals required by society at a particular point in time, or the ones that offered dreams of a new utopia.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/10168>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Salvador Guerrero López



KEYWORDS:

Architecture Magazines; Spain; Francoism; Twentieth Century; Architecture Critic

Recently, the interest in studying architecture and urban planning periodicals has been growing, both in academic and professional spheres. Research projects, conferences, exhibitions and publications have been dedicated to the subject, where the norm has been monographic studies of specific journals or time periods. Reference should be made to the landmark work by Beatriz Colomina, carried out at Princeton University, presented for the first time at New York's Storefront for Art and Architecture and published under the title *Clip/Stamp/Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines 196X-197X*¹, along with, in the case of Spain, the exhibitions centered on the early days of the magazine *Arquitectura* (1918-1936) –curated by Carlos de San Antonio and organized in 2001 by the Directorate-General for Housing, Architecture and Urban Planning, under the Ministry of Public Works, and the Architects' Association of Madrid– and the magazine *AC. Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, the publishing arm of the GATEPAC, on which the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía held a monographic exhibition in 2008, curated by Enrique Granell, Josep Maria Rovira, José Ángel Sanz Esquide and Antonio Pizza. A further reference is the international conference, *Las revistas de arquitectura (1900-1975): crónicas, manifiestos, propaganda*, organized by the University of Navarra School of Architecture in 2012.

As for the panorama that interests us here, the one that emerged after the Civil War, when the guidelines that had been outlined by Central European architects during the interwar period were abandoned (a thorough account of which is provided by the two main Spanish journals, *Arquitectura* and *AC. Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*), another set of magazines played a fundamental role, although in a different way, including *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, *Reconstrucción*, and the *Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura*, all three published in Madrid, as well as the early years of *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, founded in 1944, in this case in Barcelona. These publications give us an idea of the political-architectural transformations of early Francoism.

Of special relevance in this account are the contributions made by Professor Víctor Pérez Escolano regarding the *Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura*, a periodical publication that compellingly compiles the unique moment of transition “from the advances of ‘architectural falangism’ to the freedomless capitalism” experienced by Spanish architecture during those years, as the period has been aptly qualified in the two monographic studies that Pérez Escolano dedicated to the magazine².

Regarding *Reconstrucción*, the magazine edited by the Directorate-General for Devastated Regions between 1940 and 1953, there is an initial study by the art historian Silvia García Alcázar, entitled “La revista *Reconstrucción*: un instrumento de propaganda al servicio del régimen”, which was compiled in the collective volume *Restaurando la*

1. Beatriz Colomina, Craig Buckley and Urtzi Grau, *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X-197X* (Barcelona: Actar, 2010).

2. See: “Arquitectura y política en España a través del *Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura (1946-1957)*”, *RA. Revista de Arquitectura*, no. 15 (2013): 35-46, and “La arquitectura española del segundo franquismo y el *Boletín de la Dirección General de Arquitectura, 1946-1957*”, *RA. Revista de Arquitectura*, no. 16 (2014): 25-40.

memoria: España e Italia ante la recuperación monumental de posguerra, a project coordinated³. In the case of other journals from the period, with a lesser presence yet essential to forming a more plural perspective, such as *Arte y Hogar* (published beginning in December 1943) or *Forma y Fondo* (beginning in February 1944), there are still no monographic studies.

Whereas at the beginning of Francoism, Pedro Muguruza, Luis Gutiérrez Soto, Luis Moya and Pedro Bidagor had laid out the framework for defining, from different standpoints, the architecture and the city of the “New State”, starting in 1949 other figures, including Miguel Fisac, Alejandro de la Sota, Francisco Cabrero, Rafael Aburto, José Antonio Coderch, Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oíza, Luis Laorga, José Luis Romany or Josep Maria Sostres, among others, ushered in a significant change in the panorama of the time.

The influence of contact with the international architecture scene was decisive in this epistemological break. Professor Ana Esteban Maluenda dedicated her doctoral dissertation to the study of the different channels for acquiring knowledge of foreign architecture: *La modernidad importada: Madrid 1949-1968: cauces de difusión de la arquitectura extranjera*⁴. Directed by María Teresa Valcarce and Roberto Osuna and defended by the author at the Technical University of Madrid in 2008, the dissertation centered on the study of a very specific moment in the history of 20th-century Spanish architecture: the reencounter, after the parenthesis of the Civil War, with the architectural ideas of the Modern Movement and the international scene. In that sense, at the beginning of the 1950s there was an increasing interest in foreign architecture, which grew exponentially until, at the end of the following decade, the local culture finally reached realignment with international architectural currents. To help understand the transformation that took place, the dissertation offers an overview of the different paths Spanish architects took toward achieving that modernity, although the scope of the study is limited to the city of Madrid.

Through a review of the work carried out by institutions such as the Madrid School of Architecture (ETSAM) and the Architects’ Association of Madrid (COAM), with special attention paid to the promotion of architecture as a cultural activity, and by investigating the contents of the periodicals most accessible to architects in Madrid, the dissertation presents the means at their disposal for following the evolution of international architecture. Likewise, it reveals that much of the road was paved thanks to the efforts of a small group of architects who took the lead in the recovery of modernity, which had been sidelined during the difficult years of the autarkic regime. One outstanding figure of the period was the architect, critic and engineer Carlos de Miguel, a true factotum of the Madrid architectural culture of the time through his role at several magazines, including *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (from 1948 to 1959, when it changed its name to *Arquitectura*, which it maintained until 1973), and in the

3. María Pilar García Cuetos, María Esther Almarcha Núñez-Herrador and Ascensión Hernández Martínez, *Restaurando la memoria: España e Italia ante la recuperación monumental de posguerra, a project coordinated* (Gijón: Trea, 2010).

4. Ana Esteban Maluenda, “La modernidad importada: Madrid 1949-1968: cauces de difusión de la arquitectura extranjera” (PhD diss., E.T.S. Arquitectura (UPM), 2007).

Sesiones Críticas de Arquitectura and the Pequeños Congresos. In addition, the dissertation includes an exhaustive bibliography and an appendix that compiles a series of documents, many previously unpublished, to support the text's claims.

Along with a large number of articles, one publication that derived from that dissertation was the book *España importa: la difusión de la arquitectura moderna extranjera (1949-1968) en siete entrevistas*⁵, which includes interviews with some of the central figures from the period, such as Mariano Bayón, José Antonio Corrales, Antonio Fernández Alba, Carlos Flores, Rafael Moneo, Joaquín Vaquero Turcios and Bernardo Ynzenga, in addition to a prologue by Luis Fernández-Galiano.

Before Professor Esteban Maluenda's dissertation there was another academic work titled *La arquitectura en España a través de las revistas especializadas (1950-1970): El caso de Hogar y Arquitectura*, a doctoral dissertation by Candelaria Alarcón Reyero, defended at ETSAM-UPM in 2000⁶. As the author points out, the research attempts to address the knowledge of the architectural landscape in Spain during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, as well as its international impact. More explicitly, it focuses on the Madrid-based magazine *Hogar y Arquitectura*, edited by the Obra Sindical del Hogar under the direction of the architect Carlos Flores from 1955 to 1978, selected for its editorial characteristics, its trajectory and its historical ties to a new political situation that emerged after the end of the Civil War, as well as for its contribution to the diffusion of Spanish architecture abroad.

Between 1949 and 1966, when gestures of contact and connection with the social realities of the country began, there was a move away from the idea of an "organic city" and the proposal of an "imperial architecture" was abandoned. At the same time, new avenues were being investigated, like the ones that were upheld, for example, by the Alhambra Manifesto. And when, beginning in the 1960s, new approaches began to emerge typical of the period of *desarrollismo*, Spanish architecture launched into a new line of reflection that would continue interrupted until the 1973 oil crisis. The three main Madrid magazines from this period were *Arquitectura*, *Hogar y Arquitectura* and *Nueva Forma*, but it was the latter, as Rafael Moneo pointed out in his text *Arquitectura y revistas de arquitectura en el Madrid de los años sesenta* (published in September 2019 by the Association of architecture and urban planning historians (AhAU) with an introduction by Julio Garnica), which had the greatest impact, because of its proselytizing character, on the education of architects in Madrid during those decades.

Regarding *Nueva Forma*, there is a significant study carried out by Lucía C. Pérez Moreno, titled *Fullaondo y la revista Nueva Forma*.⁷, which compiles the research carried out by its author for her doctoral dissertation under the direction of Professor María Teresa Muñoz.

5. Ana Esteban Maluenda, Mariano Bayón, et al, *España importa: la difusión de la arquitectura moderna extranjera (1949-1968) en siete entrevistas* (Madrid: Marea/Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2011).

6. Candelaria Alarcón Reyero, "La arquitectura en España a través de las revistas especializadas (1950-1970) : El caso de hogar y arquitectura" (PhD diss., E.T.S. Arquitectura (UPM), 2000).

7. Lucía C Pérez Moreno, *Fullaondo y la revista Nueva Forma. Aportaciones a la construcción de una cultura arquitectónica en España (1966-1975)* (Alzuza, Navarra: Jorge Oteiza Museum Foundation, 2015).

Equally focused on the aforementioned magazine is the double volume entitled *Nueva Forma: arquitectura, arte y cultura, 1966-1975*⁸, the result of the exhibition held at the Centro Cultural de la Villa, in Madrid, from October to December 1996. Nonetheless, Pérez Moreno's contribution was decisive in evaluating the magazine and its editor-in-chief, Juan Daniel Fullaondo, in all its complexity and with an eye to the magazine's critical approach.

While Madrid's magazines have captured the attention of scholars, the Barcelona magazine *Cuadernos de Arquitectura, or Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Urbanismo* from 1971 onwards, still demands qualified studies to assess its projection in the architectural culture of its time.

Regarding the unique role of the magazine *Informes de la Construcción*, founded in 1948 at the Instituto Técnico de la Construcción y del Cemento, currently the Instituto de Ciencias de la Construcción Eduardo Torroja, in late 20th-century Spanish architecture, two reference works should be consulted. The first, entitled *Construir el siglo XX con Informes de la Construcción. Índice de índices*⁹, constitutes a valuable instrument for researchers, elaborated by Mercedes Ponce Ortiz de Insagurbe and José Sánchez Sánchez. The second, entitled *El espíritu impreso de una idea: exposición conmemorativa 60 años de la revista "Informes de la Construcción"*¹⁰, provides a succinct synthesis of the magazine, still going strong, and which is so much more than a technical magazine. Good proof of this is the role that the magazine played in the dissemination in Spain, following the signing of the Pact of Madrid with the United States in 1953, of the work of the California-based Viennese architect Richard Neutra, which fueled the modernization of Spanish architecture beyond the Italian references promoted by Josep Antoni Coderch from Barcelona.

This overview would not be complete without mentioning the role of a number of foreign journals –for example, the legendary monographs of the Swiss magazine *Werk* (no. 2) and the Italian magazine *Zodiaco* (no. 15) dedicated to Spanish architecture in 1962 and 1965, respectively– in the dissemination and international projection of Spanish architecture through foreign media.

Studies are still waiting to be done on some magazines, now relegated to obscurity, like the ones promoted by the architect, urban planner, designer and potter Miguel Durán-Loriga Rodríguez. Indeed, a very important aspect of his multifaceted career was related to architectural periodicals, as director of the magazine *TA. Temas de Arquitectura y Urbanismo*, from its foundation in 1957 until 1980, and as director of the magazine *TD. Temas de Diseño*, from 1973 to 1974. Also, the magazines *CAU. Construcción, Arquitectura, Urbanismo*, published between 1970 and 1982 by the Association of Quantity Surveyors and Technical Architects of Catalonia

8. Gonzalo Armero, *Nueva Forma: arquitectura, arte y cultura, 1966-1975* (Madrid: Madrid City Council / Fundación Cultural COAM, 1996).

9. Mercedes Ponce Ortiz de Insagurbe and José Sánchez, *Construir el siglo XX con Informes de la Construcción. Índice de índices* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006).

10. Pepa Cassinello, *El espíritu impreso de una idea: exposición conmemorativa 60 años de la revista "Informes de la Construcción"* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008).

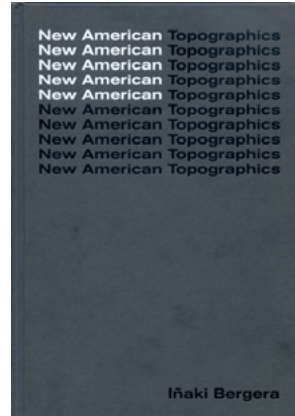
and the Balearic Islands; *Boden*, which was published between 1971 and 1981 by Ceoplástica and later the Plastics Division of the Unión Explosivos Riotinto; or *Jano*, published by Ediciones Doyma between 1972 and 1978, among others.

To complete the historical cycle outlined at the beginning of the text, the Barcelona magazine *Arquitecturas Bis* exemplifies the paradigm shift that took place in the world of architecture with the publication in 1966 of the Spanish translations of the books by Robert Venturi and Aldo Rossi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* and *Architecture and the City*, respectively. With 52 issues published, spanning the period from 1974 to 1985, *Arquitecturas Bis* was directed by Rosa Regàs and published by La Gaya Ciencia. The magazine was one of the most important periodical publications in the field of architecture. It is no surprise that its editorial board included names such as Oriol Bohigas, Rafael Moneo, Federico Correa, Lluís Domènech, Helio Piñón, Tomàs Llorens or Manuel de Solà-Morales, and Enric Satué oversaw graphic design.

The doctoral dissertation by the Portuguese architect Joaquim Moreno, entitled *Arquitecturas Bis (1974-1985): From Publication to Public Action* and defended in 2011 at the Program in Media and Modernity directed by Beatriz Colomina at Princeton University¹¹, and the dissertation, currently in its final stages, being written by the Madrid-based architect and professor Alejandro Valdivieso Royo at ETSAM will be complementary instruments for examining the architectural culture of late Francoism and, above all, of the Transition toward democracy. During that period, two other magazines also stand out for their characteristic and distinguished voices: *2C. Construcción de la Ciudad*, which brought together the Spanish followers of Rossi, led by Salvador Tarragó and Carlos Martí between 1972 and 1985, and the Barcelona magazine *Carrer de la Ciutat*, directed by Beatriz Colomina, although led by Josep Quetglas, between 1977 and 1980.

The ongoing indexing and digitization of the complete collections of the main journals of the period, undertaken by the Architects' Association of Catalonia, the Architects' Association of Madrid, and the National Library of Spain, among other institutions, will support new studies and valuable reflections about a time that is enormously important in contemporary Spanish architecture. Although the historiographic account of the period is advanced, it is still fragmentary and unfinished, and needs to be completed. In that respect, this overview is provisional and not definitive.

11. Joaquim Moreno, "Arquitecturas Bis (1974-1985) : from publication to public action" (PhD diss, Princeton University, 2010).



REVIEW OF

**Photography and Modern
Architecture in Spain.
Conference and discussion
in FAUP by Iñaki Bergera.
Scopio Editions, Porto, 2015.**

***New American Topographics,*
Iñaki Bergera.
La Fábrica, Madrid, 2018**

Pedro Leão Neto

University of Porto Faculty of Architecture (FAUP)
pneto@arq.up.pt

Pedro Leão Neto (Porto, Portugal, 1962) holds a Degree in Architecture at Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto (FAUP, 1992), a Master's degree in Urban Environment Planning and Design (FAUP, 1997) and a PhD in Planning and Landscape (University of Manchester, 2002). Professor at FAUP since 2007 in the area of Architecture Communication and Photography he is responsible for the courses "Computer Architecture Aided Design" (CAAD) and "Photography of Architecture, City and Territory" (FACT). He has oriented and co-oriented several Master Thesis, PhD and curricular and professional internships. He is also the coordinator of the research group Centre for Communication and Spatial Representation (CCRE) integrated in FAUP's R&D centre, director of the cultural association Cityscopio and the founder and editorial coordinator of scopio Editions and its open platform scopio network, which is a CCRE's research-based editorial project focused on Documentary and Artistic Photography related with Architecture, City and Territory. He has curated several architectural photography exhibitions in Portugal and abroad, workshops and international debates and seminars around the universe of Architecture, Art and Image, being the founder and coordinator of international conferences On the Surface: Photography on Architecture, which last edition was held at the Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology (MAAT), Lisbon. He is the author and editor of more than 30 books and Editorial Coordinator of Sophia peer review Journal specifically designed to address theoretical work on Architecture, Art and Image. He was the coordinator and Principal researcher (PR) of several national and international projects publicfunded, and he is currently the coordinator of "Visual spaces of Change" financed with 189.011,13€. He won the PRAXIS XXI, FCT 1998 fellowship.

ABSTRACT

Acknowledging the long history of mutual interference between Architecture and Photography, their complex and ubiquitous relationship, and understanding Photography as a relevant artistic and critical research tool, Inaki Bergera's work offers new light over these matters. *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain* fosters a renewed understanding of Spanish architecture from the modern period, compiling and structuring all the information that was somehow scattered or lost, speaking about the photographers that were creating images of those modern buildings and the architects to which they were associated with. *New American Topographics* is an astonishing photography book reinterpreting the visual discourse of the New Topographic aesthetics and bringing them to contemporary time.

<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2611-0075/10167>

ISSN 2611-0075

Copyright © 2019 Pedro Leão Neto



KEYWORDS:

Photography; Architecture; New American Topographics

My first contact with Iñaki Bergera was in 2014 when he was invited through *Erasmus plus mobility* program for a seminar in the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Porto (FAUP) about Spanish architecture and its photographic reproductions. The result was an open conference in FAUP called "Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain", where Iñaki presented and explained the FAME research project and also visited our I&R centre, Centro de Estudos de Arquitectura e Urbanismo (CEAU / FAUP) and the research group CCRE (Centro de Comunicação e Representação Espacial) having talked with diverse researchers and also the students of the photography course lectured at FAUP.

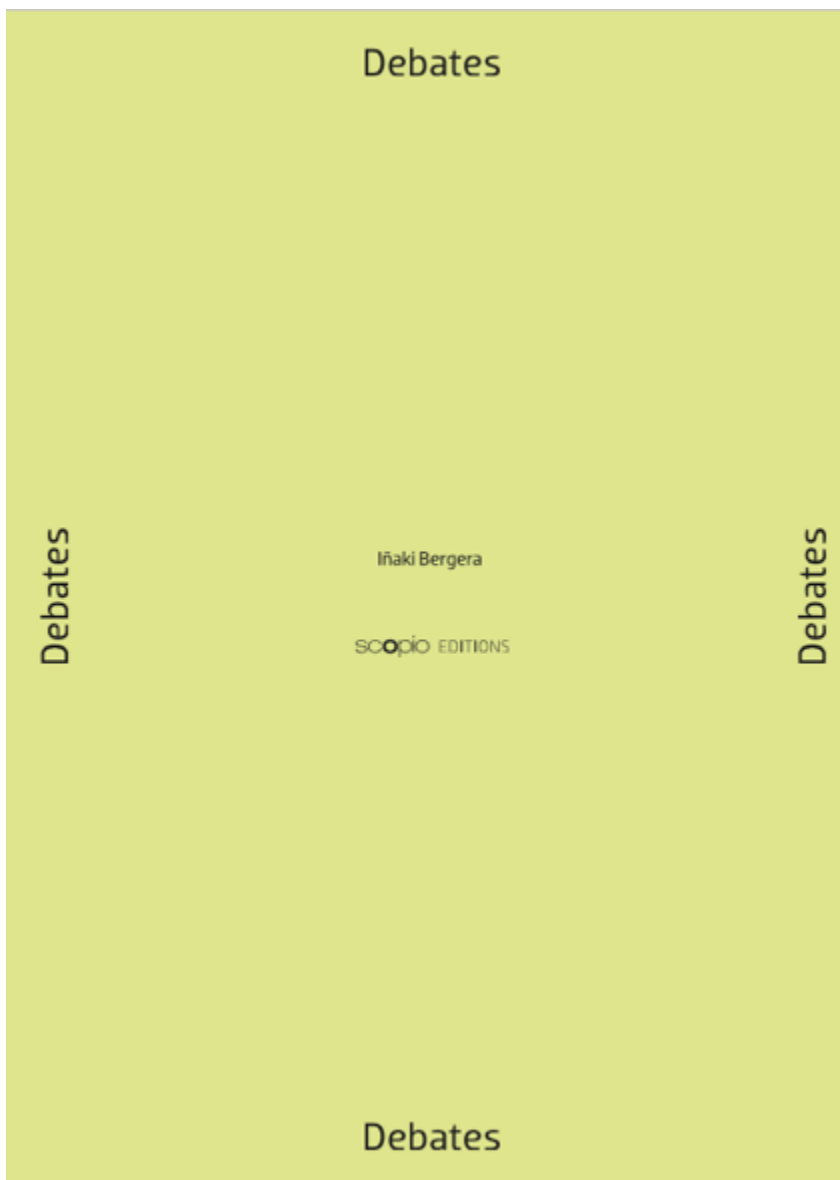


FIG. 1 Cover of the book *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain* (2016).

Since this first collaboration, we acknowledged our common interests related to the world of Photography on Architecture, making clear that both research and initiatives around these themes could be very much strengthened by further collaborations, especially taking in

account Iñaki's knowledge and significant research around these subjects established by the diverse publications, conferences and other initiatives of his responsibility. Thus, it has been a privilege collaborating with Iñaki since then, being *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain* the first project together published in the collection Debates of scopio Editions, making possible to register for future memory and study the contents of Iñaki's conference and the debate that took place afterwards. This event was open to the entire academic community and also to external groups and institutions.

Released in 2016, scopio Editions' *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain* is unique in several aspects as will be explained next, mostly because it was the opportunity to publish in book format the brilliant synthesis of the FAME project presented by Iñaki at the conference in a refined limited edition of selected images and text. It is important to refer that the FAME project has been object of several other publications, namely its Book / Exhibition catalogue *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain 1925-1965*, published by Fundación ICO, La Fábrica, Madrid, 2014¹ and the Book *Fotografía y arquitectura moderna: Contextos, protagonistas y relatos desde España* published by Fundación Arquia, Barcelona, 2015². While also linked to FAME, *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain* published in scopio's Debates' collection is a different type of publication. It is a limited edition in a portable format, printed on *Munken Print Cream* with a softcover. The book combines a set of 32 selected images with the transcriptions of Iñaki's presentation and of the discussion that took place afterwards with the students and researchers. The challenge was to combine the text with the images in a way that they could communicate not only the concepts being explained but also convey the true learning spirit of the conference, surprising and stirring the curiosity of the reader and prompting him to know more about these writings and research.

Thus, with this book, it is possible to access key points of FAME and follow the interesting discussion that took place at the end of the conference. Through this exclusive shortened version, we are able to acknowledge the important work of compiling and structuring all the information that was somehow scattered or lost about photography and modern architecture in Spain. The book simultaneously makes the reader, on one hand, aware of the importance of the photographers who were creating images of those buildings and the architects to which they were associated with in Spain, as well as what were their international links. On the other hand, it encourages the viewer to further analysis through the reading of other extended publications coming from FAME, making them known and accessible for future research.

Besides other things, with this book we have a critical selection of the most significant publications - state of the art - regarding this

1. *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain 1925-1965* (2014) corresponds to the exhibition catalogue of FAME project, and it looks at the history of architectural photography during Spanish architecture's modern period, ranging from the avant-garde of the 1920s to the conclusion of the International Style. It is a significant publication showing the processes of how and why certain pictures were taken along this time span, pointing out significant relations between architects and photographers, as well as the diverse audiences for these images. As pointed out by Sílvia Blanco Agúeira, it can be seen in this book how Inaki undertook "(...) the scientific study of modernity, focusing on the scant critical recognition of the interpretative and theoretical potentialities of combining both disciplines." The book presents alongside its text hundreds of photographs documenting the architectural environment of Spain during these decades, which entails the photographers Francesc Catala-Roca, Marín Chivite, Paco Gomez, Alejandro de la Sota, José Galle, Luis Lladó, Oriol Maspons, Nicolás Muller, Margaret Michaelis, Francisco Ruiz Tilve, Alberto Schommer, Julio Ubiña, José de Yarza García, Fernando Higuera, José Manuel Aizpúrua, Fernando García Mercadal and Josep Brangulí.

2. The create the first critical, theoretical, documental and historiographic map about the importance of image for the construction of Spanish modernity. The book displays a collection of writings coming from diverse researchers of FAME, experts in these fields of study, and constitutes an enhancement to the former catalogue. This is so because there is an amplification of the research structured in three main sections - Fotografía de Arquitectura. Justificación, Medios y Archivos; Momentos y Protagonismos en la Fotografía de Arquitectura Española; Episodios Particulares en Torno a la Fotografía -, which treat in depth the basic, general and specific issues all necessary for the future study of Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain. Book *Fotografía y arquitectura moderna: Contextos, protagonistas y relatos desde España* (2015) is worth mentioning, as explained by Inaki in its Introduction, because it reunites a set of texts which treat in depth the primary, general and specific issues all necessary for the future study of Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain.



FIG. 2 Spreads from the book *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain* (2016).

photographic universe: the importance of photography and its authors and the great photographers responsible for the dissemination of the International Style of Modern Architecture all around the world. Then, at the same time, its reading allows the understanding of the Spanish universe and especially the relationships established between the photographers and the architects - Spanish architecture and other international authors. It is worth referring some crucial issues that are undertaken by Iñaki and later become object of discussion – all of which are transcribed in this book – that constitute very interesting themes of debate such as, for example, within the modern architectural photography universe, the diverse and significant relationships of Spanish photographers and architects (Kindel and José Luis Fernández del Amo, Català Roca and Josep Antoni Coderch, and others more) as well as the similarities and differences between some of these relations and others out of Spain (Julius Shulman and Richard Neutra, Lucien Hervé and Corbusier, and others more).

The idea that Iñaki advances at the end of the conference “(...) that it is possible to discover other languages, other views, other narratives



FIG. 3 Spreads from the book *Photography and Modern Architecture in Spain* (2016).

in architectural photography outside the “mainstream”, apart from the archetypal description that so far we have been told through historiography. “is of utmost importance, since it impels us to learn important lessons from modernity, bringing them in a meaningful way to contemporary discourse.

The critical spirit of modernity is one of its main lessons, and it is something that must be present in our time as that can be perceived by what is said by David Company in his essay *Architecture as Photography: Document, Publicity, Commentary, Art*³: “(...) it becomes clear that an independent and critical photography of architecture is as vital as it is endangered. My essay thus far has attempted to track something of this critical spirit from its origins in the 1920s. I end with an example that might point us toward future possibilities.”

New American Topographics (2018) is an astonishing photography book, a cared edition in authors’ book format, printed in *Creator Vol paper* with a beautiful hardcover in grey tissue. Iñaki’s work focuses on the North American vernacular architecture and derelict, empty spaces, made up of ruined gas stations, empty parking lots and lost streets and highroads, where we see no people and time seems to have stopped. *New American Topographics* is no doubt the result of his likings for these enigmatic non-places and a more elaborate photography project than his previous series *American Gas Stations* (2014), a magnificent tribute to Ed Ruscha influential serial work that featured photographs of several places along Route 66. In this work, Iñaki reinterprets the visual discourse of the many photographers coming from the landscape photography, rooted in the aesthetics called *New Topographics*⁴ and brings them to contemporary time through a photography series that reveals the contradictions, dys-functionalities and mysteries of many of these places in North America.

We sense the responsiveness and awareness of Iñaki towards these

3. *Architecture as Photography: document, publicity, commentary, art* by David Company In Pardo, Alona., and Elias Redstone. *Photography and Architecture In the Modern Age*. Munich: Prestel, 2014.

4. Leão Neto, Pedro. “Introdução”, *Topografias a Norte*, Scopio Editorial Line, 2013: 3–9 “Among other things, this aesthetics was characterized by a group of authors and photographic projects that communicated the conflicts between culture and nature and the destruction of the environment by man, which is clear, for example, in Robert Adam’s *Outdoor Theater*, Colorado Springs (1971), one of the forerunners of this movement. These authors looked towards a postmodern engagement, simultaneously emphasizing the abstract and optical qualities of the landscape, and man’s destruction or conflicting interference with it, thus adopting a vision closer to the formal concerns of contemporary art. The group emerged with the exhibition “New Topographics9: Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape”¹⁰, curated by William Jenkins at the International Museum of Photography at the George Eastman House (Rochester, NY) in January 1975. The exhibition’s spirit and aesthetics had a very significant impact, not only in America, but also in Europe, and it gathered such diverse authors as Robert Adams (1937-), Lewis Baltz (1945-), Bernd and Hilla Becher, Frank Gohlke, and Stephen Shore. All of them influenced photographic practices using the “New Topographics” model regarding landscape and other genres around the world (see for example, Stephen Shore’s influence on contemporary European photographers such as Joachim Brohm, Andreas Gursky or Thomas Struth, among others, on Bernd and Hilla Becher’s Düsseldorf students, or even on the younger generation of photographers like Jens Liebchen or Ola Unverzart). In fact, three out of the ten photographers in the show were later commissioned by the French government during the 1980s for the Mission de la DATAR, namely Lewis Baltz, Frank Gohlke, and Stephen Shore.”

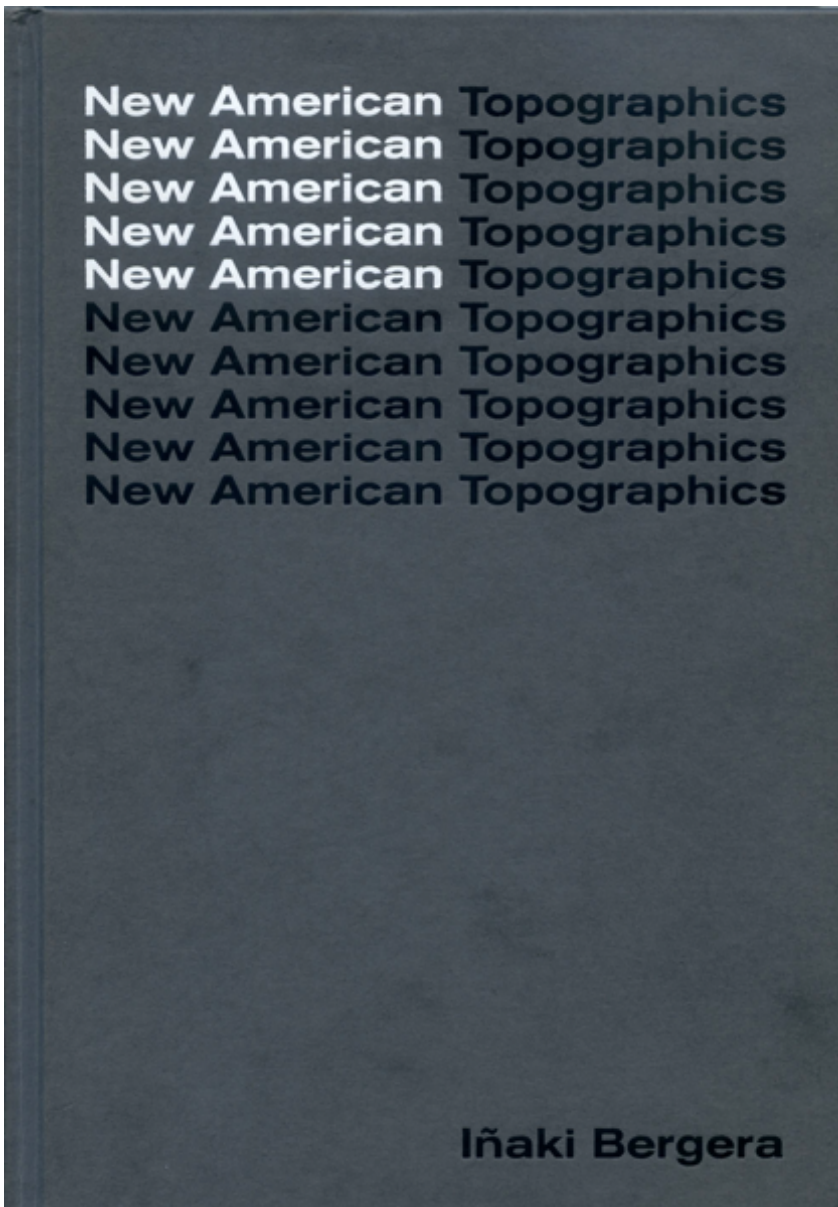


FIG. 4 Cover of the book *New American Topographics* (2018).

territories because his series makes us feel both their *genius loci* of desolation and “no man’s land” atmosphere – which are so North American – as well as how photography can be both an artistic expression and a tool for critical, exploratory and innovative research on architecture, understood comprehensively as a practice and discipline able to integrate diverse dimensions such as the social, cultural, economic, political and others more.

Iñaki’s visual grammar renders new visibility or importance to those non-places, heightening the exposure and questioning of the documental side of *New American Topographics*. His vantage point has a key role in determining how the viewer understands the composition and relates to the subject matter. Thus these places become more than just common spaces or abandoned vernacular architectures that nobody would look twice, gaining with his series new importance and meaning.



FIG. 5 Spread of the book *New American Topographics* (2018).

In other words, and using Roland Barthes⁵’ concepts of denotative meaning and punctum, even though Iñaki’s photographs have as primary frame of reference the subject of the photograph (parking lots, mailing posts, etc.), which is its denotative meaning, the punctum of Iñaki’s photographs allows for the formation of a critical reading.

This means, for example, the detail or artefact within the photograph that opens up that space to analysis, making viewers question the identity and memory of those spaces as happens, for example, with the North American Flag baton in Palms Highway, stuck in the middle of a walking pavement occupying the whole spread.

This photograph makes you realize the importance of that symbol for the North American culture, but then also leads you to confront it with the unfinished walking pavement where it stands and the bleak mailbox in front of it, as well as with the desolation and emptiness of that

5. Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc., 1981)



FIG. 6 Spread of the book *New American Topographics* (2018).

anonymous place showing the one-story house of the real estate agent Morongo Valley on the other side of the road. This image is also a magnificent tribute to Robert Frank's flag photograph present in his seminal work *The Americans*⁶, however, the punctum in both images work through different visual strategies. In former, it might be said that its punctum is the focus on that national emblem, which also stands in the way of seeing since it is obscuring the eyes of one of the women at the window in the photograph⁷.

In Iñaki's case, the punctum works another way, which is being critical by highlighting the symbol within that bleak environment and in this way giving weight to the contrast between the environment and the national emblem, revealing the contradictions of many of these places in North America.

We can see Iñaki's analytical vantage point in many other photographs of his series as, for example, in the image of the Rocket statue in

6. Frank, Robert. *The Americans*, (Steidl/ National Gallery of Art)

7. See the article "When Robert Frank shot the American flag" in Phaidon at (<https://www.phaidon.com/agenda/photography/articles/2015/july/03/when-robert-frank-shot-the-american-flag>). "This flag photograph (top), taken at a parade in Hoboken, New Jersey, during the summer of 1955, was shot on the second of the three trips. "The wind is blowing the flag out taut," Ian Jeffrey writes in *The Photography Book*, "and in the process obscuring the eyes of one of the women at the window. National emblems may provide a focus, but they also stand in the way of seeing."



FIG. 7 Spread of the book *New American Topographics* (2018).

St. Augustine Pass, in the middle of nowhere, or with the contradictions of the road symbols also in isolated far-off places, as in the spreads of North Indian Canyon Drive or the Ragsdale Road where it is difficult to imagine any traffic, and where you can see almost everything in-between you and the infinite horizon. The dialogue between past and present that Iñaki is able to establish by means of his visual strategy empowers the selected architectural artefacts, being them the desolated places or vernacular constructions, with a far-reaching significance. In fact, they become representative of a larger whole about North American culture and its way of life and lead viewers to (re)think numerous mainstream concepts about identity, values and memories of contemporary America and its past history.

In Iñaki's photographic series there is an interplay with codes of North American cultural and identity meanings, making viewers questioning them by instilling a deep connotative and denotative interplay concerning its subject matter (motels, parking places, power poles, gas stations, etc.). Iñaki does all this by blending simultaneously the connotative within the geometry and diverse patterns he creates with the power poles, power lines, mailboxes or road signs, as well as with the roads, gas stations and all the other vernacular architecture and American artefacts that he takes in because he captures them as structural elements within his photographs.

New American Topographics is also a great tribute to Stephen Shore, an author we feel Iñaki has much in common, namely by the way he sees and captures space and the North-American cultural landscape. In fact, Iñaki's photographs, as Stephen Shore's, also have that same Zen awakened unconsciousness, this meditative quality that Eugen Herrigel speaks in his book "Zen in the art of archery" focused on archery, but that can also be extended to many other contexts, such as the practice of photography.



FIG. 8 Spread of the book *New American Topographics* (2018).

It is also interesting to point out that Iñaki's photographs' captions indicating place, year, month and day, which means the same information matrix of Stephen Shore, which entails a similar traveling artist sensibility for the places he visits and explains the capacity that the photographs of *New American Topographics* possess for communicating the identity and atmosphere of those North American realities. We also think that Iñaki's use of colour and rigorous compositions – even though revealing the author's style of perception and feeling for those territories – can be traced in many of Shore's work. It is this unique capacity of seeing geometries and colour in space that allows the ordinary to become inspiring.

Thus, even though *New American Topographics* subject frame is made up of somewhat banal architectures and places, its photography is all deceptively complex and make viewers' rethink and visualise other images, coming from the connotative universe. The straight lines of power poles, the mailboxes, the road signs and many other artefacts resonate with multiple meanings and have in them a complexity that resists description and creates an autonomous world that speaks critically about the real. Thus we can read Iñaki's photographic series not so much as the reflection of that 'real' world of motels, parking places and other North American artefacts, but as an interpretation of that world.

To finish, we can say that in *New American Topographics* the documentary is not an end in itself, but a genre that, on the one hand, translates through photography aspects of diverse architectural dimensions within American society – cultural, social and political realities and others more – and, on the other hand, uses different strategies to build a critical discourse and ethics about them.

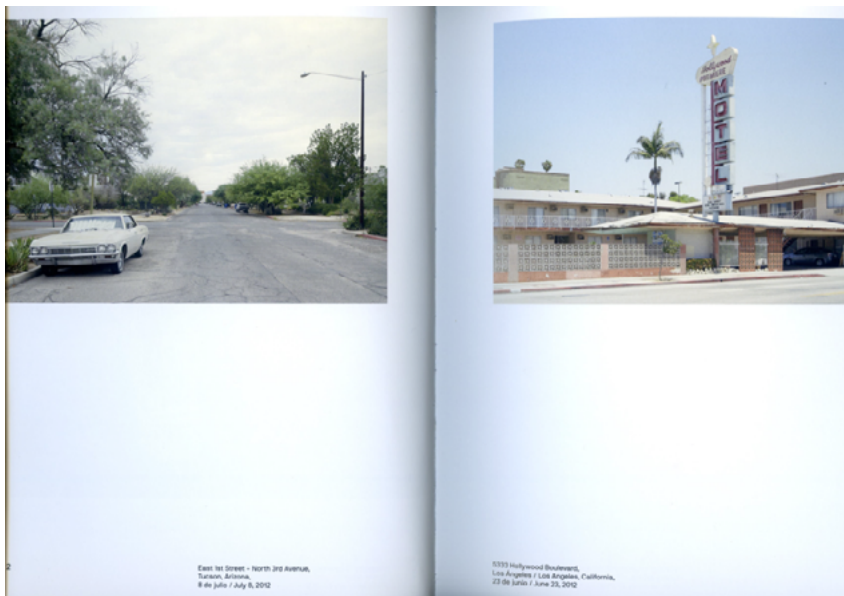


FIG. 9 Spread of the book *New American Topographics* (2018).