

THE REPOSITIONING GENERATION

International
Conference

Debates,
Proposals
and Intellectual
Framework

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REVISITING THE POST-CIAM GENERATION

Debates, proposals and intellectual framework

Proceedings

Edited by

Nuno Correia
Maria Helena Maia
Rute Figueiredo

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Nuno Correia, Maria Helena Maia and Rute Figueiredo

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REVISITING THE POST-CIAM GENERATION

Debates, proposals and intellectual framework

In August 1956, Jose Luis Sert opened the *Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Modeme* (CIAM 10), held in Dubrovnik, by reading the well-known message of Le Corbusier in which he justified his absence by claiming the existence of a generational tension. Indeed, the doctrinarian values of modernism - such as functionalism, scientific progress, and rational social planning - that once drove the congress were challenged by a group of young architects and resulted in the emergence of new perspectives. Yet, this "generation" was far beyond from being a homogeneous group both in conceptual chronological and geographical terms.

In Portugal, immediately after that moment, the magazine *Arquitectura* completely redefined its editorial structure, starting a new edition in early 1957. Gathering a young group of architects, art historians, and critics of art and cinema, this magazine furthered the questions launched at CIAM, thus debating the duties and role of the critic, and scrutinizing the "strong relation" (Vieira de Almeida, 2012) between theory, criticism, history and architectural design.

Some of the actors and the narratives they shaped in this moment of change are widely known in architectural studies. However, the distinct manner of intellectual appropriation and critical reception of this debate in a transnational perspective is a matter that should be reexamined.

How was the debate reabsorbed by architectural criticism in different geographical areas? What was its actual impact on the mechanisms of mediation as well as on the profile of the agents of criticism?

This conference intended to address these questions. The aim was to examine, in a comparative view, the ways in which the same debate was received, discussed and disseminated in different regions, on one hand; and to understand how this moment contributed to a rethinking of the relation between architectural practice and critical production, on the other.

We selected papers that offer new insights on the topic by exploring themes such as: the circulation of ideas and the contribution of different regions to the 1960s and 1970s architectural culture; the relation between architecture and political engagement; the interaction between theoretical-critical production and architectural design; the mechanisms and strategies of dissemination, journals, books, manifestos, movies, documentaries, etc.); the introduction of concepts from other fields of knowledge and the inclusion of social sciences in architecture writing; the critical analyses of the historiography produced on the period.

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PROGRAM

April 11

17:30 - Opening session

18:00 - Keynote address

"Pro and Contra CIAM": Modernism and its Discontents
Ákos Moravánszky

19:30 - Cocktail dinner

April 12

09:30 - Session 1 - MEDIATION

chair: Ana Esteban Maluenda

Forum' Architectural journal as an educational and spreading media in the Netherlands. Influences on Herman Hertzberger
Rebeca Merino del Río

From 'Casabella' to 'Arquitectura' – The Italian influence on Portuguese Post-CIAM debate
Lavinia Ann Minciacchi

Learning from EVA - A history of homes that were advertising gifts
João Almeida e Silva

10:45 - Coffee break

11:00 - Session 2 - MEETING PLACES

chair: Bruno Gil

Breaking Barriers. Giancarlo De Carlo from CIAM to ILAUD
Lorenzo Grieco

An American Think Tank with 'Something too European About it'. Theory, Politics, and Feminism at the IAUS in New York
Rebecca Siefert

Displacement and the Making of Modern Architecture – A South-South Perspective
Daniela Ortiz dos Santos

12:30 - Lunch

14:00 - Keynote address

Rebels with a cause. Aldo van Eyck and Pancho Guedes, how to find a meaning for the act of built

Ana Tostões

14:50 - Coffee break

15:00 - Session 3 - CRITICAL POSITIONS

chair: Rute Figueiredo

Early years. Manfredo Tafuri and Rem Koolhaas' s first reflections on the Metropolis

Jorge Nunes

'Sesiones de Crítica de Arquitectura'. The change in architectural debate in the Spain of the 1960s

Ana Esteban Maluenda, Eva Gil Donoso and Elena Tejero

Radical or not at all? Architectural criticism as a vehicle of CIAM and Team 10 networking in socialist Yugoslavia

Jasna Galjer

The Italian debate after the 'retreat'

Francesca Bonfante and Cristina Pallini

16:35 - Coffee break

16:50 - Session 4 - SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

chair: Pedro Baía

Hereditary structures of influence. Generational succession and international exchange of the Swedish CIAM Group and beyond

Erik Sigge

An action towards Humanization. Doorn manifesto in a transnational perspective

Marianna Charitonidou

Team 10 The 'Youngers' or the construction of 'another' avant-garde

Marilena Kourniati

18:00 - Coffee break

18:15 - Keynote address

1964. French criticism and its discontents: à propos of a special issue of L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui

Hélène Janniére

19:00 - Exhibition opening and Port wine

April 13

10:00 - Keynote address

Three buttons on the sleeves. United States 1960 and Távora's strangeness
José António Bandeirinha

10:50 - Coffee break

11:00 - Session 5 - RECEPTION

chair: Cristina Pallini

Debating Modern Architecture. A brief account of the Iberian Peninsula circa 1967

Tiago Lopes Dias

Y el Madrid, Qué, ¿Otra Vez Campeón de Europa? ¿No? /And Real Madrid Once Again European Champion, Right? Spanish architecture and CIAM debates from 1953 to 1959

José Vela Castillo

A variable in Paulo Mendes da Rocha's single-storey houses

Fernando Delgado Páez

The tectonic shift in Fernando Távora's work in the Post-CIAM years

Eduardo Fernandes

13:00 - Lunch

14:30 - Session 6 - CITY

chair: Tiago Lopes Dias

The Barredo's urban renewal study – The third way in Portuguese historic cities urban conservation

Joaquim Flores

Ekistics, or the Science of human settlements, through the paradigm of the Master Plan of Islamabad

Anastasia Sakka

Back to Monumentality. Modernisation and Memorialisation in Post-war Yugoslavia

Aleska Korolija

The typology of apartments in the new "Radiant City" in Taichung, Taiwan

Yuchen Sharon Sung

16:30 - Closing session

KEYNOTE ADRESSES

THREE BUTTONS ON THE SLEEVES

United States 1960 and Távora's strangeness

José António Bandeirinha

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Abstract

Fernando Távora, an architect and a teacher from northern Portugal, won a scholarship to visit a set of architectural education institutions. He left on the 13 of February of 1960, America was dealing with the crude consequences of post-war territorial strategies.

The set of drawings, texts and other chartaceous resources that form the diary of Távora's journey constitute a composite work of essential value to a greater understanding, not only of his career as an architect, professor and thinker, but also to a reframing of the paths threshed by architecture in the modern turn.

From this document, I propose to reflect on some of Fernando Távora's considerations regarding what he will demarcate as a cultural difference between his European/Portuguese context and the condition of North-American life at the time, particularly in what concerns the city and urban culture.

The pertinence of this study will be centred on how the object of analysis permits the recognition of a contemporary urban phenomenon in Europe – the hegemony of North-American cultural models of suburbanization – spectacularly reproduced from the colonial city that the Europeans themselves emitted as a model from the XVI century onwards.

Keywords: cultural models, urban processes, hegemonies, suburbanization, post CIAM generation.

In 1951, Carlos Ramos (1897-1969), professor of the chair Architecture at the School of Fine Arts of Porto and a prominent enthusiast of the pedagogy of the Modern (Moniz, 2011), invited Fernando Távora to be his assistant. Fernando Távora, who was 28 years old at the time, thus began to teach architecture, and his pedagogical activity would from then on permanently and uninterruptedly articulate the exercise of project.

During this period he also developed some contacts that allowed him to keep abreast of the intense international debate around modern architecture. He actively participated in several CIAM: Hoddesdon in 1951, Aix-en-Provence in 1953, Dubrovnik in 1956, and Otterlo in 1959. In the last two, he had the chance to present some of his works. In Dubrovnik Távora presented a collective project along with CIAM-Porto, Viana de Lima (1913-1991), João Andresen (1920-1967), Arnaldo Araújo (1925-1982) and Octavio Lixa Filgueiras (1922-1996). In Otterlo he presented his most recent individual projects, Vila da Feira Market and Ofir House.

However, Távora has always challenged that external, internationalist vision, with the deepening of his self-knowledge about his own identity matrices, rooted on an interior, northern Portuguese experience. The *Inquérito à Arquitectura Popular Portuguesa* had a great significance for the architectural culture Távora had already anticipated about ten years before. Francisco Keil do Amaral (1910-1975) had published this idea in 1947, and in 1955 the Government finally gave them green light to advance. In the mid nineteen fifties, Távora was thus totally devoted to studying different ways of spatial occupation in Northwest Portugal. His deep knowledge of our material culture would continuously allow him to deduce the most alluring connections between those spatial settings and the rationalist élan, as well as between those spatial settings and the Portuguese way of being.

Távora recognized that the dialectic confrontation with the generic circumstance of a chaotic world strengthens and deepens our knowledge of our own specific circumstances. And he knew that we do not need to fear this confrontation. Furthermore, he argued that the generic internationalised scientific culture could only thrive when contaminated with the local specificities. That was, indeed, an essential contribution to the regeneration of the Modern Movement and to the international architectural culture.

In 1959, Fernando Távora applied for a Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Scholarship for a study trip to be held in the following year, to some US universities, which were particularly notorious for their Architecture programs. With the auspicious good word of his master, Carlos Ramos, Távora was

granted the scholarship not only to go to the US, but also to participate in the World Design Conference, WODECO, in Tokyo, on May 1960 (Mesquita, 2007).

Távora departed to the United States on February 13, 1960. He also visited Mexico and crossed the Pacific Ocean with a stopover in Honolulu. After visiting Japan, he departed to Karachi, Pakistan, stopping in Bangkok on his way. He then went to Lebanon, where he visited Beirut and Balbek, and left from there to Cairo. From Egypt he went to Athens and then he finally returned to Portugal, on June 12.

But he went above and beyond the obvious reasons to travel. Távora transformed this personal journey around the world – literally - in a true expedition of cultural encounters and inverted reunions with his own matrix identity. Távora was doubtlessly fascinated by the diversity of relationships between built space and humanity. However, he was mainly captivated by each community's human and cultural specificities, always absorbing them from his own cultural perspective, the Portuguese perspective.

Távora eventually contacted some universities, analysed their methods, learned about their programs; he was especially interested in urbanism and planning issues. He used the same lenses to carefully observe ancestral and contemporary architecture. He used the same critical acuity, approving and reproving with the same constant ethical and cultural criteria, slaked by the same intense emotional excitement he often used to express his ideas. But he also did a thorough self-examination in the cultural confrontation with human habits, with each person's way of being. Távora's own perspective was sovereign, in a conscious and straightforward way, but it also revealed an extreme empathy, a deep desire to learn more and more about the contingent reasons for different behaviours. Lifestyles, conventions, and architecture were one and the same thing. For him, to know about one of them was to learn more about the other. The interconnections were natural and simultaneous. There was not a time for one and a time for the other.

Upon his return to Portugal, Távora started some of his most striking works, where his cultural openness is present and can be deduced step by step, but without any concession to direct literal references.

Surprisingly naturally, Távora rediscovered architecture, the space as the raw material of an activity whose nobility he found in the constancy of everyday life, and not so much in the exceptionality of the gala: *'I believed then that Architecture was primarily an event like so many others that fulfilled the life of men and, as all of them, was subject to the contingencies that same life entails.'* (Távora, 1961)

When Távora returned, he found a school in permanent unrest, struggling for a more integrated and discipline-dedicated teaching (Fernandes, 2010). He always took the side of the students.

He succeeded in his initial purpose to visit a number of architecture schools in the United States. He systematically visited the universities of Washington, Pennsylvania, Columbia, Yale, Harvard, Illinois, Chicago, and Berkeley, as well as the Institutes of Technology of Massachusetts and Illinois. He talked to the most famous professors, Louis Kahn, Eduard F. Sekler, Robert Le Ricolais, Paul Rudolph; he visited those schools' most important buildings, and he commented in his *On "Board" Diary* written along the journey, on his impressions about the organization of curricula and subjects addressed.

Nevertheless, Távora was mostly intrigued not by schools, curricula, or teaching methods, but by the North American society itself, and most of all, by the spatialization of its *modus vivendi*. Távora was intrigued by the silent dialectic between rationality and mimesis, so perfectly described by Theodor W. Adorno (Adorno, 2013: 88-93). The rationality of the American production systems of the time led to a compartmentalization of human activity that isolated moments of that same activity:

On the one hand there's life — grimy, dirty, ugly, practical — on the other hand, the museum to be visited on Sundays "to raise the spirit" and increase our general culture. Well here the frenzy for museums is extraordinary. Too much money, the need to show off knowledge, life

compartmentalised | in sealed sectors — and here we are ↑ sunk ↑ in this story of the museums. The good Painters and sculptors making money like nabobs, as if they were gods, the museums fuller and fuller, more and more books, more conferences, more articles, more analysis, and life more and more stupid and ugly! (Távora, 2012: 226-227).

Távora was also intrigued by the extensive production of suburban space that the post-war period imposed as an exclusive model of land occupancy.

Right at the beginning of his trip, while traveling by Greyhound from Washinton to Philadelphia, after stating that the '*highway perfectly suits the landscapes and artworks are not out of place*', Távora wrote the following eminently pre-Venturian comment:

In general these buildings along the edge of the roads are chaotic, both in their layout and in the "taste" they express, aiming for a certain commercial sensationalism to attract clients to the cars, petrol, food or accommodation. A curious point: over the whole journey I didn't see one single piece of architecture despite having seen thousands of buildings. There is a certain "camping feeling" to a lot of these American things. (Távora, 2012: 59)

But Fernando Távora also visits the most renowned urban planning agencies and, just like with any other visit, he comments on his perceptions, which were always informed by his own circumstance, the Portuguese culture.

After visiting the City Planning Board in Boston, Távora met Professor John T. Howard, who was the head of MIT's City Planning Department. They talked about planning in a democratic context, about the evolution of concepts since the pre-war *laissez faire* period, about the preponderance of real estate men and, finally, about the suburb. Távora asked:

— Do you not believe that in the underlying principle of the suburb there is extraordinary waste? He looked at me, lowered his head, looked at one of the sleeves in my jacket and said: "[*cancelled word*] ↑ I ↑ have [*cancelled word*] ↑ three buttons ↑ on the sleeve of my jacket,

you have four, is that a waste? It is a very relative notion and depends primarily on the possibilities.” (Távora, 2012: 193)

So apparently it is a minor matter, one more or one less button on the sleeve of a jacket.

In 1960 in Portugal, the suburb was still a very strange entity. On the one hand, the so-called first industrialization was known to be very tenuous. On the other hand, despite all the efforts of the industrialist lobby and its political leader, Minister Ferreira Dias, in that post-war Portugal, ruralism was still the ideological matrix of an economy that insisted on the agricultural prices' inhibition. The delineation of energy policies for industrialization, the so-called Ferreira Dias Era, was still on its early stages. The production of suburbs was still reticent, unplanned and almost exclusively circumscribed to the capital, Lisbon.

This circumstance originated a very strong and highly discriminatory social dichotomy between the inhabitants of the cities and the inhabitants of rural areas. As clear as it is brutal, that social dichotomy is in everyway similar to today's situation in many of the global South's metropolises.

And that was one of the fundamental reasons for Távora's strangeness.

Over the course of a century, about 30 million Europeans have crossed the ocean to the United States, almost all of them through Ellis Island, almost all of them thirsty and anxious for space and prosperity, abandoning the possibility of parsimonious and balanced management of urban territory. They rejected their home cities. They looked at the New World's territories, particularly in the Midwest, and they strongly believed that space was infinite, that it was no longer necessary to share it with anyone else. They established the cultural myth, and then the land market, the real estate and the automobile systems did the rest.

But the intrinsic hegemonic territorialisation model the Europeans had from the begging of this epic journey, was not a confined space that could

accommodate all the humans without land, like Walter Benjamin's Paris in 1933, on his second visit. As Hannah Arendt described:

“(...) There was the *nation par excellence* whose culture had determined the Europe of the nineteenth century and for which Haussmann had rebuilt Paris(...). This Paris [in 1933] was not yet cosmopolitan, to be sure, but it was profoundly European, and thus it has, with unparalleled naturalness, offered itself to all homeless people as a second home ever since the middle of the last century” (Arendt, 1969: 19-20).

This was not the adopted model. The adopted model was based on landownership and real estate development of the para-aristocratic suburb for the Victorian industrial bourgeoisie, which is now called Anglo-American suburb.

Moreover, British metropolises, particularly overcrowded London, were some of the main exits from Europe to the New World. Between 1820 and 1930, about 4,300,000 British and 4,500,000 Irish nationals arrived through the East Coast of the United States¹.

A town, such as London, where a man may wander for hours together without reaching the beginning of the end, without meeting the slightest hint which could lead to the interference that there is open country within reach, is a strange thing (Engels, 2009: 36)

The occupation of the interior territories of the United States was a process of constant colonization throughout this period. The European emigrants arriving from overcrowded cities sought prosperity. The idea of a new world and a prosperous future rested in the possibility of becoming landowners.

The very founding political spirit of this new nation, independent since 1776, expressed this ambition as the most legitimate possibility for those who fearlessly advanced over the inhospitable territories of the West.

¹ <http://libertyellisfoundation.org/immigration-timeline>

Those secluded houses in fertile lands, especially in the vast prairies of the Midwest, became the new villæ of the liberal spreading *centuriation*. This possibility lay the foundations for an individualism, which is sublimely portrayed by Alexis de Tocqueville, the aristocrat, political thinker and French historian who in 1831 travelled to the United States to study the penal and penitentiary system, and ended up by writing one of the most complete reflections on the political ideology of the young American nation:

No power on earth can prevent the increasing equality of conditions from inclining the human mind to seek out what is useful or from leading every member of the community to be wrapped up in himself. It must therefore be expected that personal interest will become more than ever the principal if not the sole spring of men's actions; but it remains to be seen how each man will understand his personal interest (Tocqueville, 1940: 620).

The issue of individualism in the United States is seen as one of the most striking features of its population, and its impressiveness impacts Tocqueville's thought: '*An American attends to his private concerns as if he were alone in the world, and the next minute he gives himself up to the common welfare as if he had forgotten them*' (Tocqueville, 1940: 621).

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the immense crowds moving from Europe to the New World were mainly fleeing misery. But they were also pursuing a dream, an ambition, of building property, acquiring their *villa*, and becoming part of a new emerging aristocracy. The new settlements, the new *centuria*, spread throughout the continent, and the aspiration to be the first to find the best territories led to isolation and individualism.

These are the most direct formulations of an anti-urban political ideology. Besides, this ideology is also the political genesis of the new nation. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, this new nation debated and regulated its models partially using as a reference the opposite examples, meaning British

industrial cities, overcrowded and in extreme misery, were considered negative models for the future ².

A country of lively industrial and tertiary metropolises arose powerful and prosperous, as well as an immense urban network, with thousands of cities punctuating the territory. However, the myth of the isolated *villa* in the middle of a vast property would forever be the mould of the social and political ideology of the common American, or at least of the common American with European origins. *A Little House on the Prairie* ³ is much more than a soap opera, it is much more than a successful television series, it is the historical model of the life of the American colonizer's mythological foundation and, more importantly, it is a global expanded model for the whole world.

Perhaps this is why we are often led to conceive the American suburban way of life as the result of a successful formula from the standpoint of the so-called *free market*, just as if there was some kind of intrinsic nature that leads people to aspire for a secluded house in the suburbs.

The period after World War II created the perfect breeding ground for this idea, even in Europe, even in the wise opinions of the most unsuspecting thinkers and sociologists. Martin Heidegger (Heidegger, 1958), Gaston Bachelard (Bachelard, 1957) and Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1992), among others, pondered this idea.

² Among other illustrative examples is the discussion of *foreign manufactures* in the early nineteenth century, which discusses interesting perspectives. One of those perspectives is the possibility of the keeping the factories in England, since they are the source of destabilization and depravity for those who work there, they are filthy displays of misery. This debate lies in the idea of an exclusively rural, Arcadian country, leaving all the misery and filth of industry and resources on the other side of the Atlantic. Within the documents that refer to this debate, interesting references to Coimbra and its region can be found: "Extracts from an Address of the American Society of New York for Promoting Domestic Manufactures, to the People of the United States", *Analectic Magazine* 9 (Jun.1817), 1, 3, apud Henry Petroski, *The Toothpick*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2007.

³ Title of a set of novels written by Laura Ingalls Wilder, a Midwest writer, written throughout the 1880s and 1890s, compiled by her daughter Rose Wilder Lane and published between 1932 and 1943. This work inspired the script of a successful television series that, with the same title, debuted on NBC in 1974 and lasted for 8 years. A number of filmmakers were involved in the episodes over the years, but Michael Landon directed the majority of them. The cast included Landon himself, Melissa Gilbert, Lindsay Greenbush, Sidney Greenbush, Karen Grassle, and Melissa Sue Anderson, among others.

But did this sort of mystified desire for appropriation, this subliminal ambition of human nature, cause the immense suburban sprawl? A suburban sprawl that, throughout the entire twentieth century but most of all throughout its second half, dominated the territorial occupation in the United States and expanded as a model of global life.

Did it correspond to a historical accident? Was it an inevitability of developmental determinism?

It was not a coincidence that in the aftermath of World War II, during Fordism's fast euphoria, the federal government developed the essential programs for the promotion of isolated housing. All throughout the country, several strategies of suburban sprawl encouragement were put in place, providing mortgage plans for the construction of a total of 11,000,000 suburban single-family homes. The conditions included, on the one hand, lower amortizations than the values of the rental market and, on the other hand, discouragement of rehabilitation of existing residential buildings, and discouragement to the construction of townhouses or other typologically urban options. Among the most significant of these programs were the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration.

Simultaneously, an interstate program funded by federal and local funds, was set up to build 66,000 km of motorways - the Interstate Highway Act of 1956. These funds, which accounted for 90% of the total amount, corresponded to 26,000,000 dollars, and were complemented with local, state and federal subsidies for improvements in the existing road network. This program totally neglected public investment in collective transportation, which was only 1% of the total amount invested in this sector. It is very well known that the automobile market flourished over this same period of time, becoming accessible to most citizens (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, Speck, 2000: 7-10).

A few weeks ago, on March 31st, 50 to 100 thousand people protested in Madrid against what they called the exodus from rural areas ⁴. But, opposing

⁴ https://elpais.com/sociedad/2019/03/31/actualidad/1554022545_649884.html

to what one might think, this demonstration wasn't promoted by nostalgic ruralists, residents of small villages, or hippies with idyllic-pastoral views.

It was actually promoted mainly by two joint movements from two different cities - *Soria! Ya!* and *Teruel Existe*. Soria in Castilla y Leon, and Teruel in Aragon are two European cities, two regional capitals that suffer from metropolitan pressure and, as a consequence, are in a loss of population and in a noticeable loss of influence and political and administrative representation.

Supporters of these movements went to the centre of the metropolis to express their ideas and capture the global media's attention. And they got it.

This set of considerations, and they are nothing but considerations, undoubtedly requires a more refined and elaborate future reflection. We're faced with the possibility that contemporary Europe is gradually witnessing the return of the American myth. We're faced with the assumption that over the course of a century, about 30 million Europeans have crossed the ocean to the United States, almost all of them through Ellis Island, almost all of them thirsty and anxious for space and prosperity, abandoning the possibility of parsimonious and balanced management of urban territory. They rejected their home cities. They looked at the New World's territories, particularly in the Midwest, and they strongly believed that space was infinite, that it was no longer necessary to share it with anyone else. They established the cultural myth, and then the land market, the real estate and the automobile systems did the rest.

All throughout that same century Europe kept trying to preserve the possibility of a civilizational survival of cities, kept trying to reclaim the metropolises, kept trying to focus on the possibility of supporting each cities' own *ethos*, kept trying to believe in the political utopia of a continent with a network of diverse and complementary cities. That same Europe is currently abandoning these ideas in detriment of the model that is returning from the other side of the North Atlantic. Is this a complex question? Obviously. This matter should not be addressed only through the perspective of city issues, nor should it be

addressed by architects alone. It is undoubtedly an issue within the postcolonial field of studies. Nonetheless...

Nowadays, in Europe, the city as an entity is undergoing a confrontational moment with the hegemonic imposition of the metropolitan model. These moments can and should be understood through the *logics of production of non-existence*, described by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Santos, 2002: 237-280), in particular the *logics of productivist* and *dominant scale*, but also the *logics of social classification*. In order to face this situation and survive, the city must challenge the hegemonic metropolitan tendency with recovery and revitalization of its alternative characteristics. To overcome the *homogeneous and exclusive totalities* of metropolitan logics, the cities must permanently questioning it, using particularly an *ecology of productivity* and an *ecology of trans-scales*, but also an *ecology of recognition and knowledge*.

Most of all, the city's genetic code holds that distinct urge to aspiration, which indelibly links it to the project of becoming a better city. As such, the city can and should rely on all its past experience, identify alternatives, and recognise the immense expectations that its present situation entails. The city should also, in short, be studied from the perspective of a *sociology of emergencies*.

Acknowledgments

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**1964. FRENCH CRITICISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS:
À propos of a special issue of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui***

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Abstract

At the end of 1964, L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui devoted a special issue to architectural criticism. Was this a symptom of a "crisis of criticism"? This special issue testifies a turning point, between a long period of uncritical diffusion of the grands ensembles and a period, which happened in the late-1960s, of political and social contestation concerning the city and urban policies. The purpose of this presentation is not to trace the editorial policy of L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui. Rather, it considers this special issue as a symptom of both a malaise of the architectural field in regard to criticism and French critics, a symptom, also, of an intermediate moment between the end of modernism, even "unquiet", and its radical challenge.

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Her main domain of research is history of architectural criticism and architectural periodicals of the 20th century. After several publications on architectural magazines of the 1920s and 1930s, her current research focuses on architecture and urban criticism in France in the 1950s-1980s. Among her main publications in this research field: *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s* (CCA, IRHA, Montreal, 2008) with France Vanlaethem and Alexis Sornin. In 2009, she co-edited with Kenneth Frampton the special issue of *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale et urbaine. La critique en temps et lieux* and in 2013 with the art historian Richard Leeman, Michel Ragon, *Critique d'art et d'architecture*.

She is currently the principal investigator of the international research program and network *Mapping Architectural Criticism* <http://mac.hypotheses.org/> Her next book *Architectures de la critique*, is to be published in June 2019 (Éditions de La Villette, Paris)

"PRO AND CONTRA CIAM": MODERNISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS

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Abstract

The history of the CIAM organization and of its breakaway group Team 10 is one of the best documented and researched themes in recent architectural historiography, thanks to well-organized archives and doctoral programs. Its main protagonists, conferences, internal conflicts, communication and organizational systems have been discussed in numerous publications. Still, the method of dichotomization – generational conflicts, political divisions – tends to divert the attention from continuities and from the complex interrelations between the various lines of thought in- and outside CIAM. The lecture will trace three notions as three threads in the web: ruralism, humanism, and realism, to show their constitutive and transformative role in the fabric of post-war architecture.

Keywords: CIAM, post-war architecture, vernacular, humanism, realism, Team X.

Introduction

On July 17, 1953 eight German architects took off in a Volkswagen minibus to a 36-hour trip from West Berlin to Aix-en-Provence, to participate at the CIAM 9 conference. The "German group" of the CIAM was re-established just three years earlier. However, at the same time when West Germany's international isolation just ended, a new border between East and West was drawn – called the Iron Curtain.

The frontispiece of the brochure has the subtitle "Pro and contra CIAM IX" and the cover lists the "pros" and the "contras", organized in four speech bubbles, in French and German:

"–Against the grid and the rectangular principle – Hail to the curve and everything oblique!

–Against 'architecture end formalism' – For 'Neues Bauen' [Modernism], organicism and Hugo [Häring]!

–Against concentration and skyscraper – For nature- and earthbound building!

–Against rationalism and extreme rationalization – For art and the primacy of feelings!"

The conference in Aix-en-Provence was the CIAM congress where the future members of Team X met for the first time, and where "a split between the younger and older generations" emerged, resulting in the dissolution of CIAM – at least this is the account that we find in most publications. The "generational gap" theme is supported by evidence like Alison Smithson's account who remembered that the "old" generation, "the rotten core of CIAM" housed in hotels in Aix-en-Provence, keeping the young generation in "isolation".

The theme of consecutive generations was famously addressed in art history by the German art historian Wilhelm Pinder (1878-1947). Pinder wrote a book titled *The Problem of Generations in the Art History of Europe* (1928): the overlapping layers of generations coexisting in one historical period, each of them with their own understanding for the epoch, with their own "Kunstwollen", resulting in what Pinder describes as the "non-contemporaneity of the contemporaneous". His aim was to establish a concept of history consisting of rhythmical waves, that are determined, in the final analysis, by biology, by the life-span of humans. The explanation of CIAM's fate (I use this world here consciously) based on this organic model might seem appealing, but the problem with Pinder's theory is that it is impossible to identify the *entelechy* of these different generations: the inner, self-determined force striving to form.

The history of the CIAM organization and of its breakaway group Team X is one of the best documented and researched themes in recent architectural historiography, thanks to well-organized archives and doctoral programs. The main protagonists, conferences, internal conflicts, communication and organizational systems – all have been discussed in numerous publications. However, most of the studies seem to follow the storyline of the main actors. Sigfried Giedion, the Swiss-born co-initiator and general secretary of the CIAM

was interested in strengthening the unity of organization, and therefore lending consistency to a rather promiscuous body of material.

The method of dichotomization – generational conflicts, political divisions – tends to divert the attention from continuities and from the complex interrelations between the various lines of thought in- and outside CIAM. This lecture will trace three notions as three threads in the web: ruralism, humanism, and realism, to show their constitutive and transformative role in the fabric of post-war architecture. It is significant that none of these three terms has a clear-cut definition, their meaning is defined by the interests of the actors.

1. Ruralism

As a result of the CIAM 9 congress in Aix-en-Provence, participating architects drafted a statement on the concept of "habitat, which referred originally to the French colonies in Africa, and it is rooted in the discourse of urbanization in Morocco or Algiers. CIAM architects intended to introduce the term as an alternative to the traditional European concept and typologies of housing. In the year before the congress, in 1952, *the Office de la Recherche Scientifique Outre-Mer* published a book, *L'habitat au Cameroun*. The book was the result of an ethnographic research, conducted 1949/50 by seven young architects, graduates of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, who spent 6 months in Cameroun, at that time a French colony.

Irene Zander, a journalist whom Hubert Hoffmann frequently quotes, spoke with the participants. She noted: "The early, rational phase of modern architecture is gone. The architectural revolution born in the cool air of Middle Germany is followed by an evolution, fed by creative forces stemming from entirely other layer of the personality, from other countries and other times. [...] CIAM architects speak about the freshness and expressivity of primitive dwellings, about vitality and beauty as elements of building design, about rhythm, organic essence, about the new sensibility of the architect." Enthusiastic young French architects think "that a hut in Cameroun has more dignity and beauty than most prefabricated houses. What started 40 years ago in the arts and in Frank Lloyd Wright's

architecture will gain new actuality maybe tomorrow: the turn toward the archaic and the primitive, to the pure and strong human expression."

The reference to Frank Lloyd Wright as the initiator of an ethnographic turn in architecture was not quite correct; in reality the ethnographic research into the vernacular by architects can be traced back to the 19th century. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Gottfried Semper and at the end of the century, Josef Hoffmann, published their travel sketches of Mediterranean fishermen's houses as models for modern architecture. Particularly in Otto Wagner's school at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna were young architects interested in the culture of the village and made study trips, and published their sketches and photographs in the journal of the Wagner circle, *Der Architekt*. For the Hungarian architect István Medgyaszay, the lessons of his study trip in 1904 to a mountain region in Transylvania were important to envision an "artistic language" for reinforced concrete architecture. Architects such as Richard Neutra, Rudolph M. Schindler, Edoardo Gellner and Bernard Rudofsky were rooted in this culture, before they moved to the United States, or – in the case of Gellner – to Italy.

What started in the countries of Central Europe, became a strong current in modern architecture: Europe-wide, in- and outside of CIAM. The political context of the ruralist movement has been the nation-state. However, in the 1930s the village was not seen anymore as a disappearing 'totality' where life, and labour are part of an organic world in decay that still can fertilize the new urban ground, but as a settlement type, where more than half of the country's population lived under almost feudal conditions, facing huge and largely unresolved problems.

The Hungarian architect Charles Polónyi, who later became a Team X member, finished his university studies after the war, and was influenced by the 'ruralists'. In 1956, when a flood destroyed an area on the shore of the Danube near the Yugoslavian border, he rushed there with students to develop a resettlement plan. The 'new village' of Újmohács ('New-Mohács') was created on the Danube bank. In 1983, Polónyi started a series of international summer schools (the International Workshop Seminars) on Lake Balaton and on the Danube, where his Team X friends Alison and Peter Smithson were regular guests. The first two took

place in 1983 and 1985 in the town of Ráckeve, focusing on the development of the small agricultural settlement. But, to sum up the “ruralism” theme, the interest of the “post-CIAM generation” in the vernacular is not the result of a radical re-orientation. As the work of architects like I. Medgyaszay, J.L. Sert, A. van Eyck or Ch. Polónyi demonstrates, it was present throughout the 20th century.

2. Humanism

Under the surface of an apparently unified aesthetics, despite the assurance of its recognized leaders, in the debates surrounding Post-War CIAM we can easily uncover a high grade of unease. The philosopher Theodor W. Adorno’s returned to Germany from the US in 1949 (the year of the Bergamo conference), and started to teach next year at in the Institute for Social Research of the University of Frankfurt, as acting director for Max Horkheimer (who was on leave). His friend, the architect Ferdinand Kramer, back from the US exile like Adorno and Horkheimer, was appointed head of the building office of the university, and he designed the offices and lecture rooms, including the office of the rector. What followed was a public outcry, Kramer was denounced as “barbarian”, therefore Horkheimer ordered to remove the furnishing. When Adorno, in his famed lecture “Functionalism today” spoke about the bleakness of German reconstruction, he was also referring to his dissatisfaction with the building of his institute, when he said in a lecture at the German Werkbund’s conference: “...the style of German reconstruction fills me with a disturbing discontent”: “The future of *Sachlichkeit* could be a liberating one only if it sheds its barbarous traits. It could no longer inflict on men — whom it supposedly upheld as its only measure — the sadistic blows of sharp edges, bare calculated rooms, stairways, and the like. Virtually every consumer had probably felt all too painfully the impracticability of the mercilessly practical. Hence our bitter suspicion is formulated: the absolute rejection of style becomes style.”

The term humanism is omnipresent in the debates about modern architecture during and after the war. A look at Giedion’s notion of “humanization” shows, however, that this stance is not surprising, since it was driven by the intention of creating a broad basis for the modern movement. Architecture’s main task is to

embody collective emotions; therefore, monumentality was the right response, considering the historical period when this program was formulated: the years of the second World War. An important document that might have contributed to Giedion's widening of the ideological basis of Modern Architecture was Alvar Aalto's article "The Humanizing of Architecture", published in November 1940 in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's *The Technology Review* – just weeks after Aalto's research professorship at MIT began.

Giedion gave the Charles-Eliot Norton Lectures at Harvard University in 1938/39, which he published in 1941 in revised form as *Space, Time and Architecture*. But just two years later, in 1943, he wrote with Josep Lluís Sert, Fernand Léger and Sigfried Giedion the manifesto "Nine Points on Monumentality". The invitation came originally from the group "American Abstract Artists", whose members they were, and they found that the notion of monumentality is something that they are all interested in. However, the manifesto remained unpublished until Giedion included it in his book *architecture, you and me*.

This was not the first modernist statement on Monumentality: French architect André Lurçat wrote in his 1929 book *Architecture* that monuments are important for urban life.

The "revisionism" of the Nine Points was an important message for Giedion's American audience, which was looking already for possibilities to modify the program of European modernism, to make it fit the needs of post-war American society. The chapter on New Monumentality in Paul Zucker's *New Architecture and City Planning*, which is the most important early contribution to the American discourse in the topic, contains Giedion's text "The Need for a New Monumentality", Louis I. Kahn's "Monumentality", and José Luis Sert's essay "The Human Scale in City Planning", emphasizing the importance of civic and cultural centers. Sert criticized suburbanization and pleaded for organic growth, what already hints into the direction of the "heart" metaphor. Sert's text also reflected the triumphalist mood in the United States that persisted after the war.

In July 1951, Zurich celebrated the 600th anniversary of the city's joining the Swiss Confederation with a festival that has been annually repeated ever since as

Zürifäscht. In the coming year, 1952, Sigfried Giedion wrote about the *Zürifäscht* again in his essay "Die Humanisierung der Stadt" (The Humanization of City), published in the November issue of *Werk*, and he included this text as "The Humanization of Urban Life" in the volume *Architecture, you and me* in 1958. He emphasized: "[...] the suppressed demand for social contact, which has lived on imperishably in the human soul ever since men first met in cave during the ice ages [...] breaks out spontaneously when man is shaken by some great event." Speaking about the Zurich festival, he stressed "spontaneity" as the key to its success: "To be actor and spectator in one person is what we wanted! Clearly the public is ready. The question is whether we are! Let us not wait for a structurally well-defined society to arise. Let us ask what is alive in the bare and naked man that needs to be given form and expression. Let us ask what there is that lives in the bare and naked man, who is not just a symbol but is you and me". – Spontaneity, the heart of the city, the artists and the role of symbols: these were the main ingredients of Giedion's program for a New Monumentality, announcing a stronger relationship between society and architectural form.

In 1958, in the 2. issue of *Le Carré bleu*, the journal supporting the aims of the Post-CIAM generation, editor Aulis Blomstedt published his article "La deshumanización de la arquitectura". The Spanish title was a reference to the essay "La deshumanización del arte" by the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset. With de-humanization, Blomstedt meant the new emphasis on the formal, even geometrical aspects of design. While New Humanism created a basis for the Monumental, the Symbolic, the Collective, the Communal, the fading of such ideals in the 1960s allowed for a re-focusing on questions of form, technology and the environment. However, the term and the program of humanism did not disappear. It is by no coincidence that Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefebvre gave their book on Aldo van Eyck the subtitle *Humanist Rebel*. Humanism reemerged in the Post-CIAM generation as the recognition of the role of the human agency in history and later as a postmodern emphasis on multiculturalism and individual difference.

3. Realism

The split between modernism and socialist realism is a key assumption in the discourse of post-war architectural culture. This dichotomy reflects the political situation during the Cold War years: West and East, Capitalism and Communism, divided by the Iron Curtain, were the twin empires on the European map. In architectural history, this symmetry finds its parallel in the modernism/socialist realism divide.

Clement Greenberg, the influential American art critic argued that the "rationale" of modernist art was a purification of its media: e.g. painting could not be representational, since it is the domain of literature. A political message is irreconcilable with avant-garde practice. Greenberg advocated formalism, but as his younger followers like Rosalind Krauss pointed out, this artistic program goes back to Russian literary criticism between 1914 and 1930. Later, in the period under Stalin, "formalism" became a negative term, as an expression not accessible to "the people" – unlike Socialist realism.

The program of Socialist realism became a rallying cry for a group of CIAM architects at the Bergamo congress. Helena Syrkus, a very vocal and active CIAM member, has championed this program, resulting in a growing distance from the "purist" wing. In September 1946, Syrkus, the Swiss architect Hans Schmidt and Mart Stam penned a document, titled "Déclaration des CIAM / Statement by CIAM", and proposed to change the name of the organization to International Congresses for Social Architecture and Town Planning". Marcela Hanáčková, in her recent doctoral thesis *CIAM and the Cold War: Helena Syrkus between Modernism and Socialist Realism* carefully reconstructed the positions of the protagonists, showing how Helena Syrkus was working in preparation of the CIAM congress in Bergamo to convince the participants to coopt the Socialist Realist position.

The Formalism-Realism question shows a lasting presence across pre- and post-CIAM generations. In Bergamo, the clash between purist and realist positions has to be seen against the background of Post-War political polarization. But after 1968, in the time of intensified social consciousness, realism has lost this clear-cut meaning.

In 1975, the Swiss architecture theory journal *Archithese* dedicated its 13th issue to the theme Realism in architecture. While Socialist realism has been discussed, it is the work of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, and their book *Learning from Las Vegas*, which is clearly in the focus of the editor, Stanislaus von Moos. He interprets Venturi's and Scott Brown's emphasis on the "ordinary" as architectural realism.

Conclusion

Giedion's 1957 postscript to his strongly edited account of the Bergamo conference sounds almost ironic, if we consider the positions of all protagonists:

"It seems that the architectural horrors of the ruling taste (which has prevailed with dictatorial powers behind the Iron Curtain, suppressing to a tragic degree all contemporary development) are now nearing their end.

It is somehow comforting that our unwavering contemporary consciousness has shown itself able to outlast dictatorships – whatever their nature".

These reassuring words conceal the CIAM's deep institutional crisis, that had other roots than the gap between generations. We need to consider alliances and confrontations that lead us to historical precedents, and developments outside of the organization. Clearly, the clash in Bergamo reflects the confrontation of the two political blocks, but also shows the complexities, for instance the role in the American intellectual culture of social criticism, rooted in the tradition of a non-Marxist communitarian vision.

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REBELS WITH A CAUSE: ALDO VAN EYCK AND PANCHO GUEDES

How to find a meaning for the act of built

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Abstract

This paper aims to look at an uncommonly critical attitude against the bureaucratic functionalism in force within a kind of International Style, developing an authentically modern and human architecture in the scope of the Team 10's battle. Considering Aldo van Eyck (1918-1999) and Pancho Guedes' (1925-2015) works and thoughts, their parallel paths, sometimes crossed, are analysed: they were both part of Team 10 and they both defined architecture as the "built meaning", recalling its multiple meanings, languages and responsibilities: 'I claim for architects the rights and liberties that painters and poets have held for so long'.

Aldo van Eyck, from the studies on the sub-Saharan Dogon region to the PREVI proposals in Peru, and Pancho Guedes, from the survey on the Mapogga doors to his surrealist approaches in Mozambique, give examples of the transformation process, on how the modern project got elasticity, creativity, endurance, and finally feeding the utopia. The argument addresses the fact that these two minds envisaged architecture as a language with an emotional impact and a social and cultural scope. Bearing in mind architecture as the primary visual medium with which human society expresses and reveals itself, architecture is conceived as a dialogue and the design of buildings as means for creating relations between people rather than as an end in itself.

Keywords: Team 10, Aldo van Eyck, Pancho Guedes, modern project, architecture language

CIAM took place from 1928 to 1958 lasting 3 decades of alive discussions that didn't resist to the shift of generations in the after WWII. Team 10 led the radical contestation regarding the dogmatic positions of some of the old leaders, such is the case of Gropius at the time with more than 70 years old.

This essay aims to look at the architectural approaches of Aldo van Eyck (1918-1999) and Pancho Guedes (1925-2015), considering their critical attitude against the prevailing bureaucratic functionalism of their time, and their aptitude for developing a deeper modern and human architecture. Following parallel paths, sometimes crossed, they both defined architecture as “built meaning”, evoking its multiple significances, languages and responsibilities (Tostões & Kosejl, 2018).

Aldo van Eyck, from his studies on the sub-Saharan Dogon region to the *PREVI (Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda)* housing proposals in Peru, or Pancho Guedes, from his survey on the Mapogga doors to his Dadaist proposals in Mozambique, provide examples of the process of metamorphosis, in which the modern project acquired elasticity, creativity, endurance, and finally accomplishing the utopia.

These two thinkers envisaged architecture as a language with an emotional impact emphasizing its social and cultural scope (Lefaivre & Tzonis, 1999). The value they recognized in the role of the community and the importance of the social being as the primary visual medium through which humankind expresses and reveals itself, explains the way they both conceived architecture as a dialogue; designing buildings as means of creating relationships between people, rather than as an end in itself (*idem*).

They both took an uncommon interest in anthropology, as well as in archaic cultures. Their vision pushed beyond Western culture in the direction of what they believed to be a fundamental human heritage and which they considered as important as the classical and modern heritage of Western culture (Strauven, 1998, p. 28).

Within this background, they were key in fostering the renovating shift in the architecture of the Modern Movement (MoMo) during the period after World War II (WWII).

They were both part of Team 10 and the young group of “rebels with a cause”, and both took part in the metamorphosis of the MoMo, which connects perfectly with the theme of this conference. Finally, in private terms they were both descended from Portuguese grandparents – Guilhermina Gouveia, the

grandmother of Aldo van Eyck, came from a noble Portuguese family, as her surname attests – and they were both inspired during their childhood by the marvellous world of the former overseas colonies, outside the European frame of experience.

Astonishingly, during his childhood, Aldo van Eyck was familiar with the legend and magic of Surinam and Paramaribo, the colonial capital where his mother was born and where his grandfather had been a physician and researcher (Strauven, 1998, p. 30). Pancho Guedes was the child of a doctor serving the overseas Portuguese colonies around the world. He attended primary school (1927-1931) in the São Tomé e Príncipe archipelago, before moving with his family to Mozambique in 1933, firstly living in a rural settlement in Manjacaze village and then moving to the high school in Lourenço Marques (until 1939), and later to Maritz Brother's College Observatory in Johannesburg (until 1944). When his family moved to Mozambique Island, between 1945 and 1949, he studied for his Bachelor of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, then returned to Mozambique until 1975, when he finally moved to South Africa, London and Portugal.

They both shared a fascination for remote, non-European cultures. The discovery of these other worlds, and the power of otherness, undoubtedly marked these two characters in the most decisive period of their development, their childhood.

The vernacular of the heart

Aldo van Eyck contributed to deepening the progress of modernity through a modern approach, that for him meant, above all, connecting architecture with the community. The importance of meeting places and of an architecture designed as a place for dialogue led to the desire to produce public space and to think that children and places destined for play activities developed within public space, not only have the potential for structuring society but also, and through this, for structuring the city. Aldo van Eyck developed a pioneering and original body of work starting in 1947, in which he considered the importance of play, of the

collective happening, of architecture as a shaper of life in society, with the power for intensifying relations between people.

1947 was a very special year for Aldo van Eyck. At the age of 28, he just had graduated from ETH (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule) Zurich and attended the first post-war CIAM meeting in Bridgewater. Their comments there not only had an impact among the meeting's participants but were even included in the report drafted by Giedion (Lefaivre & Tzonis, 1999, p. 14). His participation in this CIAM was fundamental to his future. When he returned to Amsterdam, he started putting his ideas into practice. As an employee of the Public Works Services of Amsterdam, he began to work with Cornelius van Esteran, his boss, who had also been his closest link to CIAM since its inception. After the War, Cornelius van Esteren became responsible for the reconstruction of the city according to CIAM principles. At the suggestion of Jacoba Mulder, a woman architect who was part of van Esteren's team and who had already designed the Beatrixpark in Amsterdam (1936), Aldo van Eyck dedicated himself to a humble job, a new problem with an innovative programme: to design a simple playground. For Aldo van Eyck, it was an opportunity to try out the themes that interested him, which involved overcoming the mechanical functional limitations of the preconceived and deterministic theories of the Athens Charter, reviving concerns with community and envisaging the scale of proximity.

Two years later, he was to be called to design the first exhibition of the avant-garde art movement COBRA¹ at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, where the child and the ingenuity of children's expression was the key value and the theme. Aldo van Eyck was close to the movement that shared his fascination with play, spontaneity without prejudice, children's expression, experimentation and a taste for primitive art forms.

¹ COBRA was an artists' collective created in Paris, in 1948, whose name derives from the initials of the three northern European cities from which its founding members came: Copenhagen (Co), Brussels (Br), Amsterdam (A). Among the founding members were Karel Appel (1921-2006), Asger Jorn (1914-1973), Constant Nieuwenhuys (1920-2005), Corneille Guillaume Beverloo (1922-2010), Christian Dotremont (1922-1979), Joseph Noiret (1927-2012) and Ernest Mancoba (1904-2002). The group was dissolved in 1951.

Aldo van Eyck's architecture of playgrounds as a cultural critique against the functional mechanical city that, in its '*massive, large-scale planning view, had ignored minor spaces, abandoned between existing buildings*' (Lefaivre & Tzonis, 1999, p. 17), is linked to this movement.

This fundamental shift caused Aldo van Eyck to start looking at the city in terms of the daily use of space, without distinguishing between the private and the public, and focused on children's lives. This process led to the playground projects that Aldo van Eyck proposed for children throughout the city of Amsterdam, taking advantage of many vacant lots, abandoned or destroyed by the war. In these interstices, he proposed that life should replace misery, neglect, destruction and abandonment. This capillarity system, joyfully used by the children of the post-war boom, from housing with a scarce supply of generous areas, was to be instrumental in rebuilding the city's broken fabric. And it was to be van Eyck's weapon for exposing the limitations of a narrow and mechanical functionalism.

As John Voelcker (1955) stated, '*these small-scale projects dedicated to the everyday life of children, were woven into the neglected holes of the urban fabric, formless stretches of land located on different kinds of lots, made out of unconventional, unsophisticated materials found close to the site.*'

The Amsterdam Municipal Orphanage (1958-1960) is one of his situationist projects, and the first large-scale one. In it, Aldo van Eyck put into practice a decade of experience of children's lives applied to public space, and above all, his convictions on the importance of architecture to establish relations within the community and dialogue between people, as opposed to neutrality and repeated massification, and what he called '*nobody feeling he is somebody living somewhere*'².

In the orphanage, inspired by archaic form language, he used the polycentric paradigm. He made a kind of anthropomorphism tangible by reverting to the communicative features of the human body, the symmetry of its frontal appearance, organising a plan of void and built modules adapting and adopting the microcosmic realm of its former playgrounds. The aim was to stimulate the

² Aldo van Eyck, presentation of *the Nagele grid* project at CIAM Conference, Dubrovnik, 1956.

creation of meeting places, areas where human exchange would occur and dialogue take place (Lefaivre & Tzonis, 1999, p. 17).

Aldo van Eyck wrote '*the vernacular of the heart*'³ according to what he held to be the '*archaic principles of human nature*', the primal values that survived in archaic cultures (Strauven, 1998, p. 380). His interest in archaic or distant cultures went beyond an understanding of their way of building. Aldo van Eyck was moved, above all, by the power of their entire production in terms of understanding their associated view of life and the world. Much like Pancho Guedes, who collected incredible artefacts in Mozambique (Pomar ed, 2010), Aldo van Eyck assembled a wide collection of ethnographic artefacts, including masks, figurines and cult objects, pottery and fabrics (Strauven, 1998, p. 381). When pursuing his research, he focused his interest on two special cultures: the Dogon people from the former French colony of Sudan and the Zuni from New Mexico.

Undoubtedly, the studies, investigations, and readings he made of archaic civilizations had consequences for the way he approached the modern project and sought to overcome mechanistic functionalism. The non-western design elements borrowed (Lefaivre & Tzonis, 1999, p. 10) from the Dogon settlements in their relation between private and public and the understanding of the community in their design, are a result of this extraordinary research that moved him to visit Sudan in 1960.

From the Dogon, he collected fascinating images from sculptures and building that instilled a desire to become familiar with their culture. In 1960, after the completion of the orphanage, he travelled with his wife to Western Africa.

Understanding its mythology, rites and symbolic vocabulary '*helped (him) to get to know not only the houses and villages (he) had admired for so long, but their builders also*' (van Eyck, 1967, p. 30 quoted in Strauven, 1998, p. 381). This real and honest experience, the concrete experience of their everyday and ritual life, houses, ritual and meeting places, made a profound impact on him.

³ First presented in the IX CIAM (Otterlo, 1959), the concept "vernacular of the heart" was later developed by Aldo van Eyck in articles published in the journal *Forum* (1962).

It emerged clearly from his research that the Dogon '*saw not only their environment but the whole world as a chain of related, mutually nested structures*' (idem).

The stimulus of the playgrounds, combined with the culture of these archaic settlements, led Aldo van Eyck to deepen the involvement of people in decisions and increase citizen participation.

With respect to participatory processes, the *PREVI* project was an important experience for Aldo van Eyck. *PREVI*, an acronym for *Proyecto Experimental de Vivienda* (Experimental Housing Project) (see Tostões ed., 2014), was the result of a consultation process initiated in 1965, by the President of Peru, Fernando Belaunde Terry (1912-2002), with the goal of developing a social-housing program able to regulate the spread of self-construction in informal settlements that was taking place in Lima, as a consequence of unstoppable migration flows into the city. Asked by the Government of Peru and by the UNDP (United Nations Development Program), the architect Peter Land conceived and carried out its Master Plan as UN Project Director. In 1969, an international competition was organized for the design and construction of a sustainable neighbourhood of 1,500 dwellings. The urban principles required were human scale; a pedestrian orientated environment; high-density and low-rise development; small private courtyards; the potential to grow and be adjusted over time; new and appropriate building technologies, and earthquake resistance. Among the 6 teams, selected from 26, was Aldo van Eyck's, who had designed houses able to grow according to the needs of the family. Eschewing the usual rectangular shape, he designed elongated hexagonal plots, occupied in the centre by the elementary core, the house cell, with the intention of offering the necessary space for building and expanding the house to the owner's taste, and include front and rear gardens. These were oriented in a way to benefit from continuous ventilation and sun shade. With *PREVI*, Aldo van Eyck was also able to address the issue of interstitial voids to define meeting places within his ambition of creating spaces for children as part of the urban settlements, fulfilling his wish to follow a housing programme based overall on the strength of community relationships.

Buildings should smile and speak

Pancho Guedes⁴⁴ (1925), the Luso-African architect (Witwatersrand University, 1953) active in Mozambique – the Portuguese colony until its independence in 1975 –, made in his writings and architectural production a major contribution to the reassessment of architectural modernity, connecting different disciplines and cultures and developing an affinity with various creators, notably the painter Malangatana Ngwenya (1936-2009). His fantastic and magical architecture comes from the stimulus of a large worldwide network of artists and thinkers that he himself assembled from different sources such as: MoMo architects, namely the South African contributors such as Martiessen or the inspiring Brazilian influences of Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer; Frank Lloyd Wright's spatial research or the contesting critical movement at CIAM in the context of Team 10 which he joined at CIAM's Royaumont meeting together with the Smithsons, Aldo van Eyck, Candilis and Giancarlo di Carlo; or lastly, the new African artists who he promoted.

Therefore, he sought for an architecture full of significance, carrying a personal dimension based on research focused on all formal dimensions and on the possibility for architectural elements to contain and express emotion: *'I claim for architects the same rights and freedom painters and poets have had for so long'* (Guedes, 2007, p. 12). Pancho Guedes wanted to appropriate the primitive's universal motifs, mixing them with his own sophisticated architectural culture, in order to achieve the atmosphere of a de Chirico painting in his buildings. Pancho Guedes knew that architecture is not perceived as an intellectual experience but as a sensation, an emotion (Huet, 1962, p. 42). Therefore, he was interested in the quest for such a quality *'long ago lost among architects but able to reach a spontaneous architecture capable of magic intensity'* (Guedes, 2007).

In the 1950s, this search resulted from the desire to create an alternative modernity, different from the mechanical international style also growing in

⁴⁴ Pancho Guedes full name: Amâncio d'Alpoim Miranda Guedes; the various guises of his name: Amâncio Guedes or Pancho Guedes: A. Miranda Guedes, A. de Alpoim Guedes, Amâncio D'Alpoim Guedes, and Amâncio de Miranda Guedes.

Africa.⁵ Unlike the majority of architects working in Africa forced to design in dialogue with climate constraints, Pancho Guedes also claimed the creator's right to innocence stimulated by the sensuality and drama of the surrounding African culture.

The will to discover an alternative modernity was a response to an inner appeal, but also to an Africa awakening to contemporaneity, to a new world which was in a state of ferment (Tzara, 1962). Pancho Guedes witnessed and acted at a time when architecture was open to popular culture, when architecture without architects and architecture of fantasy were accepted.⁶ But it was also a time of complexity and multiple solutions opening up to the MoMo in continuity or crisis (Rogers, 1957), the ones Giedion identified as a result of an equation between reason and emotion (Giedion, 1941).

Pancho Guedes assembled the conditions to follow an alternative, original and idiosyncratic path of his own. Besides his huge talent, broad culture, experimentalism and genuine curiosity, he had the experience of living in Africa at a time when, despite the imperialistic presence *'anything seemed possible'* (Guedes, 1998, p. 9).

On the international circuit, Pancho Guedes established himself both as an architect, patron and champion of African art at the same time. In Paris, the publication of his article about the painted houses of the Ndebele people of South Africa, entitled *"Les Mapogga"*, which featured on the cover of the magazine directed by André Bloc, *Aujourd'hui: Art et Architecture* (Guedes, 1962a), was considered ground-breaking: *'the first to highlight the architectural and sculptural formalism of the dwellings'* (Antonelli, 2013).

⁵ As Pancho states: "For some, the Modern Movement has accomplished its program and architecture has entered the time of refinement and classicism. Indeed, the cancer of styles is again upon us – more mortal and terrifying than ever before. For others – who from day to day stare loneliness in the face – we know we will remain outlaws for the rest of our lives or else turn traitors to ourselves." (Guedes, 1962b, p. 42-48)

⁶ MoMA exhibition in 1960 "Arquitectura Visionária", Bernard Rudofsky (1905-1988), "Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture" (1964), "Architectural History, as written and taught in the Western World, has never been concerned with more than a few select cultures."

In the area of architecture, there were important "Stiloguedes" buildings in Lourenço Marques at the turn of the decade, such as the Prometheus Apartment Block (1951-1953) and The Smiling Lion (1954-1955); the Saipal Bakery and the Otto Barbosa Garage (1952); the Abreu Rocha and Tonelli Building (1955), and the Pyramidal Nursery School (1959-1961).

Peter Rich, a former student and now also a professor at Witwatersrand, states that '*the work of the architect Pancho Guedes is a fusion of European modernism with African artistry*' (Abitare, 2010) For him,

Pancho was a great mentor because he was a painter, a sculptor, a Dadaist, a Surrealist, and he had an incredible energy. When we were at school, we were very lucky; everyone who was a student or member of staff somehow exceeded their potential by about 300%, making you believe you could do anything and everything and the more you did the better you were. You could shoot a film, create sculpture, paint, perform in a play and make architecture as well. (Abitare, 2010)

From technical issues to poetic approaches, Pop Art and African expression, Pancho Guedes promoted the possibility of modernity issuing from a complex procedure nourished by diverse and eccentric cultural sources. Pancho Guedes divested himself of the colonial hegemony of his time and immersed himself in the myriad of cultural influences and motifs that constituted the very particular African cosmopolitanism of the city of Lourenço Marques in the 1950s and beginning of 1960s. (Gadanhos ed., 2007)

Pancho Guedes promoted the viability of the success of a new African art rooted in the character of local roots and cultural conditions. He consciously led a kind of patronage to support to the birth of a new African art.

In his architectural work, he developed an original style and intense expression, revealing influences ranging from the paintings of Picasso to his friend Malangatana with whom he shared research and inventiveness, from a dreamlike Freudian universe to African sculpture, mixed with an expression characterized by

a "Dadaist" disposition, fostered by his friendship with Tristan Tzara. (Tostões, 2013b, p. 68)

Establishing links with the local population, he found in Africa a favourable atmosphere for the realisation of his projects. By showing interest in issues ranging from African sculpture or indigenous architecture to Malangatana, from Gaudi to Art Nouveau, reflecting the fundamentals of his oeuvre: open and unorthodox, eclectic and irreverent, freely revisiting and reinventing both modern and primitive art in his constructions, with his architectural projects that borrowed from his painting and sculpture in a complete creative process. Malangatana recognized that *'no architect had ever linked architecture to indigenous culture. In his designs we see a geometry that reflects patterns resembling the tattoos of African mythology'*. Famous for his fertile imagination, for him, each project sprang naturally from its surroundings, climate, geology and the culture of those who use it.

How to find a meaning for the act of built

With their prolific outputs, Pancho Guedes and Aldo van Eyck anticipated various trends and ways of thinking that are still to be found today in the international context inspiring relations between art and architecture (Tostões 2013).

They are examples of how the interest in anthropology and archaic cultures was important for the renewal of post-war MoMo architecture, particularly in the framework of Team 10. The aim was to overcome the limitations of the 1950s, regarding which Aldo van Eyck stated that *'rarely had the possibilities been so great for the architectural profession, but never had it failed so badly'*.⁷

Somehow, they personified a profound metamorphosis that proves the hybrid nature and capacity for inclusion of modernity. With careful attention to the myriad of cultural influences and local features that define societies, from culture to

⁷ Lefavre and Tzonis considered this was probably the most famous talk of Aldo van Eyck's career, delivered in 1959 at the Otterlo Conference (Lefavre & Tzonis, 1999, p. 13).

climate, Pancho Guedes and Aldo van Eyck were able to deeply explore the human nature of architecture, responding to its challenges with creativity.

In a way, they both explored metamorphosis in their approach to MoMo, while envisaging otherness, and emerged with a creative stimulus as well as a prolific synthesis. Aldo van Eyck established a school of thought⁸, influencing generations with his usual wisdom of intuition and praxis, spontaneity and innocence. Pancho Guedes could not be considered a conventional teacher, but his influence extended around the world from Mozambique, influencing artists of the calibre of Tristan Tzara (Tostoes, 2014) or encouraging Malangatana to establish himself as the painter of Mozambique. The workshops he organized and his genuine admiration for black art were not only central to the international affirmation of his own work (Guedes, 1962b, p. 42), but confirm the MoMo's capacity for metamorphosis.

60 years after the creation of Team 10 the contemporary agenda recalls to foster the humanistic learning launched by Team 10, and realised by Pancho Guedes and Aldo van Eyck in their architecture, so that the modern project keeps contributing for a better world made with the active participation and inventive capacity of architects and planners.

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PAPERS

THE ITALIAN DEBATE AFTER THE 'RETREAT'

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Abstract

The 'Italian retreat from modern architecture' sanctioned by R. Banham (1959), led into the different lines of inquiry undertaken by Italian architects in the Sixties and Seventies, opening the way to mutual exchange between urban studies, planning and design. This articulated debate remains largely overlooked, perhaps because many statements circulated in Italian through handouts, pamphlets and transcripts. Nevertheless, the mutual influence between varied theoretical positions deserves due consideration, partly because this was a period of transition from the major problems of post-war reconstruction to the new demands brought about by the metropolitan dimension acquired by North-Italian cities, facing a new wave of industrialisation and related migratory movements.

This paper discusses key factors, and figures, which fed the Italian architectural debate at this crucial stage, with a focus on the contribution made by the School of Architecture of Milano.

Keywords: Italian architectural debate, post-war Italian architecture, typology, morphology, structurality

Italy after 1945

In a widespread-devastated Italy, the aftermath of World War II stirred a general demand for a collective and individual catharsis, and for a radical process of institutional and political renewal. The cultural environment changed profoundly.

Before the war, only a few Italian architects had openly shown their opposition to Fascism; even those who had joined the Resistance movement became truly anti-Fascist only much later. Among the supporters of the Resistance, however, were also architects and town planners who, after 1945, yearned for a moral renewal,

questioning the real political and social nature of Fascism (along with writers, artists and film directors). Architects, for their part, were trying to understand the social framework who was soon to require new housing and related services.

Several publications bear reference to this crucial phase of cultural transition,¹ paralleled by the establishment of the MSA (Movimento Studi per l'Architettura) in Milan, the APAO (Associazione per l'Architettura Organica) in Rome, and the Gruppo Pagano in Turin.

The fruitful discussion among intellectuals in view of an institutional and economic reconstruction begun in Milan in December 1945, with the First National Meeting for Reconstruction.² It declined in Paris, with Italian participation at the *Exposition Internationale de l'Urbanisme et Habitation*,³ held at the Grand Palais in the summer of 1947. The Milan meeting was a timely confrontation between protagonists of progressive culture, supporters of planning, and heralds of capitalism. At the Paris Exhibition, 'Italy the Rebuilder' made its formal appearance on the European scene. With its age-old building traditions, the gravity of its housing problem, and the critical condition of its people, infrastructure and productive resources, the Italian case was relevant to all other countries.

A few months later though, the elections of 18 April 1948 excluded left-wing representatives from the government and from strategic decisions, marking the demise of any 'revolutionary' prospect.

¹ *Metron* appeared in August 1945, edited by L. Piccinato and M. Ridolfi. *Domus*, edited by E.N. Rogers from n. 205, 1946, to 223–225, 1947. *Costruzioni-Casabella*, edited by F. Albin, appeared at the end of 1946 with two special issues, one dedicated to the AR (Reunited Architects) plan for Milan (194) and the other to Giuseppe Pagano (195–198). Short-lived publications included *A – Cultura della vita*, edited by L. Bò, C. Pagani and B. Zevi (1946–47); *La Nuova Città*, edited by G. Michelucci (1946); and *La Città, Architettura e politica*, edited by G. De Finetti (1945–46).

² Primo convegno nazionale per la ricostruzione edilizia, Milano 14–15–16 dicembre 1945.

³ The exhibition consisted of five sections : Problème du Logement, Urbanisme, Habitation, Construction, Information. Alongside reconstruction plans for the great cities and some important historical centres, Italy presented a draft of the Plan for Milan, the Piedmont Regional Plan and experimental designs for new neighbourhood units.

Hastily implemented, reconstruction plans worsened the pre-existing situation.⁴ Distinguishing environmental features were often neglected, while local solutions were totally unrelated to a comprehensive national vision.

'In a country like Italy where civilization has remained creative over the centuries, the scars bearing witness to the past are added to those of the living nation.' (Urbanisme et Habitation, 1947, p. 42). The text published in the catalogue of the Paris Exhibition introduced the problem of relating the new to the old, so critical for most Italian cities.

The problem of how to build for the future without losing the city distinguishing townscape and environmental heritage was clearly expressed by Ernesto Nathan Rogers at the 8th CIAM held at Hoddesdon (UK) in 1951. Rogers stressed the need to preserve, re-establish, enliven or even reinvent the heart of a city in different places and circumstances: *'the composition of a complete work, though logical and elegant, cannot fulfil the set aims if it does not also achieve a rich, varied and surprising orchestration.'* (Rogers, 1958/1997, p. 260)

The Italian retreat: the new generations and 'Casabella-Continuità'

As editor of the new series of 'Casabella-Continuità' Rogers undertook a profound revision of the legacy of Rationalism (Rogers, 1955, 1956, 1957). Pondering over the role of history and tradition - in architecture and society - became a recurring theme in his editorials, in debates and researches published in this journal. Rogers stigmatised the inappropriateness of mimicking the expressive and compositional canons of the Modern Movement, which had degenerated into the formalism of the International Style. Rogers believed that contemporary architecture had two possible way outs: improving building techniques required to assess its figurative language as a vital part of each physical environment, or improving expressive

⁴ City reconstruction was subject to plans formalised by a decree of March 1945. While the Town Planning Act of August 1942 required each Master Plan to be framed into broader a regional prospect, reconstruction plans were concerned only with destroyed or severely damaged urban areas.

skills, so that this figurative language may best encompass the cultural values into which new forms are historically rooted. (Rogers, 1955)

In the Italian case, faced with the challenge of re-contextualising pre-existences environmental features, architects had to reflect on the legacy of the Masters and on the role of history and national traditions. Their creative acts should not be random or self-referential, thus, wherever a new building was facing the works of other artists, these had to be respected, if not enhanced. (Rogers, 1955) Somehow, approaching the real city in its historical dimension, was an antidote to modernist and populist formalism.

Rogers invited a group of younger architects to join the editorial staff of 'Casabella-Continuità', giving them increasing responsibilities. Some of their works, later labelled as neo-liberty (Portoghesi, 1958), were published in the issue n. 219, which was introduced by a short essay by Aldo Rossi. (Rossi, 1958). An earlier issue included works by Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola⁵ and two essays about the revival of tradition by Guido Canella (Canella, 1957) and by Aldo Rossi (Rossi, 1957). However cautious, Rogers was unbiased with the theoretical elaborations and accomplishments of the younger colleagues. Moreover, he believed that Italian architecture and its protagonists (Mario Ridolfi, Ignazio Gardella, BBPR, Franco Albini, Giuseppe Samonà, Giovanni Michelucci, Luigi Piccinato) may claim credit for historicising the Modern Movement's anti-historicism.

Three key projects by the BBPR partnership⁶ convey a concrete picture of Rogers' ideas: the Torre Velasca in Milan (1950-58), the block of flats and offices in Corso Francia in Turin (1955-59) and the Civic Museums at the Sforza Castle in Milan (1954-56).

In its continuous transition from past to future, the historic city embodied reality and sense of place. A sort of museum in the making, a mosaic of past, present and future, the historic city fully expressed the values of tradition. Quite tellingly,

⁵ Among which the well-known *Bottega d'Erasmus* in Turin.

⁶ Gian Luigi Banfi, Ludovico Barbiano di Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti, Ernesto Nathan Rogers.

the issue of 'Casabella-Continuità' opening with Rogers' editorial entitled 'I CIAM al Museo.' (Rogers, 1959) included these three project.

The critical (re)reading of modern architecture and his focus on history and the context, brought Rogers into open opposition with Reyner Bahnam's schematic approach. Bahnam accused Rogers to support the Italian retreat from the modern architecture.

But when Casabella began to publish, with manifest editorial approval, buildings that went far beyond Vagnetti's in historicist eclecticism, when the BBPR partnership staged for the London Furniture Exhibition of 1958 an Italian section that seemed to be little more than a hymn of praise to Milanese borghese taste at its queasiest and most cowardly, and when, finally, the Italian exhibit at the Brussels Exhibition was seen, then confusion followed hard on disillusion. But behind our own private reactions there remain the buildings that produced them, and the attitude that produced the buildings, an attitude that even other Italians, like Bruno Zevi, clearly regard as wrong-headed and misguided. Indeed, these recent works of Gae Aulenti, Gregotti, Meneghetti, Stoppino, Gabetti, their associates and followers, and the polemics advanced in their defence by Aldo Rossi and others - all these call the whole status of the Modern Movement in Italy in question. (Bahnam, 1959, pp. 231-232)

Rogers replied with an article entitled 'L'evoluzione dell'architettura. Risposta al custode dei frigoriferi' (Rogers, 1959). He rejected the neo-liberty umbrella for so differing tendencies and researches. In addition, he argued that those kind reflections on Italian architecture required perhaps a broader research, looking at history as a tool to question modernist formalism.

The discourse on building types and urban form

The 'retreat' sanctioned by Banham led into different lines of inquiry undertaken by Italian architects in the Sixties and Seventies, opening the way to a period of mutual exchange between urban studies, planning and design. Despite its broad

significance, this heated and articulated debate has been largely overlooked, perhaps because many statements circulated in Italian through handouts, pamphlets and transcripts.

Yet, the mutual influence between these varied theoretical positions deserves due consideration, partly because this was a period of transition from the major problems of post-war reconstruction to the new demands brought about by the metropolitan dimension acquired by North-Italian cities, facing a new wave of industrialisation and related migratory movements.

Additional factors combined to feed the architectural debate: the presence - both at IUAV University of Venice and at the Faculty of Architecture of Milan Politecnico - of undisputed masters like Ernesto Nathan Rogers, Giuseppe Samonà and Ludovico Quaroni, along with younger architects, including Carlo Aymonino, Guido Canella, Vittorio Gregotti, and Aldo Rossi.

Stepping out the Modern Movement to experiment new research trajectories, however from different theoretical positions, most Italian architects attached a paramount importance to the study of building types in their relationship with urban forms, exploring the historical context as a key element for future planning and urban design.

Giuseppe Samonà, then Rector of the IUAV University of Venice, provided an opportunity to bridge the generational gap, inviting eight young colleagues to hold a theoretical course on architectural design in the academic year 1965-66 (Canella, Coppa, Gregotti, Rossi, Samonà, Scimeni, Semerani, Tafuri, 1968).

Differing in their approaches, all their lessons discussed the possibility of singling out, and institutionalizing, the subsequent stages of the architectural design process.

Aldo Rossi, from the School of Architecture of Milan, proposed a rational explanation of the architectural conception, a somehow dogmatic definition of architecture as made up of stable facts, absolute and immutable over time. For Rossi, the city was a choral construct, and architecture was both a subjective and collective manifestation.

Discussing the relationship between building types, urban form and physical features, Guido Canella instead, defined morphology as a succession of events expressed in space and in a concrete historical framework. Typology to him was a specific configuration resulting from a particular succession: it could be therefore be intended as a systematic research for invariant elements of the urban form.

Consequently, the choice of an invariant morphological element acquired a methodological significance, establishing a true model of culture.

The contribution made by the Milan School

It was precisely at the School of Architecture of Milan Politecnico, that alternative insights in the relationship between architecture and the city were gaining ground. This was partly due to unprecedented processes of urban transformation which, unlike in Venice, questioned the relationship between architectural and urban change in more dialectic terms, against an evolving social and economic reality (Canella, 1965). It is worth noting that 'The Architecture of the City', often considered a vision statement of the Italian architectural debate, sounded rather as a manifesto, particularly in Rossi's dazzling introduction:

This is why I speak with particular conviction of the importance of the historical method; but firmly believe that we cannot equate the study of cities simply to an historical study. We must pay special attention to the study of permanences to prevent the city's history from being permanent. I believe that permanences can also be considered in the same way as pathological elements. (Rossi 1966, p. 13)

These words had a profound impact on the Italian architectural scene of the Sixties. A practicing architect, Rossi claimed that gaining a thorough understanding of the city, as a historical and architectural construct, would open the way to projects expressing the historical memory embedded in places.

Guido Canella, with Lucio Stellario d'Angiolini and their interdisciplinary research team (Canella, 1974; D'Angiolini, 1965), moved beyond any descriptive taxonomy

of urban phenomena to identify the *forma urbis*, the form of the city as a materialization of structural factors.

Canella (1981) argued that the role of cities depended on their gravitational interaction, on varying relations of production in urban and rural societies, and on the development gap between different regions of the world. He valued the literature on anthropic landscapes as the most authentic expressions of problems faced and formalised by human societies, manifesting itself as a science in its ability to identify which significant features might also become substantial factors of change. Reflected upon the concept of 'structurality,' namely the interdependency of settlements in their relations of production, Canella often quoted the Franco-Belgian School (with Henri Pirenne's intuitions, Marcel Poëte's studies in urban planning, and the publication of the *Annales*).

In Italy, the above-mentioned authors had received particular attention among those who were trying to promote a reform in the theory of architectural design.

Canella and his team carried out research on the Milan region and the broader Po Valley area; this was studied in the *longue durée*, one long enough to identify which substantial factors of change could be examined without being confused by the visible but superficial turmoil of human activity. Canella's notion of 'context' implied as system of discrete components sharing the same socio-economic rationale; whether buildings, artefacts or urban element, such discrete components formed a sort of 'constellation' cross-referencing the local and regional levels. He considers the city as a 'living organism' with an underlying structure, a hidden but durable framework whose distinguishing features, to be identified case by case, might provide a key to interpret the present reality.

I believe that 'context' and 'place' have different meanings. 'Context' is the landscape constantly taking shape in a structural and anthropological sense.

'Place' intended in an environmental or naturalistic sense is something else.

'Place' acquires importance when an architectural conception ventures to interpret its making in the past and the resources available for the future.

Every authentic work of architecture follows a particular circuit, placing itself at the intersection between the architect's experience and the identity of the place, which the new intervention is to transform.

The cognitive-conceptual stage of architectural composition sets a dialectic path, whose outcome is a project intended for implementation. This clarifies why 'place' should not turn architecture into mimesis. Rather it should challenge a reflection on the role of architecture, focusing and re-configuring its typological, functional and formal features, whether complying or not with the pre-existing environment, yet fostering a vision for future change. (Canella, 1989, pp. 64,66)

Along this line of thought, Canella and his team explored the distinguishing settlement pattern of the Lombardy region, featuring a series of medium-sized towns along an early infrastructural network consisting of canals, roads and railways.

This original approach to urban studies was based on a synthesis between the concepts of form and structure, whereby the urban fabric was intended as a system of interrelated urban phenomena - however conterminous of distant they might be in space and time - rather than a continuum (as codified by the typomorphological school).

Encompassing the durability of urban artefacts, the concept of 'structurality' clearly transcends a taxonomic description of the city's physical elements - buildings and related open spaces, plots and streets - without neglecting the settlement's spatial quality. Moreover, the concept of 'structurality' implied identification of complex functional and morphological systems, namely spatial framework univocally related to a given context. Consequently, Canella conceived typology as an invariant of morphology, thus a part of a broader system yet possessing its own original characteristics.

The discourse over the urban 'structure' - albeit interpreted differently by Rossi and Canella - qualified the Milanese approach. The term 'structure' engaged both authors in a heated theoretical debate, on account its material and formal

implications (permanence and public space for Rossi⁷), and epistemological potential (Canella's concept of structurality). This reflection brought about the constitutive significance of the notion of 'urban structure' due to the persistence of some urban artefacts instead of others (monuments, precisely). At the same time, Rossi proposed a momentous reflection:

We have just distinguished between a historical or propelling permanence as a form of a past that we still experience (the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua, ndr.) and a pathological permanence as something that is isolated and aberrant. In large measure the pathological form is identifiable because of a particular *context*, since context itself can be seen either as the persistence of a function over time or as something isolated from the urban structure, that is, as something which stands outside of technological and social evolution. Context is commonly understood as referring primarily to residential sections of the city, and in this sense, its preservation is counter to the real dynamic of the city; so-called contextual preservation is related to the city in time like the embalmed corpse of a saint to the image of his historical personality. (Rossi 1982, p. 60).

In this sense, Rossi purports a non-academic concept of monument. Canella's idea of typology as 'invariant of morphology' implied that typology could be intended as an original 'spatial register' variable according to contextual conditions (not necessarily urban). This notion has a highly operational potential in both analytical and design processes, implying as it does the ideas of aggregation, consolidation and integration of functional-spatial contents.

Some concluding remarks

Framing the contribution made by the School of Architecture of Milan within the Italian debate of the Sixties and Seventies, highlights the fruitful of exchange of views between scholars for different disciplines, while also bringing to the fore the

⁷ Significantly, the first chapter of Aldo Rossi's book was entitled 'The Structure of Urban Artifacts'.

generative role of design in urban development.

What did matter was not the mere description of a typo-morphological device, nor its alleged prescriptive potential, rather was it understanding the original design synthesis expressed in architecture.

The focus was on those morphological 'fault lines' and spatial discontinuities embedded in urban artefacts: 'fault lines' which marked moments of rupture, when future scenarios had to be envisaged. Projects of urban transformation were necessary to modify the incremental evolution of cities, so that history could become something more than a continuum of progress.

In this respect, this approach may suggest several lines of inquiry: in moving beyond a taxonomy of heritage definitions, based on concepts like permanence, continuity, compliance with the historical morphology. Looking more closely to elements of discontinuity, promiscuity, interdependence (of functions and human behaviours) we might identify important elements of rupture, of historical discontinuity, as significant values. In addition, this approach may help us envisage the ratio of continuity/discontinuity, opposition/integration, inclusion/exclusion which a new scheme may introduce in a specific built environment.

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AN ACTION TOWARDS HUMANIZATION Doorn manifesto in a transnational perspective

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Abstract

In 1957, Ernesto Nathan Rogers, in "Continuità o Crisi?", published in Casabella Continuità, considered history as a process, highlighting that history can be understood as being either in a condition of continuity or in a condition of crisis "accordingly as one wishes to emphasize either permanence or emergency". A year earlier, Le Corbusier in a diagram he sent to the tenth CIAM at Dubrovnik, he called attention to a turning point within the circle of the CIAM, maintaining that after 1956 its dominant approach had been characterised by a reorientation of the interest towards what he called "action towards humanisation". The paper examines whether this humanising process is part of a crisis or an evolution, on the one hand, and compares the directions that were taken regarding architecture's humanisation project within a transnational network, on the other hand. An important instance regarding this reorientation of architecture's epistemology was the First International Conference on Proportion in the Arts at the IX Triennale di Milano in 1951, where Le Corbusier presented his Modulor and Sigfried Giedion, Matila Ghyka, Pier Luigi Nervi, Andreas Speiser and Bruno Zevi intervened among others. The debates that took place during this conference epitomise the attraction of architecture's dominant discourse to humanisation ideals. In a different context, the Doorn manifesto (1954), signed by the architects Peter Smithson, John Voelcker, Jaap Bakema, Aldo van Eyck and Daniel van Ginkel and the economist Hans Hovens-Greve and embraced by the younger generation, is interpreted as a climax of this generalised tendency to "humanise" architectural discourse and to overcome the rejection of the rigidness of the modernist ideals. This paper presents how the debates regarding the Doorn manifesto evolved in the pages of the following journals: The Architectural Review, Architectural Design, Casabella Continuità, Arquitectura, L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui and Forum. An aspect that is closely investigated is that of which epistemological tools coming from other disciplines - philosophy, sociology, anthropology and so on - are more dominant in each of these architectural journals. The fact that each of these journals is closely connected to a specific national context - U.K., Italy, Portugal, France and Holland respectively - offers the opportunity to discern to what disciplines architecture was attracted within these different contexts during its effort to "humanise" its discourse and conceptual tools.

Keywords: humanisation, transnational perspective, generation, continuità, Doorstep

Post-war humanism in a transnational perspective

Despite the intensity of the debates during the late 1950s such as those between Reyner Banham and Ernesto Nathan Rogers in the pages of *The Architectural Review* and *Casabella Continuità* or the critique of BBPR's Torre Velasca by Peter Smithson and Jaap Bakema at the 1959 CIAM conference in Otterlo, there are certain common denominators characterising the rejection of the rigidity of the modernist ideals in different national contexts. Their affinities are related to the socioeconomic conditions of the post-war context and the reconceptualization of the relationship between architecture and urban planning. Within such a context, the conflicts between the protagonist figures representing different national contexts became an engine of regeneration of architecture's scope, revitalizing the architects' role in the transformation of post-war societies. These debates not only are of great importance for understanding the shift between the CIAM and the post-CIAM philosophy, but also shaped the ideals and vision that dominated the architectural scene of the 1960s and 1970s. A common preoccupation was the concern about the humanist aspect of architecture. As Ákos Moravánszky remarks, '*[h]umanism as a program that places the human being in the center of the universe was embraced by all sides during the Second World War and in the years of reconstruction*'. Moravánszky also underscores that humanism '*[i]n the postwar years [...] provided an ideal common ground for liberal and socialist positions*' (2016: 23).

The cross-fertilization between *The Architectural Review*, *Architectural Design*, *Casabella Continuità*, *Arquitectura*, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* and *Forum* can inform our comprehension of the exchanges and cultural transfers regarding architecture between the UK, Italy, Portugal, France and Holland. All the above-mentioned architecture journals contributed to the dissemination of Team 10's concerns. Of great significance regarding the reception of Team 10 in France is the special issue of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in 1975 devoted to Team 10 and titled 'Team 10 + 20'. The journal *Arquitectura* was one of the most significant architecture journals in Portugal in the 1950s. Important for understanding the exchanges between Portugal and Italy is Nuno Portas, who was among its main contributors. His article entitled "Literatura arquitectónica I: L'Architettura,

cronache e storia" was published in *Arquitectura* in 1957, while "A responsabilidade de uma novíssima geração no Movimento Moderno em Portugal" ["The responsibility of a brand new generation in the Modern Movement in Portugal"] appeared in the same journal two years later, in 1959. The former is useful for grasping the cross-fertilization between Portugal and Italy in general, and the Portuguese journal *Arquitectura* and the Italian journal *L'architettura: Cronache e storia*, founded in 1955 by Bruno Zevi in Rome, more specifically, while the latter is important for understanding how the generational shift and the inauguration of the 3rd series of *Arquitectura* contributed to the reorientation of ideas regarding architecture in Portugal. The issue 57/58 of the journal *Arquitectura*, published in winter 1957, was the first issue of the 3rd series of the journal and represents a turning point since it is linked to a new generation within the Portuguese context, which was more open to European debates than the previous series of the same journal.

The post-war context in Portugal was characterized by an intention to reinvent the connection between the architects and the social, economic and political setting within which their practice was inscribed. This reinvention of the architects' role within society was related to the intensification of multidisciplinary approaches and the opening of architecture toward social sciences, geography, economics, anthropology and so on. The intensification of multidisciplinary in architectural discourse and the critique of the principles of the Athens Charter were two central characteristics of this attempt to strengthen the articulations between architecture and its social, economic and political context. Regarding the sharpening of the multidisciplinary facet of architectural discourse, Portuguese architect Pedro Vieira de Almeida's approach is worth noting, while the relationship of the Portuguese architect Amâncio Guedes, a.k.a. Pancho Guedes, with Team 10 should not be underestimated. The latter, who was dean of the Department of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, and a professor at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Lisbon and the Architectural Association in London, perceived architecture as an open-ended discipline. Guedes had studied at the Escolas das Belas Artes in Porto. Since 1962, when he was invited by the Smithsons to attend the meeting at Royaumont, he participated regularly in the Team 10 meetings.

As Jaap Bakema notes, the Dutch group of CIAM consisted of two groups: "Opbouw", which was related to Rotterdam, and "De 8", which was linked to Amsterdam. Of great significance for the dissemination of the ideas of Team 10 in Holland is the Dutch journal *Forum*. In 1959, it initiated a new series of which the first issue was devoted to the thematic 'The story of another idea'. This issue was distributed to the architects that attended the 1959 CIAM meeting in Otterlo, where Aldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson and Jaap Bakema announced the death of the CIAM. As Pedro Baía underscores, in his article entitled "Appropriating Modernism: From the Reception of Team 10 in Portuguese Architectural Culture to the SAAL Programme (1959-74)" (2011: 50), this issue of *Forum* represents a turning point. A statement signed by Alison and Peter Smithson that was published in the 7th issue of *Forum* in 1959 was later included in the British journal *Architectural Design*, where the death of the CIAM was also announced (Smithson, 1960).

Among the episodes that are vital for understanding what was at stake in the post-war Italian context are the foundation of the Associazione per l'architettura organica (APAO) by Pier Luigi Nervi and Bruno Zevi in 1945 and the approach developed by Ernesto Nathan Rogers in *Casabella Continuità* during the post-war years. An important instance regarding this reorientation of architecture's epistemology during the post-war years in Italy and the embracement of humanism under the label "New Humanism" was the "primo convegno internazionale sulle proporzioni nelle arti" ("First International Conference on Proportion in the Arts") organised in 1951 in the framework of the ninth Triennale di Milano. Le Corbusier publicly presented his *Modulor*. Sigfried Giedion, Matila Ghyka, Pier Luigi Nervi, Andreas Speiser and Bruno Zevi were among the participants who attended this event, while Giulio Carlo Argan refused the invitation. The debates that took place during this conference epitomise the attraction of architecture's dominant discourse to ideals of humanisation. In conjunction with the above-mentioned conference, among the exhibitions held during that same Triennale, I could mention "Architettura. Misura dell'uomo" ("Architecture. Measure of man") and "Architettura spontanea" ("Spontaneous architecture") since both reflect the prevalent attraction to humanism. Ernesto

Nathan Rogers curated the former in collaboration with Vittorio Gregotti, Lodovico Meneghetti and Giotto Stoppino, while Giancarlo De Carlo mounted the latter.

The post-war attraction to the ideals of humanism had already been apparent in London, within the context of the Warburg Institute, where the publication of Rudolf Wittkower's *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* in 1949 played a major role, but also in Italy, through the foundation of the Associazione per l'Architettura Organica (APAO) in 1944, which was driven by the conviction that modern architecture's liberation from rigid functionalism would allow humanism and democracy to serve as liberating forces within post-war Italian society. In order to grasp what was at stake in the architectural debates in Italy during the post-war years, one should bear in mind that there was a tension between the Milanese and the Roman contexts. The differentiation between the Milanese and the Roman scene is related to the contrast between Ernesto Nathan Rogers's approach and Bruno Zevi's vision respectively. Both Rogers and Zevi played an important role in the dissemination of architectural debates given that, at the time, they directed two major journals engaging in these debates, such as *Casabella Continuità* and *L'architettura: Cronache e storia* respectively. The contrast between the post-war architectural debates in Milan and in Rome can best be explained by pointing out that the former city was much more closely related to Team 10 than the latter.

The CIAM summer schools, many of which were held in Venice, had an important impact on the Italian post-war architectural debates. The Italians who took part in the CIAM of 1953, held in Aix-en-Provence on the theme "The Charter of Habitat", were: Franco Albini, Ludovico B. Belgioioso, Luigi Cosenza, Ignazio Gardella, Ernesto N. Rogers, Giovanni Romano, Giuseppe Samonà. Ignazio Gardella and Vico Magistretti. According to Eric Mumford '[u]ntil the end of CIAM the Italian group would remain one of the most active and productive national groups' (2002: 65). Rogers added the subtitle *Continuità* to the name of the journal *Casabella* in 1953, that is to say the year of the CIAM in Aix-en-Provence. In 1957, Rogers wrote, in "Continuità o Crisi?": '*Considering history as a process, it might be said that history is always continuity or always crisis accordingly as one wishes to emphasize either permanence or emergency*' (1957: 3-4). Giancarlo De Carlo and Ernesto N. Rogers

attended the last CIAM, held in Otterlo in 1959, two years after the former had resigned from *Casabella Continuità*. De Carlo presented 'Memoria sui contenuti dell'architettura moderna' in Otterlo, while Rogers presented the Torre Velasca. Peter Smithson and Jaap Bakema criticised sharply BBPR's Torre Velasca, when it was presented at the 1959 CIAM conference in Otterlo. Peter Smithson argued that it was aesthetically and ethically wrong and '*a bad model to give because there are things that can be so easily distorted and become not only ethically wrong but aesthetically wrong*' (Smithson in Newman, 1961, p. 94-97). He described it as a model with dangerous consequences and blamed Rogers for not being aware of his position in the society.

The Doorn manifesto as a fruit of generational conflict

The post-war context was characterised by the intention to "re-humanise" architecture, and the Doorn Manifesto was pivotal for this project. The rediscovery of the "human" and the intensification of interest in proportions are two aspects that should be taken into account if we wish to grasp how the scope of architecture was transformed during the post-war period. The interim meeting at Doorn, which was organized by Jaap Bakema and Sandy van Ginkel, took place in January 1954. The Doorn Manifesto or 'Statement on Habitat' (fig. 1), which is often considered to be the founding text of Team 10, was named after the city in which it was formulated and was signed in 1954 by the architects Peter Smithson, John Voelcker, Jaap Bakema, Aldo van Eyck and Sandy van Ginkel and the social economist Hans Hovens-Greve who shared '*their desire to produce towns in which vital human associations were expressed*' (Heuvel & Risselada, 2005, p. 43). The Doorn Manifesto suggested the replacement of the CIAM grid by the 'Scale of Association'. In the Doorn Manifesto, Team 10 presented their 'Scale of Association', which was a kind of re-interpretation of Patrick Geddes' Valley Section. This gesture demonstrates Team 10's intention to replace the four functions — dwelling, work, recreation and transport — of the Charter of Athens by the concept of the 'human association', on the one hand, and to incorporate within the scope of architecture reflections regarding the impact of scale on the design process, on the other hand. One can read in the draft statement for the

tenth CIAM: 'This method is intended to induce a study of human association as a first principle, and of the four functions as aspects of each total problem'¹.

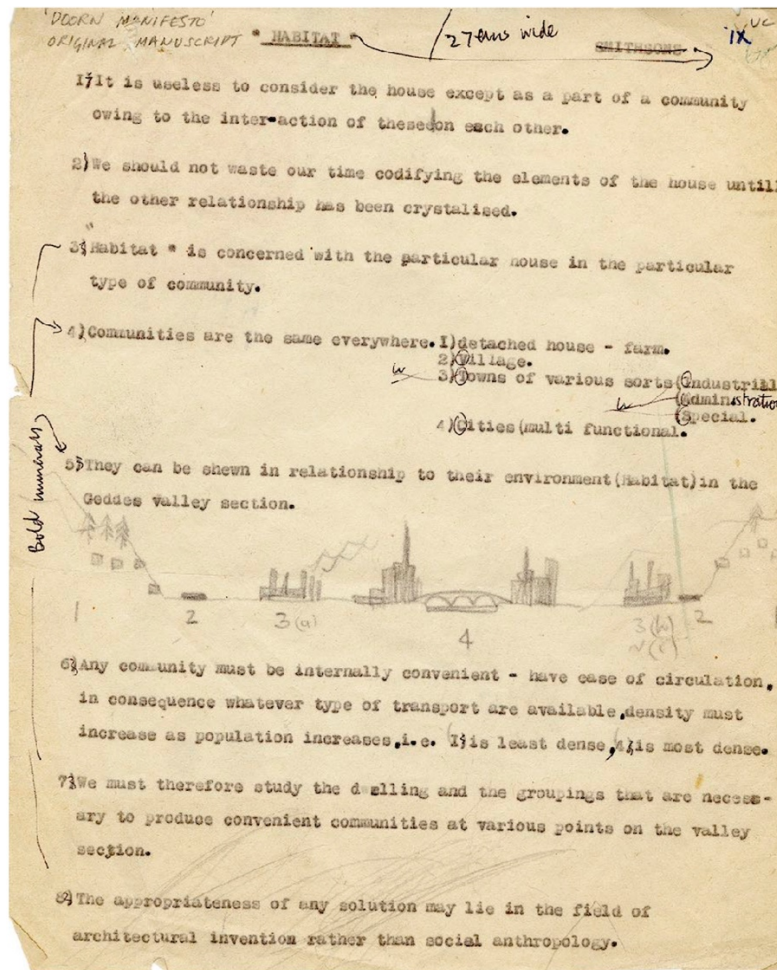


Figure 1. Team Ten, typescript of "Habitat," also known as the "Doorn Manifesto", 1954 (Source: Heuvel, D. van der, & Risselada, M. eds. (2005). *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present 1953-1981*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 42. Credit: Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ TTEN, 9-1 (Team Ten archive)

In order to interpret the fact that any French delegate of the CIAM did not sign the Doorn Manifesto, we should retrace certain events related to the French context, which preceded the meeting in Doorn. One of them is a meeting that was held in May 1952 at Le Corbusier's office in Paris and that was organised by Sigfried

¹ Draft statement for the tenth CIAM with Patrick Geddes' valley Section, CIAM Congresses and Team 10 Meetings: NAI Collections and Archive, Rotterdam

Giedion in collaboration with Walter Gropius, Mary Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Cornelis van Eesteren, André Wogenscky, Sven Markelius, Wells Coates, Godfrey Samuel, Jean-Jacques Honegger, Steiner, George Candilis, Ernesto Nathan Rogers and Bill Howell. In this meeting Le Corbusier described the attitude of the old generation as *'too rigid [...] especially on social issues'*².

An issue that dominated the discussions during this meeting in Paris was that of the transitional status of the next congress. This should be related to the fact that the CIAM IX, that would be held a year later, in July 1953, at Aix-en-Provence, coincides with the arrival of many new members representing the younger generation, such as the Indian architect Balkrishna Vithaldas Doshi and the Finnish architect and theorist Frans Reima Pietilä among other. It was at this congress that Alison and Peter Smithson presented their Urban Re-identification Grid. Another event that was held in Paris was the interim meeting on 30 June 1954 organized by the CIAM Council and attended by Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, José Lluís Sert, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, Jaap Bakema, Aldo van Eyck, Georges Candilis, Rolf Gutmann, Bill Howell, Peter Smithson and John Voelcker. It was during this meeting that CIAM X committee (CIAX) was appointed. Three additional meetings were also held in Paris with the objective to prepare CIAM X, on 14 September 1954, 14 April 1955 and 4 July 1955 respectively. That of April 1955 was organized by Team 10 and took place at Candilis' office with the presence of Bakema, van Eyck, the Smithsons, Voelcker and Woods. As we can see in the unpublished correspondence conserved at the Fondation Le Corbusier in Paris, Ernesto Nathan Rogers wrote to André Wogenscky on 27 April 1955:

On the question of these famous "young people" I think I have always been very clear - and you will remember my frequent intervention trying to fight what I call the "youth complex" and criticizing this definition "young" that threatens to divide the CIAMs according to the date of birth and not according to the vitality of the spirit³.

² 'Conseil CIAM', May 1952, Archives of the Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris, FLC D3-1-2-8.

³ Ernesto Nathan Rogers, letter to André Wogenscky, 27 April 1955, Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris, FLC D2-8-339.

In 1956, during the opening of the CIAM X held at Dubrovnik, Sert read Le Corbusier's "Letter to CIAM 10" (fig. 2), in which the latter was declaring that the ideology of the first era of CIAM was no longer relevant. What is worth noting is his remark that the older generation of the CIAM could not understand '*the direct impact of the situation*'. More specifically, Le Corbusier wrote in this letter:

It is those who become 40 years old, born around 1916 during wars and revolutions, and those then unborn, now 25 years old, born around 1930 during the preparation of a new war and amidst a profound economic, social, and political crisis – thus finding themselves in the heart of the present period the only ones capable of feeling actual problems, personally, profoundly, the goals to follow, the means to reach them, the pathetic urgency of the present situation. They are in the know. Their predecessors no longer are, they are out, they are no longer subject to the direct impact of the situation. (Le Corbusier cited in Frampton, 1992, p. 271-72)

In the same letter he also invited the members of the CIAM to '*continue to thrive with creative passion and idealism*'⁴. Five years later, after the meeting at Otterlo, Le Corbusier also wrote in a letter he addressed to Karl Kramer in 1961 regarding the book *CIAM '59 in Otterlo: 'Every generation must take its place at the right time*' (fig. 3). This letter was accompanied by a sketch illustrating the emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM, which showed Team 10 on the shoulders of CIAM. Of great significance for understanding how the generational conflict is linked to the emergence of the Team 10 out of the CIAM is the fact that the CIAM X was structured around two groups representing the two conflicting generations. As Nicholas Bullock notes, in *Building the Post-war World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain*, the group representing the older generation focused on '*the work of CIAM since its foundation in the form of a charter similar to the Athens Charter*', while the group representing the younger generation tried '*to extend the work of CIAM to include the latest thinking*' (Bullock, 2002, p. 144).

⁴ Le Corbusier's message addressed to the 10th CIAM, 23 July 1956, Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris, FLC D3-7-121-127.

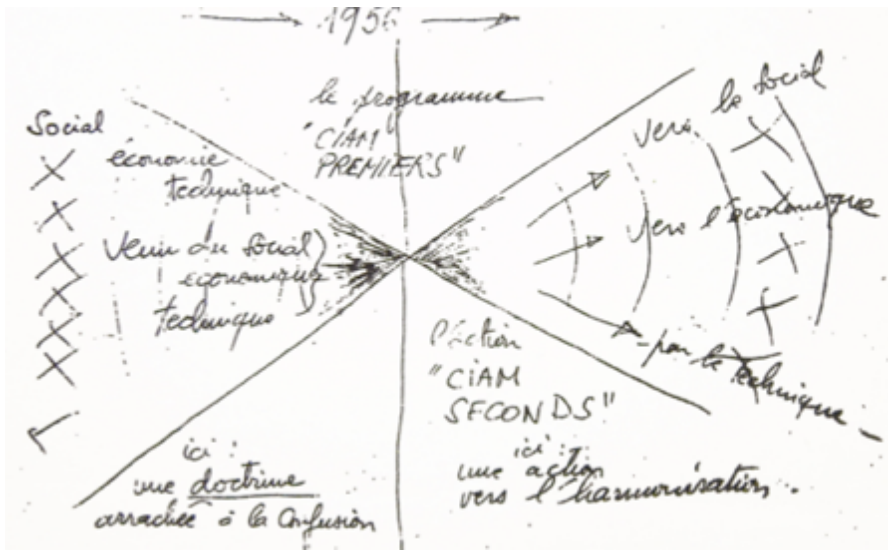


Figure 2. Le Corbusier, Message to the tenth CIAM at Dubrovnik: "Crisis or Evolution?", 23 July 1956 (Credit: gta/ETH 42-HRM-X-17)

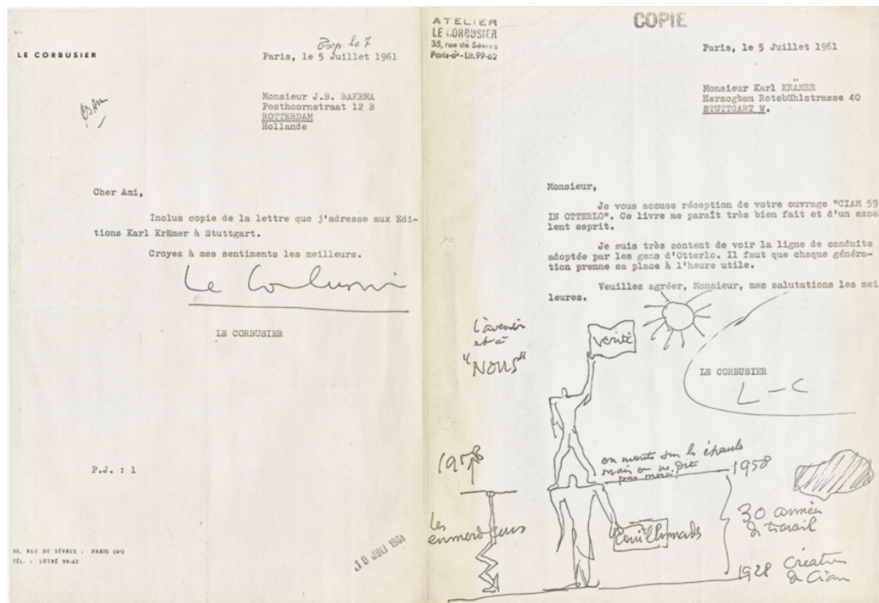


Figure 3. The letter that Le Corbusier wrote to Karl Kramer in 1961 regarding the book *CIAM '59 in Otterlo* (Credit: Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ BAKE, g83-2 (Bakema archive))

The CIAM X and distrust in the concept of the 'new'

One of the central concerns of Team 10 was, as Alison and Peter Smithson noted in 1956, to rethink '*the basic relationships between people and life*'⁵ (Smithsons in Heuvel & Risselada, 2005, p. 50). A concept that they employed was that of doorstep. As the Smithsons emphasized in a draft written that same year containing instructions to the different groups who would take part in the CIAM X meeting, Team 10 started their '*thinking at the bottom with the primer contact at the Doorstep between man and men*' (ibid.) Of great interest for understanding the epistemological shift linked to the dissolution of CIAM and the emergence of Team 10, is Jaap Bakema's distrust in the concept of the 'new'. Characteristically, he noted, in a draft written on 7 February 1956, during the preparations for CIAM X: '*New*' was too much a slogan developed in times of specialization [...] In our days "new" will be more the result of integration of existing possibilities⁶ (ibid., 45). This concern of Bakema's about the osmosis between the existing and the new brings to mind Van Eyck's talk at the CIAM X, entitled "Is Architecture Going to Reconcile Basic Values?", where he emphasized the issue of morality as well as the need '*to gather the old into the new*' through the rediscovery of '*the archaic principles of human nature*' (Eyck in Newman, 1961, p. 28-29).

The goal of the CIAM X, held in Dubrovnik between 19 and 25 July 1956, was to challenge the assumptions of the Charter of Habitat (fig. 4). During this meeting, which neither Le Corbusier nor Walter Gropius attended, the younger generation consisting of Aldo van Eyck, Jacob Bakema, Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and Alison and Peter Smithson established a new agenda for mass housing, "Habitat for the Greater Number". It was at this CIAM meeting that the Smithsons presented their "Fold Houses". A number of meetings preceding the CIAM X were held in London, Doorn, Paris, La Sarraz, and Padua. The main question that was raised during these meetings was how to challenge the Charter of Habitat. The

⁵ Alison and Peter Smithson, Draft Framework 4, 1956, concept document for CIAM X. In Heuvel, D. van der, & Risselada, M. eds. (2005). *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present 1953-1981*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.

⁶ Jaap Bakema, Response to the Draft Framework 2 drawn up in preparation for CIAM X, letter, dated 7 February 1956.

debates that were developed reflect not only the conflicts and disagreements between the older and younger generation, but also the contrast between the different national subgroups. Eric Mumford has characterized the CIAM X as the end of CIAM for its national groups and most of its members, while Francis Strauven has highlighted the fact that '*[t]he suicide and resurrection that were decided upon in Dubrovnik had a devastating effect on the national CIAM groups*' (1998: 274).

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Searched by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt Oct. 1988.

Figure 4. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Report of CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, August 1956 (Credit: Architectural Association Library)

Regarding the abandonment of the CIAM ideals during the CIAM X, Reyner Banham

has remarked that '[t]he sense of the end of an epoch was so strong that the Congress accepted the fact of death with comparative calm...' (Banham in Lampugnani & Bergdoll, 1986, p. 70) The identification of that moment as a turning point becomes apparent in Josep Lluís Sert's statement in the report of CIAM X where he declared: '*As for tomorrow – which begins with this year 1956 – my friends and colleagues the road is clear, but beware we are coming to a turning point!*'⁷. After the meeting at Otterlo, the news of the dissolution of the CIAM was disseminated through articles in the two major UK journals of the time that published architectural debates: *The Architectural Review* and *Architectural Design*. In the first page of relevant text in *Architectural Design*, one can read: '*It was therefore concluded that the name of CIAM will be used no more in relation to future activities of the participants*' (Smithson, 1960, p. 175). Alison Smithson was the guest editor of a group of 30 pages of texts, which were published in this issue under the title "Ciam Team 10". Among the contributors were John Voelcker, Aldo van Eyck, Georges Candilis, Alexis Josic and Shadrach Woods, Jaap Bakema, Louis Kahn, Kenzō Tange and Giancarlo De Carlo. In order to understand the vision of the English delegates of the CIAM one should examine the debates that were developed within the British CIAM Chapter, the MARS (Modern Architectural Research) Group, which was active between 1933 and 1957 and was involved in the preparation of the 1951 congress at Hoddesdon, which was devoted to the theme "The Heart of the City". According to John R. Gold, '[t]he younger members clearly saw MARS membership as their passport to participation in CIAM congresses, in which they were passionately interested' (Gold, 2007, p. 231).

After the Otterlo meeting: the "Post Box for the Development of the Habitat" as an agent of dynamic informality

Of great significance for understanding how the debates after the meeting at Otterlo in 1959 evolved are the Newsletters of the "Post Box for the Development of the Habitat" (B.P.H.), containing eighteen issues circulated between September 1959 and July 1971. These were established by Bakema, who had organized the

⁷ CIAM X Report, p. 5. GTA Archive. ETH Zurich.

last CIAM conference at the Kröller-Müller museum in Otterlo, in order to keep contacts on the subject of habitat alive on an international scale. They constituted a means of communication avoiding '*the pitfalls of a formal and static organisation*' since it was based on the '*principle of dynamic informality*'⁸. Bakema, who signed the Newsletters as 'Postman Bakema', was convinced that this means of communication reflected a '*different moral attitude*' from that of CIAM. He insisted on the necessity to introduce '*the moral function of architectural expression*' and believed that the main differentiation between the vision of CIAM and that of Team 10 concerned this aspiration to put forward the '*morality of architectural expression*'. This 'Postbox' can be treated as an archive of exchanges between the various international avant-gardes during the 1960s. In the Newsletter of 27 January 1961 (fig. 5), Bakema highlighted a distinction between the '*social responsibility*' and the '*morality of architectural expression*'. He underscored that the former is contained in the latter, while the opposite is not true and claimed that the CIAM – even though they in certain cases, mainly during their first years, paid much attention to social responsibility – neglected the significance of the moral aspect of architecture.

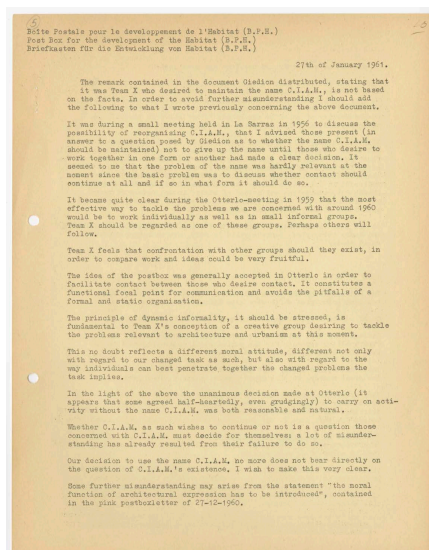


Figure 5. Post Box for the Development of the Habitat (B.P.H.), Newsletter 27 January 1961 (Credit: Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut/ BAKE, g119-5-1 (Bakema archive))

⁸ Newsletter 27 January 1961, 'Post Box for the Development of the Habitat', The collection at Het Nieuwe Instituut in Rotterdam.

Jaap Bakema's concern about the '*morality of architectural expression*' cannot be thought without bringing to mind the humanist values. Similarly, Roger's temporally driven aesthetic model and his search for continuity reflects his endeavor to embrace the social reality of the post-war era. This can also explain his close relationship with Enzo Paci's approach. Van Eyck's desire '*to gather the old into the new*' through the rediscovery of '*the archaic principles of human nature*' (Eyck in Newman, 1961, p. 28-29) is also an expression of this appeal to humanism, as is Alison and Peter Smithson's effort to rethink '*the basic relationships between people and life*' (Smithsons in Heuvel & Risselada, 2005, p. 50). Undoubtedly, despite their disagreements, the different personalities that formed Team 10, coming from varied national contexts, shared a determination to reconcile the past with the future. Simultaneously, an affinity between the different agents of dissemination of the principles on which the shift from CIAM to Team 10 was postulated is their aspiration to disapprove of the mere search for the new. What connects them is their conviction that architecture had the moral target of situating the human at the center of its reflection. To conclude, I would claim that the generalized belief in humanism within the post-war context in Europe is founded on the wish to shape the conceptual tools that would provide such a role for the architects as citizens and as agents in the transformation of society, which was a central preoccupation within these different national contexts during the post-war years.

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A VARIABLE IN PAULO MENDES DA ROCHA'S SINGLE-STOREY HOUSES

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Abstract

At the age of twenty-nine years old, the young Paulo Mendes da Rocha had already designed notable projects, and it was at that age, in 1958, when his work became widely recognised by winning the competition for the Paulistano Athletic Club Gymnasium with a project that soon became a reference in the national architecture context. This moment of maturation in his work corresponds to a period of significant events at the international level. Just two years before, events at CIAM 10 suggested that the generational tension pointed out by Le Corbusier led to the advent of numerous new perspectives affecting international architecture production. In parallel, some authors have already noticed subtle variations in Mendes da Rocha's work that appeared in the 1970s and share ideas that had arisen in the new international context. Revisiting the twenty-one built and unbuilt single-storey house projects designed by the architect (all of which were designed between 1961 and 2012), by analysing the relationship between the interior 'public' and 'private' spaces, it is possible to identify variations that mirror shifts at the international level. Noting that there is a divergence of solutions proposed by Mendes da Rocha in his first houses when compared to his latest designs, this paper joins recent contributions of other authors showing heterogeneities in the architect's work and showing possible new directions in his work that appeared during the post-CIAM years.

Keywords: Paulo Mendes da Rocha; House; Modern Architecture; Brazilian Architecture.

'Rationalised favelas'

Perhaps one of Paulo Mendes da Rocha's most publicized works is the house he designed for himself in 1964. On one of the earliest occasions this house was published, in Acropolis magazine No. 343 of 1967, the philosopher and art historian Flávio Motta nicknamed the dwelling design proposed by the architect a 'rationalised favela', since 'every person accepts the presence of the other, without

solid walls, but rather in new and desirable conditions of human respect' (Motta, 1967, p. 18). In Motta's words, it was *'the space as a social project'* (Motta, p. 18).

Room partitions do not reach the ceiling, which means individual insulation is never effectively achieved. As Ana Luiza Nobre points out, *'the imposing character of this project corresponds [...] to a non-conformity to customs and habits of comfort fundamentally in solidarity with a social system that gives privilege to individual interests, to the detriment of community life'* (Nobre, 2007). As in the FAU-USP building, designed by Vilanova Artigas just three years earlier, the low partitions integrate all spaces under a single roof, which allows the building to be seized by those who find themselves in it as a large collective space. These peculiarities of the house, as well as the FAU-USP, are not strange compared to other projects of what is called the School of São Paulo. About the houses of this period, Segawa comments that interiors *'were admirably open, with fluid environments that are physically and visually interconnected, often abolishing traditional hierarchies of use and coexistence. Community spaces were valued; the private nooks compacted'* (Segawa, 1998, p. 151).

Among the architectural features pointed out by Ruth Verde Zein for the School of São Paulo, one is precisely the search for *'solutions that overvalue the common inner space of indefinite or open use'* (Zein, 2000, p. 384). Another of the characteristics observed by Zein, *'the preference for the monobloc solution, or in "single volume", housing all the functions of the program'* (Zein, p. 384) makes the consequences of the unique partitions of this house even more visible.

The composition of the floor plan and the internal spatial configuration of the program also contribute to intensify the relationship between intimate and social spaces, using a design proposal that inverts the traditional solution. As Anette Spiro points out, *'[t]he floor plans remain one of the reversed principle of a classical villa. The all-encompassing central space has been removed from the middle. It is no longer the core of the house, but rather now includes all of the other rooms, incorporating them therein'* (Spiro, 2002, p.13). The two longitudinal areas at the ends of the house –of social character– surround the central area. By

opening the doors, it is possible to cross the entire house, from facade to facade, through the dormitories, reinforcing the idea of a single and continuous space. The unusual wooden shutter doors of the bedrooms contribute to developing this idea.

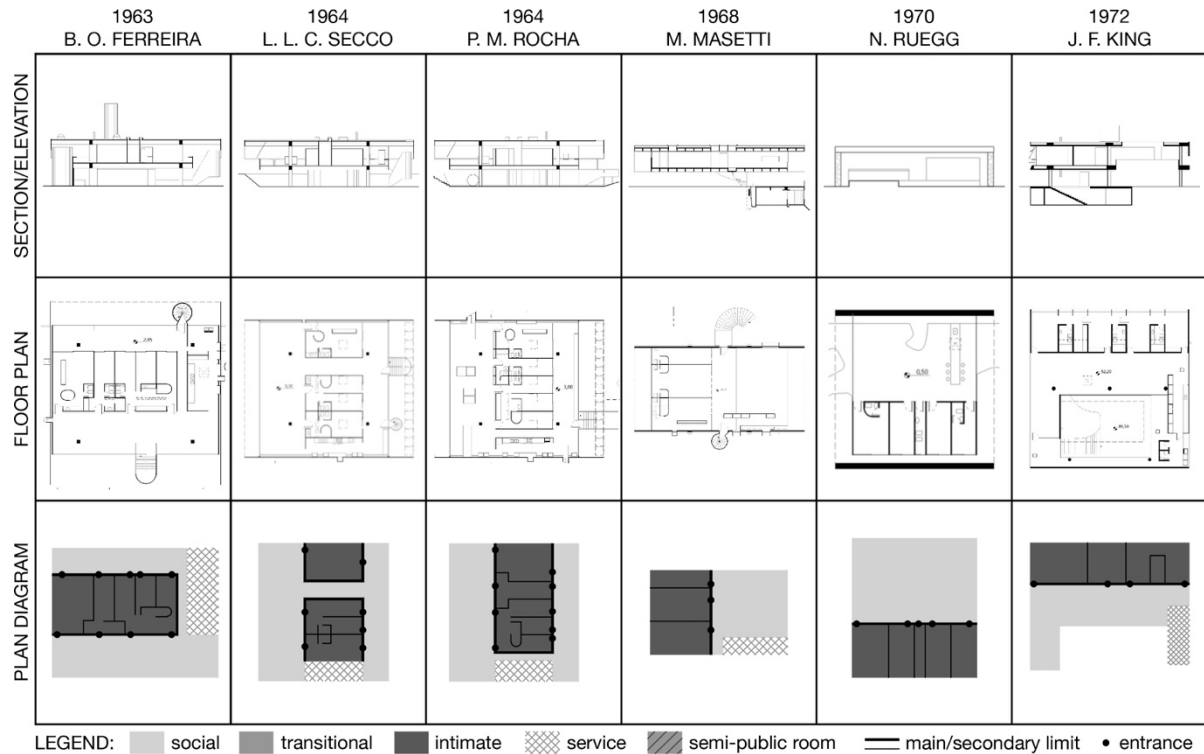


Figure 1. Group 1 - Low segregation proposals (Plans: Zein, 2000; Diagram: the author)¹

Almost all intimate areas share light, air, wind, sound, smell, and also the same wooden floorboards of the social spaces, whose arrangement allows them to invade under the doors all of the rooms, from the living room through the bedrooms, without interruption of threshold or change of material. The slender concrete beams also fly overhead, running through all of the rooms. The partitions

¹ In the diagrams, the analysed spaces were classified as social (of public character such as the living room or dining room), intimate (of private character like bedrooms or bathrooms), transitional (spaces that interconnect social and intimate spaces, suggesting detachment or separation not necessarily physically delimited by doors or walls, as is the case for corridors) and service (of neutral nature, such as kitchen, service area, utility room, laundry room, or dependencies for employees). A specific case are semi-public rooms, which could not fit strictly into social or intimate, such as an office, atelier or library, and which can be considered as transitional spaces for the purposes of this analysis, given the two projects in which they appear.

–carefully executed in reinforced concrete measuring only 3cm in depth– seem to aspire to disappear.

These peculiarities of Butantã House are not, however, an exception within the architect's residential work. First because this house was designed almost as if to be built twice, one next to the other. The project contemplated the construction of two twin houses, very similar, one for the architect and another for his sister in the adjacent lot. The twin house, Luiz and Lina Cruz Secco House, does not differ from Butantã in terms of the radicalism of the solutions adopted for the problem of the social-intimate interface. The twin houses find their precedent in the 1963 Beton Odilon Ferreira House.

We could also consider as a '*rationalised favela*' the later houses Nabor Ruegg (1970) and James Francis King (1972). Although these houses seem to be less radical, they do not have the desire of spatial segregation. The doors of the bedrooms continue to be directly open to the living room, without the slightest intention of setting up a space of privacy transition. It could also be the case of Mario Masetti House (1968), which has a skylight and a grate on the floor serving as a subtle transition, yet it keeps the doors of intimate areas completely open to social spaces, and maintains Butantã's sliding shutter doors, in a desire to eliminate the '*solid walls*' to which Flávio Motta referred.

This search for the elimination of '*solid walls*' is more effective if the whole main program of the house is developed on a single floor, and this is the case for all the above-mentioned houses. The compartmentalization of the program into different floors would suppose an unwanted transition. In fact, with only the exception of the house Nabor Ruegg, all the previous houses have two floors, however, the ground floor is composed of pilotis and only apportioned to service spaces, resulting in the owners' living spaces being deliberately confined to a single floor.

The social-intimate interface of these houses is therefore one of the factors that has frequently allowed us to associate the work of Paulo Mendes da Rocha with the School of São Paulo, which in turn associates itself in the international context with the modern movement. In contrast, connections to later periods are less frequent, and sometimes even questioned or denied. However, the last house we

know that shares this type of proposal is the aforementioned James Francis King, 1972. Given that the architect is currently still practicing and that we know that he designed numerous other single floor houses that could be compared, it seems necessary to revisit these projects.

Moderate solutions

Only the six projects already examined present the aforementioned particularities. Other projects show that the architect has also developed moderate proposals. This is the case of the first of the single-storey houses, Heloísa A. de Lima Mota House (1961), in which there is a partition that does not reach the ceiling, allowing the creation of transition circulation between the living room and the bedrooms. The access to them in turn recedes from the wall, conforming a small hall that precedes the door.

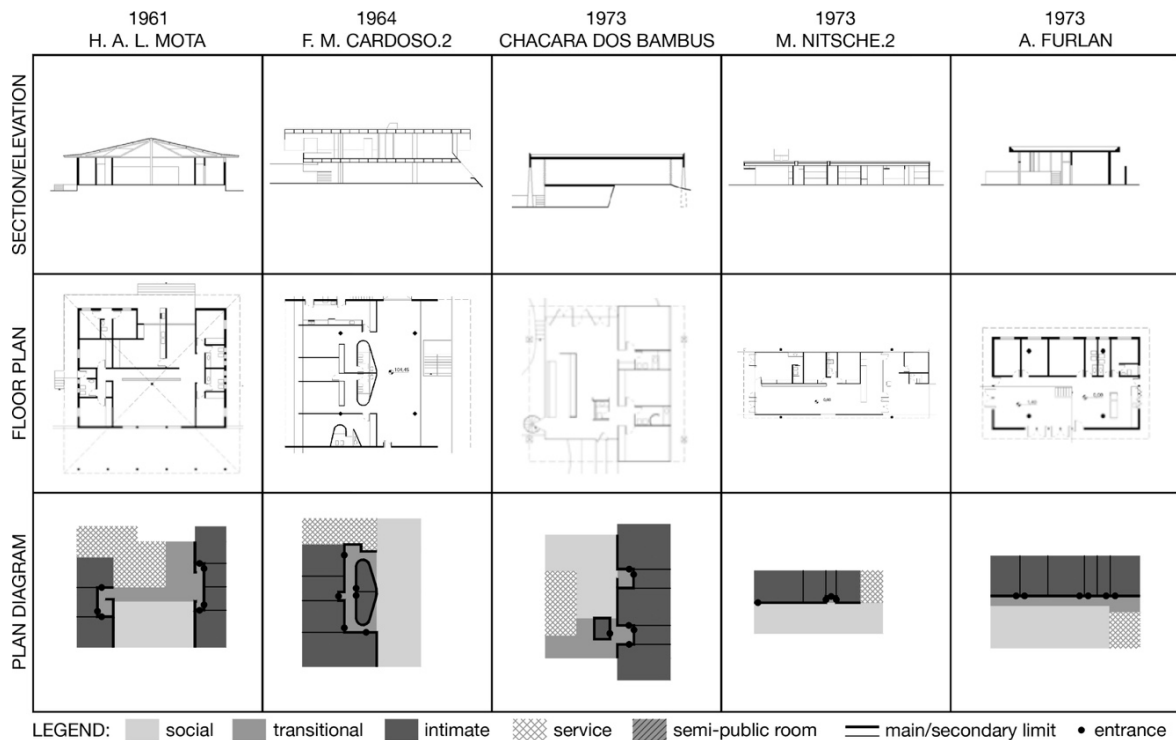


Figure 2. Group 2 (Part I) - Moderate segregation proposals
 (Plans: Zein, 2000; Diagram: the author)

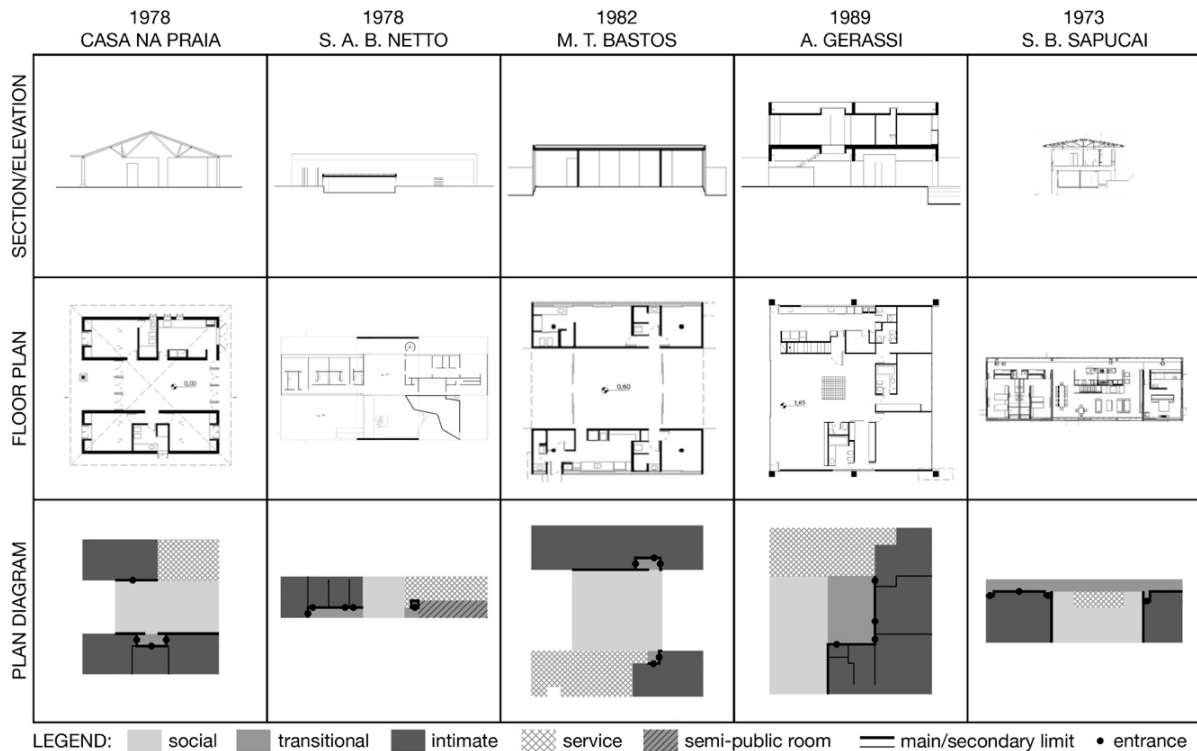


Figure 3. Group 2 (Part II) - Moderate segregation proposals (Plans: Zein, 2000. and Eduardo Colonelli Archive [São Bento do Sapucaí House]; Diagram: the author)

In this house, as in his last single-storey house project, in São Bento de Sapucaí (2012), there are two solutions that will be repeated throughout the architect's work to configure spaces of slight transition between social and intimate environments: the corridor and the small recessed hall. The distribution corridor appears timidly at Artemio Furlan House (1973), this time through a 1.40m gap. More clearly, the corridor appears properly as such in the first house designed for Silvio Antonio Bueno Netto (1978).

In the second and definitive project of the house built for Marcelo Nitsche, the solution is the small recessed lounge. This also appears in the House on the Beach of 1978 (in which only the master bedroom opens directly to the living room) and Maurício Thomaz Bastos House (1982). In other cases, in addition to the recess, there is an element that gives greater –but not excessive– privacy to the access of the bedrooms. This is the case of the final project for Francisco Malta Cardoso

House (1964), in which the obstacle consists of a couple of bathrooms. An isolated bathroom is interposed in the recess of two of the bedrooms of the Chácara dos Bambus (1973), while the other bedroom is also preceded by a small hall. In Gerassi House (1989) this hall is larger and the element that interposes suggesting delimitation is the light of a skylight in the ceiling, accompanied by the ventilation grid that it projects in the floor.

Steps in the opposite direction

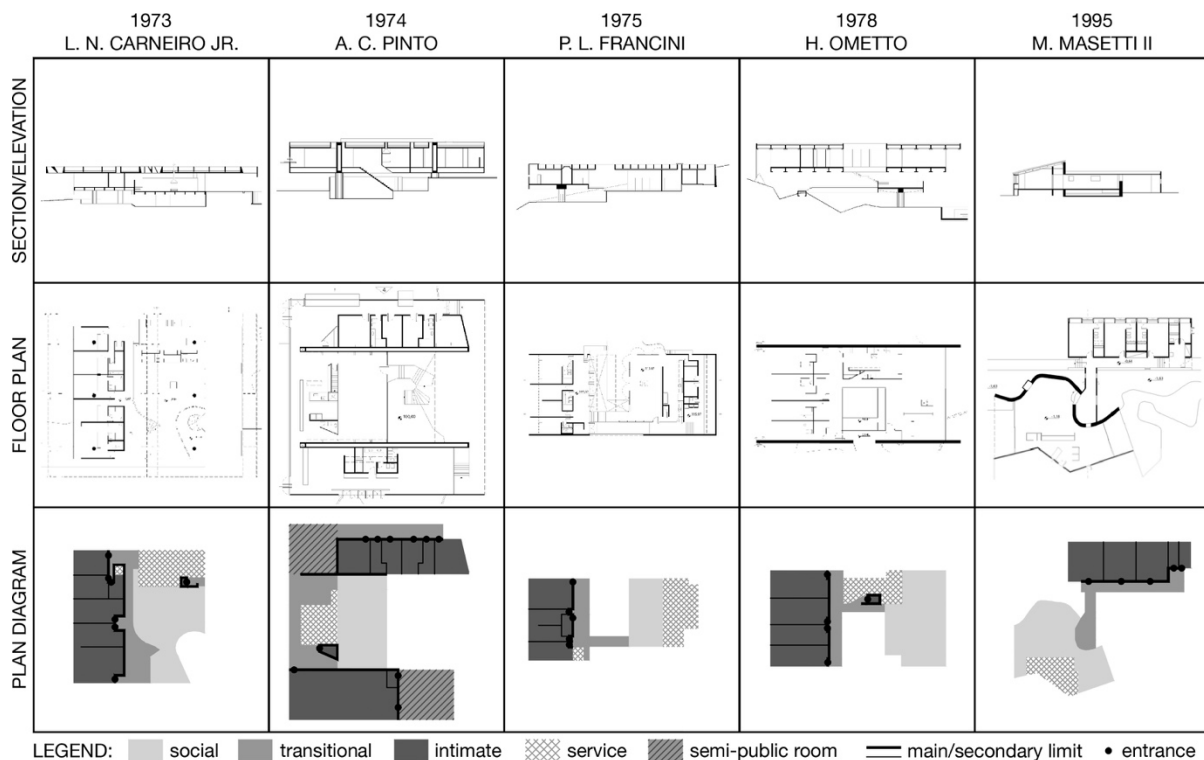


Figure 4. Group 3 - High segregation proposals (Plans: Zein, 2000; Diagram: the author)

Only a year after the project of the James Francis King House, the last of the 'rationalised favelas', Paulo Mendes da Rocha designed Ligia/Newton Carneiro Jr. House, where the chosen direction seems to lie against the first group of his works. This house, designed in 1973, the same date as the aforementioned Artemio

Fulan, shares with it the incorporation, for the first time in the architect's single-storey houses, of distinct levels inside the house. Although in both cases the dimensions generate a distance from the intimate environments in relation to those of social use, in Ligia / Newton Carneiro Jr. House this one becomes evidently more intense. The small gap of only 70cm is now reversed, locating the living room in a lower level and not in the opposite, which results in a smaller, more protected height, since the roof is levelled in all the house. The 70cm could not suppose a barrier, but the railing seems to have been designed intentionally solid, resulting therefore in a wall of approximately 2m of height from the living room, that obstructs the vision of the access to the bedrooms². The gap, on the other hand, demanded the creation of a corridor whose generous design makes it possible to function as a great hall of transition between social and intimate spaces. This transitional space is also emphasized by a zenith opening in the roof that separates the slab in two parts and that refers to the solution of Mario Masetti House. However, this feature does not seem to have the same meaning as in the aforementioned house, since it is not hidden in the facade as in Masetti, but visible. It is possible to perceive from the exterior that there is an interruption in the slab, thus indicating a timid and subtle desire to break the monobloc into two parts that begin to separate.

For that reason, this house seems to be the embryo of a series, which would be followed by the houses Paulo/Lucia Francini (1975) and Helena Ometto (1978). In both houses a central space functions as a courtyard that physically separates the house into two parts, the social spaces and the intimate spaces. Although in the two houses it is not possible from the outside to see the divided ceiling, as was the case of the previous work, the rupture in the internal spaces is greater, and the corridor of the previous works is now a walkway that significantly separates the living room from the distribution hall for the bedrooms. The aforementioned distribution hall in Paulo/Lucia Francini House still relies on the recess of the doors of the three bedrooms more exposed to the living room, plus a level gap of 1,20m above the living room. In Helena Ometto House, the recess of the bedroom door

² According to the drawings consulted, it is solid, probably of reinforced concrete, which was a recurring solution at that time, as in the railing of the upper floor of the Fernando Millan House.

exists but is smaller, and there is no difference in level, but the kitchen is interposed as an obstacle and the living room, unlike the previous case, has its largest opening in the opposite direction to the rooms.

The most emblematic case of this series is the house in Cabreúva (1995). In this house, the segregation between the intimate and social environments becomes radical, since the house is composed of two volumes radically different, each dedicated to housing a type of use. While one volume has flat roof, the other has it inclined. While one is geometrically regular the other is irregular. In addition to these and many other differences, the two nuclei are even separated by a watercourse. To cross it from the living room it is necessary to change levels by climbing some steps and turning sharply, which allows us to walk through a corridor that is in truth more of a walkway. After crossing it, it is possible to reach a second corridor that only then allows access to the rooms. This Homeric route in Cabreúva has no possible kinship with that of the '*rationalised favela*'. The idea of the home without '*solid walls*' by Flávio Motta from the first houses is unrecognizable here. If the individual space was separated from the collective space in the house in Butantã by three centimetres, here we have three walls of separation. In addition, one of the three walls that interpose is the thickest of the whole project, a structural wall of stone, possibly the most representative paradigm of '*solid wall*'. Perhaps the only remote reminder of the '*rationalised favela*' –which the architect cleverly left as a provocation to the unwary who seeks to unambiguously or definitively understand his work– is the disconcerting precise alignment of the single gap of the stone wall with the gaps of the three walls in the walkway. These gaps allow those who happen to notice them to (albeit with difficulty) visually cross the whole house of '*solid walls*', but only on this axis, in the junction point that connects the two blocs. It can be seen as a reminder that the connection of the two volumes is as arduous as it is fleeting.

Among the more segregated solutions, we must add an earlier project, Arlindo Carvalho House, 1974. Although not part of the series of bi-nucleate or quasi-binucleate houses, it is important because it rehearses, within monobloc proposals, a significant isolation solution in the intimate rooms. In this case, the three strips appear in the classic version quoted earlier by Anette Spiro. The

central space is dedicated to social use and the external strips, separated by openings on the roof and thick structural walls (again *'solid walls'*), are dedicated to the intimate spaces, which are accessed by a corridor separated from the living room by the kitchen, leading to a transition space which precedes the bedrooms.

'Times have changed'

In an article published in 2001 on Mendes da Rocha's works designed and published in the 1990s, Carlos Eduardo Comas concludes: *'one cannot really speak of a real discontinuity between the work examined and the previous production'* (Comas, 2001). Among the projects examined by Comas in this text were two of the works that we revisited previously, the Gerassi House and the House in Cabreúva of Mario Masetti. Observing both, especially the second, and relating them to the first projects here revisited, it is not surprising that, a little further on the same text, Comas refined his statement by writing that *'times have changed,'* and that *'without doubt, the messianism of the 1960s in which the first Paulo flourished, and the naive faith of the School of São Paulo, are distant'* (Comas, 2001).

Chronologically it is possible to observe that, besides the persistent line of moderate solutions, the houses resembling the *'rationalised favela'* are grouped in the initial years of the career of Mendes da Rocha. We did not find solutions of a similar degree of radicalism in his production afterwards. On the other hand, the diametrically opposite solutions only happen after Ligia/Newton Carneiro Jr. House, after 1973. The period of new approaches has its first manifestations in the 1970s, cementing and affirming itself in the 1980s and 1990s. This fact allows us to place this result also in parallel with observations of other authors such as Zein, who observing the whole of the work wrote that there is *'a subtle transformation, from the project of the Museum of Sculpture (1987-92)'* (Zein, 2000, p. 160).

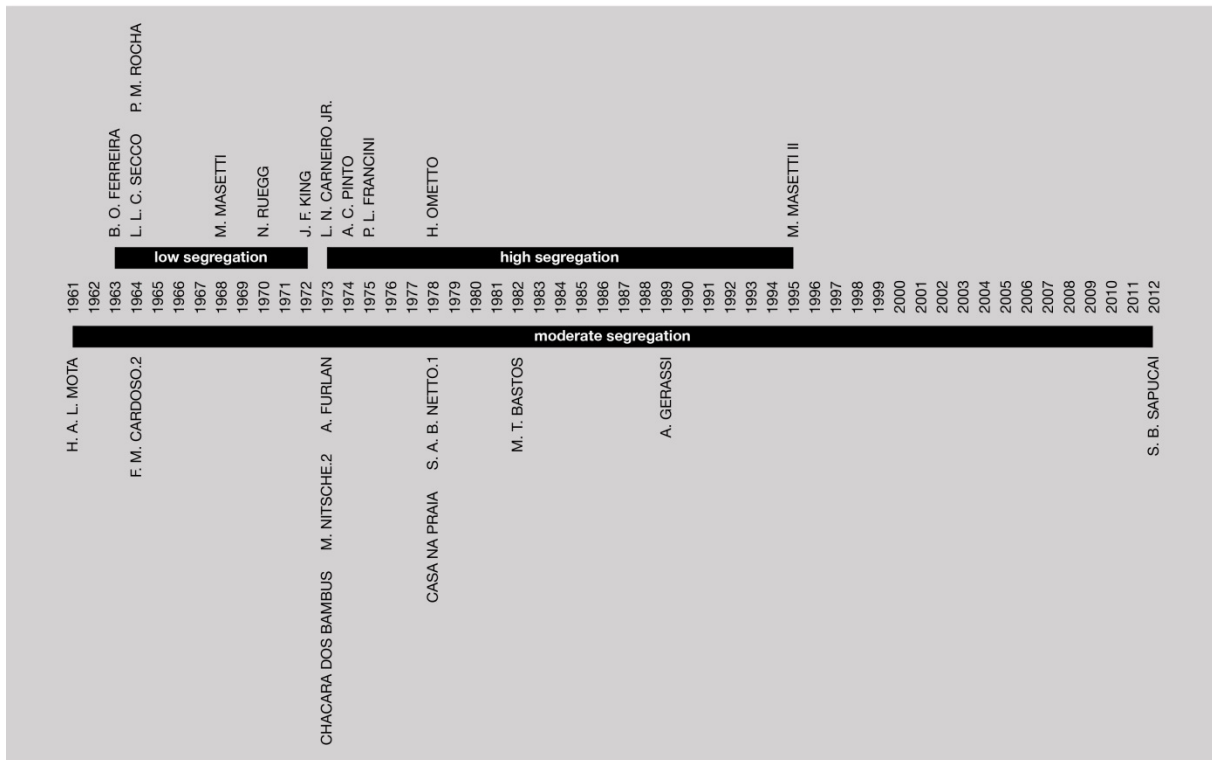


Figure 5. Chronological chart of the groups of houses (the author)

The dates corresponding to these three groups of houses relate to the grouping that would result from an analysis of the same variable in the housing projects designed by Mendes da Rocha³. After all, according to Zein, '*[t]he theme par excellence that runs the great majority of his residential work is the idea of house-apartment*⁴' (Zein, 2000, p. 398), in which, in fact, most of the works here discussed are included. The projects that notably lean to radical solutions relating to the '*rationalised favela*' are those from his first years, the CECAP Cumbica (1967), the Jauaperi Building (1972) and the Prototype Building (1973). Considering 1973 again as a timeframe, we see that the architect, from this moment, does not repeat this type of solution in his residential buildings. The

³ We know 12 housing projects designed by Mendes da Rocha, among them built projects, unbuilt projects, and variations for the same lot. We do not have knowledge of the plans for one of those, the Bertin Condominium, which was not built. It is thus the only one we do not consider here.

⁴ According to Zein's own definition, 'houses on a single floor, raised from the ground, repeatable and multipliable' (Zein 2001, 398).

works that use diametrically opposite approaches are the Jaraguá Building (1984), in which the nuclei of elevators and stairs is located in the central portion of the apartment floor, completely fragmenting the collective and individual uses, and the Golden Hill Building (1985), which has a bi-nucleated plan and is connected by a walkway near the Catanduva House. It is possible to observe that there is also a line of moderate proposals that extends throughout the entire work of the architect: Guaimbê Building (1962), Penhasco das Gaivotas Towers (1983), Aspen Building (1986) and the two proposals for building in Vallecas⁵ (2004). About the Aspen Building, Mendes da Rocha himself explains in 1994, in an article about this building entitled *Virtues of a House: 'One can flow everywhere, there is no such thing as the usual separations. But there could be: I made some variations to show that it is possible to have a conventional apartment, if the client wants. If anyone has prudence about the living room leading to the bedrooms, a partition can be placed'* (Rocha, 1994).

Daniele Pisani, who proposes in his book on the work of Mendes da Rocha a chapter entitled *'Architecture for a new world'*, dedicated to analysing his works of the 1980s, comments in a manner similar to the architect, but in relation to Gerassi House, that he *'does not want to revolutionize the lives of its users'* (Pisani, 2013, p. 249), and that, *'the period of great battles fading, the struggle turns to new front lines. Thus, with undeniable realism, the project can no longer be understood as the direct pre-figuration of a coming world'* (Pisani, p. 249). This attitude identified by Pisani, distant from the *'messianism of the 60s'* as indicated by Comas, coincides in dates and does not seem alien to the international context of revision of the modern movement that began to gain strength after the end of the CIAM. At this time certain formulations of the discourse promoted by the masters of the avant-garde of the beginning of the century started to wane, such as the reliance on architecture as an instrument of social transformation and the search for a disruption with traditional customs and ways of life.

⁵ In Vallecas only the three-bedroom typology of the final proposal built has a solution that does not include transition spaces, which is perhaps due to the scarcity of space, since in the rest of the apartments is visible the concern with the creation of at least small transitional spaces.

The '*rationalised favelas*' recall the spatial conception of the desired modern society. They reverberate the vanguard principles of critique of the individual way of life that proliferated in the earliest decades of the twentieth century, as in the first De Stijl Manifesto (1918) or in the proposals of the ABC group exemplified by Mart Stam in '*Kollektive Gestaltung*' (1924). It is noticeable that the houses here revisited from the second half of the 70's deviate from these principles, going towards the values of a new generation of designers –not by chance a generation closer to Mendes da Rocha– that start to question these principles. It is the case of Giancarlo de Carlo '*Architecture's public*' (1969), where he shows discontentment for the consequences for housing proposals motivated by the CIAM of Frankfurt of 1929, by asking why architects should not try to make dwellings that do not necessarily follow the determinations promoted by the CIAM, dwellings that could be, among other things, '*rich in opportunities for privacy*' (De Carlo, 1969, p. 9).

During the years of critical revision of the Modern Movement, the emergence of a new dynamic with the past, no more understood as something to be rejected, allowed new approaches that tried to establish connections between architecture and traditional ways of life. The abandonment of the positivist logic and the unchallenged faith in the progress that characterized the CIAM years allowed theorists and architects to move on from the ways of the production of previous years. The analogical morphology relations that Aldo Rossi proposed extend to the search for affinity with the traditional lifestyle, as he explains when talking about the residential block in the Gallarate district of Milan (1969-1973), including '*domestic intimacy*' (Rossi, 1976, p. 350). In the Dutch context, John Habraken concluded his '*Type as a social agreement*' (1988) stating that the challenge for the architects '*is no longer to be avant-garde and to refuse the past, but to connect to it and transform it*' (Habraken, 1988).

The reflections about a dwelling that does not ignore a traditional lifestyle, but rather tries to establish ties with it by respecting the residents' habits and not causing a rupture, are part of the main concerns in the writings and works by many architects that followed up the questioning of the modern principles after the second half of the twentieth century.

In other fields of knowledge, we find parallel stances. For example, in psychology, the book 'Personal Space' by Robert Sommer, originally released in 1969 but published by the University of São Paulo in 1973, is focused on the concern of analysing conflicts caused by breaches of the private and intimate limits of the individual. The book analyses, from behavioural evaluations, the ever-tense relationship between individual and collective, which is especially addressed in the chapter explicitly called '*In defense of privacy*'.

The intense circulation of these ideas, in the international scope of these years, could hardly have been missed by the most notable Brazilian architects. Anat Falbel recently showed that Vilanova Artigas and Lina Bo Bardi '*were following closely the CIAM discussions since post-war*' (Falbel, 2018, p. 622), specifically approaching the architectural principles of Aldo Van Eyck, despite the recurrent omission of the subject in Brazilian historiography. Mendes da Rocha, called by Artigas to be a professor at FAU-USP, where Lina also was professor, certainly was not oblivious to his contemporary international intellectual framework and the transformations triggered by it.

Certainly, '*times have changed*', and the work of Mendes da Rocha seems to have changed with them. In this sense, we suggest that our analysis and conclusions are in line with the proposal of Maria Alice Junqueira Bastos –which in 2010 she still called the '*reckless thesis*'– that, observing inflexions in the site plan of the projects of the architect, initially following CIAM principles, suggests that '*the architecture that has been made by Mendes da Rocha after years of critical review of the modern movement is tributary to these questions, and therefore distinct from its previous architecture*' (Bastos, 2010). In fact, also our analysis of the work of Mendes da Rocha seems to be sensitive to this context, but evidences of direct connections –or even indirect connections– between the architect and the international intellectual framework of these years are unknown or omitted, and sometimes denied. However, if on the one hand the work of the architect approximates the international production of the masters of the first half of the XX century –such as indicated by Zein regarding Le Corbusier or Mies van der Rohe (Zein, 2000, pp. 43-107)– it falls to us to question if it is possible that the attention and evident interest of the architect to the international context could

have completely disappeared precisely during the years when his career developed. Given the fact that this hypothesis is very unlikely, and considering the growing appreciation of the work of Mendes da Rocha in the contemporary world of architecture, the 'reckless thesis' of Bastos seems to be in urgent need of wider exploration, as well as the re-examination of the work of the architect – to which we aim to contribute– and the possible connections –still invisible– between the architect and the international architecture context of his generation.

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SESIONES DE CRÍTICA DE ARQUITECTURA **The change in the architectural debate in the Spain of the 1960s**

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Abstract

The journal Arquitectura was reissued in January 1959 as a mouthpiece of the Madrid Institute of Architects (COAM). This brought to an end the period of the Revista Nacional de Arquitectura, the journal which replaced it after the Civil War under the control of the Franco regime. Curiously, moving from one journal to another did not involve many changes in how it was managed, and it would remain for over a decade in the hands of Carlos de Miguel, its director since the late forties. Despite this 'apparent' continuity, the independence achieved from government bodies brought about important changes in focus, mechanisms and strategies of dissemination and architectural criticism.

This paper aims to consider this shift in thinking, topics and agents by reviewing the 'Sesiones de Crítica de Arquitectura' (SCAs, Architecture Critic Sessions). These were regular meetings organized by Carlos de Miguel in which there were interactive debates about an issue, previously introduced by a speaker. The sessions started in 1951 and were held regularly all through the fifties. However, they were interrupted in the early sixties and later reorganized, but this time with significant differences with regard to the former period. The SCAs in the sixties were less frequent and included guest speakers with special expertise in the fields of design and social sciences. Urban conditions began to attract greater attention and, overall, disagreements and differences of approach and interests between the two generations who attended the meetings became evident: the older architects, who started the sessions as a discussion forum about tradition and modernity, and the younger ones, who called into question rational values of modernism defended by their masters and went for pursuing new perspectives in the development of architectural culture.

Keywords: *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura, Spanish architecture periodicals, Carlos de Miguel, Sesiones de Crítica de Arquitectura (SCA).*

Carlos de Miguel won the competition for running *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura* (RNA) in 1948, only seven years after its beginnings. To some extent, RNA resumed the trajectory of *Arquitectura*, the original mouthpiece of the *Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid* (COAM) until it was suspended in 1936 due to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

Following the end of the conflict, in 1941 the *Dirección General de Arquitectura* (DGA) changed its name and purpose in order to adapt it to the new requirements of the Franco regime. During its first years, RNA was almost exclusively dedicated to the great works promoted by the DGA. The Pre-Civil War modernity disappeared from its pages to make way for a catalogue of 'national' buildings supported by the state.

However, when De Miguel became in charge of the journal, the DGA had already transferred it to the *Consejo Superior de Arquitectos* due to its high-cost publishing. This new acquired independence of the Franco regime allowed him to lead the gradual transformation of the magazine.

We are then interested in all the opinions about any of the current architectural issues, and everybody is invited to present them in order to [...] help us to focus that topics on new trends and solutions.

Thus, we attempt to create a new and positive interest, and our effort will not have been useless if it leads us to design more modern and better architecture. (Preámbulo, 1948)

During the first years, Carlos de Miguel was taking initiatives to transform the journal. Although the changes were subtle and gradual, RNA became increasingly more interesting: new topics, new layout, new illustrators, new sections, etcetera. Despite the government censorship, the director was working to put RNA on the same level other European magazines.

In that time, one of the greatest contributions of Carlos de Miguel was the launch of the *Sesiones de Crítica de Arquitectura* (SCAs), which early became an unmissable event for all those architects interested in architecture criticism. The SCAs were meetings held by RNA with a fixed structure: a speaker invited by the

organizing gave a presentation, followed by a discussion on the topic. Afterwards, the transcript of the SCA was usually published in the journal, allowing an understanding of an important part of the Spanish architectural debate in the 1950s and 1960s.

SCA 1950s. The blooming

The SCA cycle started in October 1950 with a meeting about the United Nations Headquarters in New York, which was published in the first issue of 1951. The subject of the gatherings was rather erratic, since they were not searching for any particular topic: *'More important than the criticized object is the critique itself because we are architects and 'our' critique will ultimately be 'our' way to express what we think about our profession'*. (Moya, 1951, p. 21)

Therefore, at the beginning the discussion was about a bit of everything and in a slightly chaotic way, but most of the meetings were dedicated to general topics. However, the first four sessions were organized about recent specific buildings. In addition to the first one about the UN Headquarters in New York, they discussed about the *Ministerio del Aire* by Luis Gutiérrez Soto, (Chueca Goitia, 1951) the greatest exponent of the Franco architecture in Madrid; about the Termini Station; (Aburto, 1951) and about the Sanctuaries of Aránzazu and La Merced, (Cabrerero, 1951) two good examples of modern architecture designed by the young Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oíza. Even though the balance between foreign and Spanish cases was not equal, foreign presence in the 1950s SCAs was more or less frequent and it took one quarter of all the discussions.



Figure 1. First pages of the four starting SCAs, all of them devoted to buildings. From left to right, the UN Headquarters (RNA, (109), p. 21), the Ministerio del Aire (RNA, (112), p. 29), the Termini Station (RNA, (113), p. 29), and the Aránzazu and La Merced Sanctuaries (RNA, (114), p. 31).

However, it seems that only two countries really captured the attention of the Spanish. Except for the SCAs dedicated to the Italian Termini Station¹ and Brazilian architecture,² and the ones that reviewed the work of Alvar Aalto³ and Le Corbusier,⁴ the rest on foreign topics focused on two countries: Germany and the United States. Regarding Germany, two meetings were celebrated: a first one in 1956 on the 'Trends in German architecture',⁵ and a second one on the occasion of the Berlin exhibition 'Interbau'. The US accumulated five meetings: the one already mentioned on the UN Headquarters and another one dedicated to the US

¹ Termini Station was opened in 1951, shortly before the SCA dedicated to it was celebrated.
² This SCA was directly caused by the success of the travelling exhibition about Brazilian architecture photography that was shown in several Spanish cities in 1954. (Costa, Aburto, Fisac, & Chueca, 1954)
³ Alvar Aalto himself was the speaker of two of the sessions on the occasion of his visit to Spain in 1951. (Aalto, 1952)
⁴ In 1958, year in which the SCA about Le Corbusier was published, the Swiss master was concluding the *Unité d'habitation* in Berlin and had just built the Philips Pavilion in the Brussels International Exhibition, where the Spanish pavilion, designed by José Antonio Corrales and Ramón Vázquez Molezún, had been awarded the Gold Medal. (Moya, 1958)
⁵ It was celebrated due to the exhibition 'The German architecture today', held between the 18 and 31 May 1956 in the Exhibition Hall of the *Dirección General de Bellas Artes*. This SCA was not published in *RNA*.

Embassy in Madrid,⁶ one about the organization of architecture offices in North America,⁷ and two more about the traveling experiences to the United States of Fernando (Chueca Goitia, 1953) and a group of Spanish architects who travelled there in 1957. That very year there was a remarkable decrease in the celebration of the SCAs, which went from eight to two sessions, probably due to this last journey – in which Carlos de Miguel, *alma mater* of the meetings, participated – lasted for six weeks.

The following year, the SCAs practically returned to their previous frequency and reached six meetings, but then the trendline drastically dropped to the two SCAs celebrated in 1960. The last one, dedicated to the *Palacio de los Deportes* in Madrid, was not even published in the journal. This fall in the number of the meetings also matches the first years of *Arquitectura*, that recovered its original name in 1959 after having been reconstituted as the mouthpiece of the *Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid*. Thus, it is not surprising that Carlos de Miguel, who continued in charge of the journal until 1973, did not have much time to organize the SCAs while he was adapting the publication to its new situation.

SCA 1960s. The reactivation

Be that as it may, the pause lasted until 1963, when De Miguel sent a letter to the traditional attendees of the SCAs asking for help to recover them. According to the missive, there were a couple of problems that had to be solved. Firstly, the economic one, for which a 'small' individual contribution around 200 *pesetas*⁸ was requested. He emphasized that most importantly was the interest in attending the

⁶Both buildings were being finished at the time of the celebration of their respective SCAs. (Moya, 1955)

⁷ We suppose that the reason to organize this SCA was the visit to Madrid of the American architect Robert Joseph 'Bob' Cantrel, who was in charge of an initial presentation that later was continued by Cayetano Cabanyes, a Madrid architect who had been working for some time with the AESB (Architects and Engineers of the Spanish Bases), a group of North American companies responsible for the construction of US military bases in Spain as a result of the Spain-USA cooperation treaty in 1953. (Viaje de estudios a Estados Unidos, 1957)

⁸ This is equivalent to about 250 euros nowadays.

meetings, which may indicate that the progressive indifference of the participants was another reason for their extinction in the late 1950s.

In any case, the response was so positive that in June 1963 the SCAs resumed with two meetings dedicated to the *Casa de Campo*, a huge 1700-hectare public natural park located on West Madrid, which had remained largely undamaged because it had not been very frequently used. It seems that the establishment of a zoo within the park was being questioned. For that reason, they encouraged Eduardo Mangada, member of the editorial committee of the magazine and neighbour of the park, to prepare the opening lecture. This was followed by a lively discussion that the attendees quite enjoyed, one more reason for *Arquitectura* to dedicate the cover of the issue to this SCA.

Besides this, there are other facts that stand out and make us think that something had changed. For instance, in the presentation it was mentioned that a second cycle of sessions '*that, for several years, Carlos de Miguel had led*', was begun. (Mangada, 1963, p. 32) The use of the past tense seems to imply that De Miguel no longer had – or did not want to have – the relevant role that he kept during the first cycle. Furthermore, there is a noticeable change on the type of speakers. Barely 31 years old, Eduardo Mangada belonged to a generation after the one of the architects who were involved in the SCAs first period. But, the biggest differences between the new SCAs and the previous ones are the absolute absence of foreign topics and their regular focus on social or urban issues. In fact, many of the themes were directly taken from the pages of the national press and they usually invited speakers who were not architects. The city of Madrid would take an unusual importance to date. Eight of the twelve meetings held in this second period were dedicated to Madrid, its architects or its buildings.

Actually, the reasons for many of these changes go beyond the framework of the sessions and are directly connected to the political situation of the country, which had gone from a self-sufficient model in the 1940s to implement a developmental model in 1959. Thus, the 1960s were moments of great social changes. Spanish living standards improved, and a middle class that believed in its progress based on effort and personal work emerged. Hence, the architects' interests also

changed, especially those of younger architects, much more related to the social and urban issues that the new society was requiring.

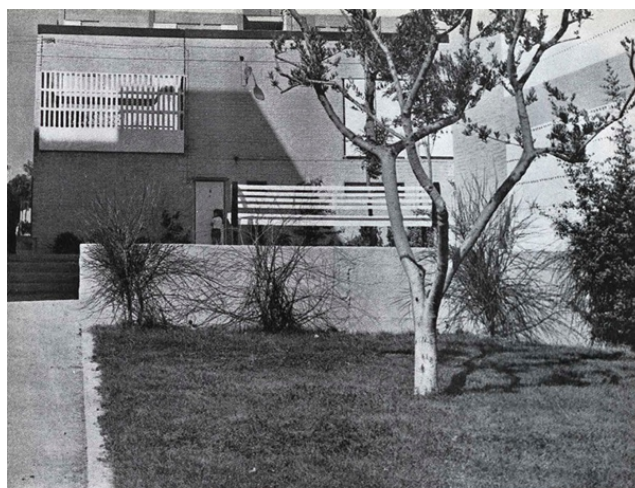
In the second SCA published in *Arquitectura*, the invited speaker was not an architect but Jesús Suevos, a Spanish journalist and Falangist politician with good relations with the Franco government. Suevos had been General Director of Broadcasting and Television and of Cinematography and Theatre and, at that time, he had just sworn in as First Deputy Mayor of Madrid, a post in which he would remain until three years after the death of Francisco Franco. Oddly, three years after Suevos that position would be occupied by Eduardo Mangada – the speaker of the SCA on the Casa de Campo –, who was appointed by the first Madrid socialist mayor of the Spanish transition: Enrique Tierno Galván. As can be seen, the speakers in this SCAs second period had a clearly marked political profile.

Suevos introduced quite effectively all the problems that he saw in the capital city and several architects apparently spoke after him, although this time *Arquitectura* did not publish their opinion. This may have been because, as said in the presentation, *'the discussion turned out to be quite messy'*. (Suevos, 1964, p. 2)

However, the SCA 'About Contemporary Architecture' is much more interesting for many reasons. In this case, the session arose from an article written by journalist Jesús (Casariego, 1964a) published in the newspaper *ABC*, in which, emphasising on the religious architecture of that period, he criticized the differences between the taste of modern architects and common people. In the SCA, Casariego made comparisons between what being a good or bad architect was, and then he expressed disagreement with the religious production of those days and advocated for an architecture *'with the aim of being eternal'*, meaning not *'just the physical appearance and robustness of the brick, but also the continuity in the style over time, which should be based on the well refined aesthetics standards'*. (Casariego, 1964b, p. 38)

As pointed out in the SCA introduction, the journalist conveyed *'in such a clear language that it prompted an exciting meeting'*. (Casariego, 1964b, p. 34) The first to participate was Luis Moya, one of the regular attendees from the early days and a member of the 'older generation', who tried to justify the absence of good

modern religious architecture in Spain with the economic and social downturn that came after the end of the war. His speech was more or less in agreement with that of Casariego.



Poblado de Caño Reto. A. Vázquez de Castro y J. L. Miguez de Onzoño.

S. C. A.

SOBRE LA ARQUITECTURA ACTUAL

A raíz de un artículo publicado en el diario ABC firmado por el señor Casariego, se organizó en el Colegio de Arquitectos una nueva Sesión de Crítica.

Se envió con cierta antelación el texto del artículo a todos los arquitectos y se inició la sesión con la asistencia del autor del artículo, que, muy amablemente, se ofreció a actuar de ponente. En su conferencia, el señor Casariego expuso algunos de los puntos más interesantes de su artículo, expresándose en unos términos tan claros, que promovieron a continuación un coloquio muy movido.

En dicho coloquio tomaron parte varios arquitectos, y todas sus intervenciones provocaron un diálogo verdaderamente sugerente.

Habría sido deseo nuestro publicar todas ellas, pero ya que no es posible por falta de espacio, hemos considerado más oportuno publicar solamente algunas completas en lugar de un resumen de toda la Sesión.

Así, pues, presentamos, en directo, la ponencia del señor Casariego y las intervenciones de los arquitectos Luis Moya, Sáenz de Oiza, Barbero y Oriol, tomadas en cinta magnetofónica.

INTRODUCCION PARA UN COLOQUIO CON LOS ARQUITECTOS

Señores arquitectos:

Sean, ante todo, mis primeras palabras para agradecer a vuestro compañero el señor De Miguel la amable invitación que hoy me trae a este Colegio y para agradecer a todos vuestra presencia. Y también para aclararos que vengo aquí como hombre

completamente profano en lo que la Arquitectura tiene de ciencia físico-matemática y de técnica constructiva. En la otra parte de vuestro quehacer, es decir, en la Arquitectura considerada como arte y representación de cultura y de historia, dispongo del voto, aunque sin mayor valor, al que todo hombre

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Figure 2. First page of the SCA 'About Contemporary Architecture', published in (*Arquitectura*, (57), p. 32).

And now, Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza turned the conversation around. He was the oldest of the young generation, but also one of the clearest voices when expressing his view. Oiza started saying that he was in '*complete and total disagreement with the speaker*'. Then, he addressed Casariego stating that '*some people do not live for the moment, they fall behind and then they find everything strange... There's nothing we can do about it! I really feel sorry for them*'. The speaker tried to defend himself alleging that '*ancient or modern*' did not exist, but

rather *'beautiful or not beautiful'*. Oíza replied with a question: *'Who sets beauty standards?'* (Casariego, 1964b, p. 42) The discussion was rather lively until Manuel Barbero took the floor to ask society to look upon a building with the same good faith as an architect. When it seemed that the situation had calmed down, Miguel de Oriol stirred again the debate. He was one of the youngest and had just come back to Spain after finishing his studies in Urban Planning at Yale University.

I personally believe that there has never been a clearest moment in the world [...] In all likelihood, no earlier time has been so clear [...] Any architecture [...] is better than any other previous architecture. It is a nonsense saying: everything that has been done is wrong. [...] And this is what current criticism is doing. (Casariego, 1964b, p. 44)

Sáenz de Oíza concluded Oriol's intervention claiming: *'the role of criticism in Spanish press is teaching people more. I prefer being an illiterate rather than being deceived!'*. Thus, the session ended up with significant disagreements and differences between the speaker –supported by the older attendees– and the architects of the young generation, completely convinced of the adequacy of the architecture they were proposing.

It is not known if this kind of controversy was the reason not to publish more SCAs until three years later. These new meetings were indeed very much different. But they have one thing in common: all of three were devoted to Madrid. The first one was a speech by the writer Camilo José Cela about *'Madrid, the architects and chance'*, and the other two were debates about examples of good quality architecture in Madrid: *El Viso* neighbourhood, built during the Republican period, and the *Giraso!* building, which had recently been inaugurated. Both examples were introduced by its architects, Rafael Bergamín and Juan Antonio Coderch, respectively.

The subject matters and discussions of these SCAs were not as interesting as other issues that must be highlighted. As can be seen, it was common practice to invite speakers who were not architects to discuss issues related to Madrid, that is to say, architects were interested in finding out more about civil society voice. As Pedro Casariego said in the symposium which followed Cela's lecture, the

training of architects 'is necessarily complex and must be supplemented by what people say from outside'. (Cela, 1967, p. 51) Rafael Bergamín, who had to go into exile in Venezuela for being a supporter of the II Republic, had been able to come back to Spain in 1959. Eight years after, he was a speaker in a SCA about one of the most representative works of the republican period. (Bergamín, 1967) This was an extraordinary situation, unheard of to date. Besides, a woman, Carmen Castro, participated in the subsequent debate. She was a journalist who collaborated in the journal *Arquitectura* since 1960 writing the section 'What we use'.

However, the third SCA – the one dedicated to the *Girasol* building – deserves to be highlighted. After very flattering commentary from different art and architecture critics, Sáenz de Oíza addressed the participants in his constant critical tone.

Having lost the charm of the first SCAs really upsets me. Those were entirely informal, without precaution of any kind, and different architectural issues were discussed trying to find truth. I would like to come back to that genuine nature of those sessions, where we all spoke bluntly and clearly. (Coderch, 1967, p. 33)

It seems that this was actually one of the factors of the SCAs decline. Juan Daniel Fullaondo had a particularly important role in the ones held in 1968, since he participated as a speaker in two meetings. At that time, the young Fullaondo was the head of the journal *Nueva Forma*, which was responsible for an important change of the critical scenario of Spanish architecture. The first session should have been dedicated to a Fullaondo's design in Madrid, a store for *H Muebles*. Nevertheless, he decided not only to talk about the project, but also about the phenomenon of stores in cities in general, before focusing on the *H Muebles* store. This was followed by a vigorous and heated debate in which some present and absent people were criticized. Thus, at one point, Miguel de Oriol claimed: '*I think that everything which has been said in this conversation [...] is destructive [...] everyone attacking each other*'. (Fullaondo, 1968b, p. 33)



Figure 3. SCA celebrated in the H Muebles store in 1968. Front to back, Carlos de Miguel, Juan Daniel Fullaondo, Rafael Moneo, and José Antonio Corrales. (Carlos de Miguel Archive. ETSAM Library, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid).

Despite all the criticism made, Fullaondo did not withhold from raising fierce controversy and he proposed a reflection on both Madrid and Barcelona Architecture Schools, each one with its own contribution. This idea could be found in several Spanish and foreign publications, where contemporary Spanish architecture of the time had been reviewed, as for instance, the text written by Antonio (Fernández Alba, 1964) for the monographic issue of *Arquitectura* devoted to 'Spanish Architecture, 1939-1964', or several articles of the monographic issue *Zodiac* 15, where Oriol Bohigas said:

The current characteristics are, however, quite different in Madrid and Barcelona. Castilian architecture revealed cautious optimism and trust in the prestige of the fascist style. By contrast, Catalan architecture remains in a pessimistic and retracted position, more archaeological [...]. (Bohigas & Flores, 1965, p. 32)

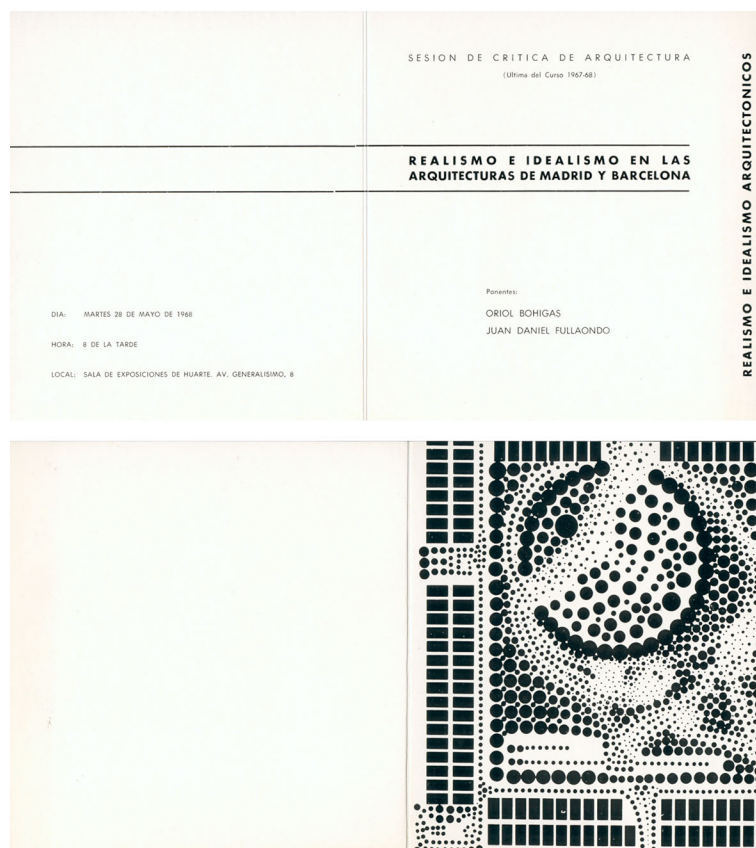


Figure 4. Invitation card for the SCA on the duality Madrid-Barcelona, 1967. (Carlos de Miguel Archive. ETSAM Library, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid).

In that issue, Ricardo Bofill insisted on Spanish architecture divided into Madrid and Barcelona, although he added a third region, coastal tourist areas, which he considered '*the Spain where the professionals worked*'. (Bofill, 1965, p. 40) Juan Daniel (Fullaondo, 1967) had also written about the duality Madrid-Barcelona in a recent work about Antonio Fernández Alba's architecture. But the text that Alexandre Cirici-Pellicer had written for the book *Arquitectura española contemporánea* (Domènech Girbau, 1968) was the real trigger for that session. Fullaondo (1968a, p. 11) expounded that '*an attempt of critical enunciation about architectural projects in Madrid and Barcelona was noticed*' in that text. In his opinion, both cases seemed to be defined '*by respective features of idealism and realism*'. Fullaondo did not see in Madrid that rationalism suggested by Cirici, but

rather an *'invertebrate movement'* that found its deepest meaning in its own invertebrate condition. As Fullaondo (1968a, p. 23) believed, Madrid School *'had written the most important chapter of thirty years of Spanish Architecture'*. The Catalan architect and critic Oriol (Bohigas, 1968) replied arguing the consistent style that he found in Catalan architecture and which has lasted for ages.



Figure 5. Several architects who attended the SCA celebrated in Mojácar (Almería) in 1971. From left to right, Fernando Higuera, Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oíza, and Ricardo Bofill. (Carlos de Miguel Archive. ETSAM Library, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid).

The last two published SCAs are quite unusual. According to the introduction of the first one, devoted to the planning of the Plaza de Colón in Madrid, *'for a variety of reasons, the session did not achieve its goal'*. (Insistamos en la Plaza de Colón, 1971, p. 37) Thus, several opinions were published, but not the result of the session itself. The second one, although named SCA in the journal, is a compilation of different conversations of a group of architects on a trip to Almería. The

interventions are so diverse that final conclusions were written by the editor of the journal – the young Juan Orge Cano – and they consisted merely in a critical analysis of the status of the region. (Conversaciones en Mojácar, 1971)

All in all, in addition to a decrease in the number of meetings, those which were held were really far from the initial aim of the sessions. Although it seemed that Carlos de Miguel was going to pass on the baton of the organization, he continued at the head during the second period. Either way, at the beginning of the 1970s he was already thinking of retirement and it is likely that he had less motivation. Overall, disagreements and differences of approach and interests between the two generations became evident and some of the sessions resulted in personal criticism of certain architects. The chances are that there was not just one reason for the end of the sessions, but a combination of circumstances which led to its dissolution after twenty years down the track. But this dissolution was also part of an internal crisis of the journal.

Got lost in the need to consider current issues, as social criticism from a technical point of view, many of its pages are about urban planning riddled with sociology and other external fields, or the impossible prefabrication [...]

Not far from the internal crisis of the journal *Arquitectura* is the appearance of the journal *Nueva Forma* in 1966. Headed by J. D. Fullaondo, it assumed as own the sophisticated organic experience of its director and satisfied the historiographical curiosity for the previous international architecture, much appreciated at that moment. (Frechilla, 1984, p. 9)

Conclusion

Whatever the case, the SCAs of the second period were very different from the first ones. Under a very different political reality, with a Franco Government much more open to the world and very less control of the media, the journal *Arquitectura* introduced new issues to meet the interests of the new middle class, and not so those of the ruling administration. The urban planning for society was one of the

most important subject matters and many analysis and reviews focused on Madrid, since the journal no longer had a national status, but became the mouthpiece of its institute of architects. *Arquitectura* not only lost its national status but its international one, at least when related to SCAs. It seems that the maturity achieved by Spanish Architecture made them think that foreign models were not necessary, neither for the design nor the critique. Several international debates published by other European journals were reproduced in *Arquitectura* at the beginning of the 1960s, but it is also true that discussions usually focused in the case of Spain at the end of that decade. Besides, the few sections on international architecture gradually disappeared to be replaced by new topics.

In all likelihood, the group of new collaborators who joined the editorial board were a great influence. They were younger than those 'heroic' architects who brought back the modernity which was lost during the dictatorship. This group was educated during the 1950s and the way they could interact with other countries was very different. They grew up close to the world and felt that they belonged to it, so they did not look for foreign references, as these were part of their own culture. In that sense, they differed significantly from the older architects, who continued deeply entrenched in a modernity which brought them out of the abyss, a modernity which at that time – in the decade of 1970 – had already been vilified because of its formalism and lack of life.

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THE TECTONIC SHIFT IN FERNANDO TÁVORA'S WORK IN THE POST-CIAM YEARS.

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Abstract

Between 1955 and 1960 the Portuguese architect Fernando Távora (1923-2005) designed an important group of buildings: the municipal market of Vila da Feira, the house in Ofir, the tennis pavilion of Quinta da Conceição in Leça da Palmeira and the primary school of Cedro in Gaia.

These buildings are landmarks in the history of Portuguese architecture; in their design, Távora employed traditional materials (stone, timber, tile) and reused vernacular construction techniques (bearing walls, wooden beams and pitched roofs) within a modern approach. This attitude is directly related to the results of the Surveys on Portuguese Vernacular Architecture, promoted by the Union of the Portuguese Architects between 1955 and 1960 and conducted by some of the most renowned Portuguese architects; Fernando Távora was responsible for the work in 'Zone 1' and learned how to recognize the presence of a certain kind of 'modernity' in the Vernacular Architecture of the north of the country.

However, after 1960 his language changed and the direct influence of the vernacular began to be less obvious.

In order to understand the evolution of his work at this time, it is important to remember that Távora was present at the main international architectural meetings, where he had the opportunity to contact the key names of the worldwide architectural community: he integrated the Portuguese representations present in the last CIAM Congresses and also participated in the Royaumont meeting of the Team Ten. Besides, in 1960 Távora made a three-month journey to the United States and participated in the World Design Conference in Japan.

These international contacts and experiences were important to the rethinking of concepts that led to the different languages we can find in the buildings he designed after 1960.

Keywords: Távora, CIAM, Team Ten, Vernacular, Modern.

Introduction

In the 40s, Portugal lived in a context dominated by the conservative vision of the dictatorial regime of Salazar, in which the State imposed on the architects a set of guidelines inspired by alleged national values.

After the end of World War II, the new generations of architects trained under the influence of Carlos Ramos and Keil do Amaral began to challenge this reality, defending the use of a modern language. This reaction against the conservative view of the State reached its highest point in the Congress of Portuguese Architects of 1948, dominated by the opposition between those who defended an archaic idea of Portuguese values and those who proposed an architecture directly influenced by the different expressions of the modern movement.

In this context of a confrontation between two antagonistic positions, Fernando Távora (1923-2005) proposed a third way, which marked the Portuguese architecture in the post-Ciam years. However, when we analyse the evolution of Távora's work, it is evident the existence of three quite distinct phases.

The first, between the publication of the text 'The Problem of the Portuguese house' ('O Problema da Casa Portuguesa', 1945) and the beginning of the design process of the municipal market of Vila da Feira (1954), is a period marked by an important theoretical production, but also by the difficulty of concretizing in practice the ideas presented in his texts.

In fact, before 1954 we cannot recognize in his work the ideas presented in the cited text (Távora, 1945) and in the set of written reflections published in *Cadernos de Arquitectura* (Távora, 1947),¹ in the newspaper *Comércio do Porto* (1953) and in the magazines *Panorama* (1952a), *Lusíada* (1952b) and *A Arquitectura Portuguesa, Cerâmica e Edificação* (1953).

¹ The 1947 publication of *The Problem of the Portuguese House* in *Cadernos de Arquitectura* is similar in the global sense, but presents some differences of wording, rephrasing the text of the same name published two years earlier in the magazine *Áleo*; it is this second version (improved by its author) that is usually quoted by those who study the theoretical production of Távora.

The projects Távora started in 1952 (the block of Avenida do Brasil, the Ramalde economic housing complex and the Grocery Wholesalers residential unit, all built in the city of Porto) are respectable works of a young modern architect, but they do not yet show an idea of 'modernity' manifested 'in the quality and accuracy of the relations between the building and the life that surrounds it" (Távora, 1952b). In other words, it was an architecture design according to its time (modern), but not according to the cultural conditions of its place (Portuguese).

This idea of a new Portuguese Architecture only appeared in the work of Távora in a second phase, in the projects began after 1954, mainly in the Municipal Market of Vila da Feira (1954-59), the Ofir House (1957-58), the Tennis Pavilion of Quinta da Conceição (1956-59) and the Cedro Elementary School (1957-61).

This second phase of Távora's work occurred in parallel with the work process of the Surveys on Portuguese Vernacular Architecture (1955-60), a large program promoted by the Union of the Portuguese Architects and conducted by some of the most renowned architects from Porto and Lisbon. These Surveys allowed the reinterpretation of the traditional tectonic systems of Portuguese vernacular constructions in the light of modern principles of rationality, functionalism and truthful use of materials.

In the book *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal (Vernacular Architecture in Portugal)* published in 1961 as a direct result of the research carried out between 1955 and 1960, the report of 'Zone 1'² (coordinated by Távora) confirms some of the ideas already written in the abovementioned text 'The Problem of the Portuguese house': 'Man and Earth' are the two fundamental elements that condition vernacular architecture, which is realized 'within the Portuguese truth', and the ancient rural house is 'the truest, most functional and less fanciful' (Távora, 1945).

² The 'Zone 1' of the Surveys on Portuguese Vernacular Architecture covered the geographic areas of Minho, Douro Litoral and Beira Litoral; Távora was the coordinator of a team which also included Rui Pimentel and António Menéres.

So, in this second phase of Távora's work there was a very clear tectonic shift, which was visibly influenced by the vernacular tectonics studied in the Surveys, which were reinterpreted with a modern design.

However, after a brief period of time his language changed again; Távora sensed that the formal influence of vernacular architecture symbolized an attempt to crystallize a reality that was, in fact, rapidly disappearing and could not translate the contemporary times.

So, from this moment on, we can talk of a third phase in Távora's work, in which the influence of vernacular tectonics is not evident.

The discovery of a third way

During the years of the Survey, in the abovementioned second phase of his work, Távora finally managed to achieve the practical realisation of the ideas previously presented in his texts. His intentions are clearly synthesized in the words he wrote about the holiday house of Ofir, which can also characterize all the other buildings he designed in this period.

One of the most elementary notions of chemistry teaches us the difference between a compound and a mixture; such a notion seems to us to be perfectly applicable, in essence, to the particular case of a building. In fact there are buildings that are compounds and buildings that are mixtures (...) and in the present case of this dwelling (...) we tried to build a true compound, a compound in which an infinite number of factors, of varying value, came into play. (Távora, 1957, p. 11)

In fact, the work designed in this second phase shows that Távora finally understood how to combine his particular interpretation of the modern movement and his unconditional love for Portuguese vernacular construction, in a compound of foreign influences and local character he managed to apply in Vila da Feira, Gaia, Ofir and Leça da Palmeira, almost at the same time.

However, in order to understand this important evolution of his work at this time, it is essential to remember that Távora integrated the Portuguese representations present in the last CIAM³ meetings (Hoddesdon, Aix-en-Provence and Dubrovnik), where he had the opportunity to contact with the key names of the worldwide architectural milieu and witnessed the confrontation between the young future members of the Team Ten and the older (and more orthodox) members of CIAM. In some architects of the new generation, he recognized a theoretical position that was close to his ideas. Thus, in these CIAM meetings he could confirm the pertinence of the 'third way' he defended, as an alternative to the harsh nationalism of the State and the strict internationalism of most of his colleagues.

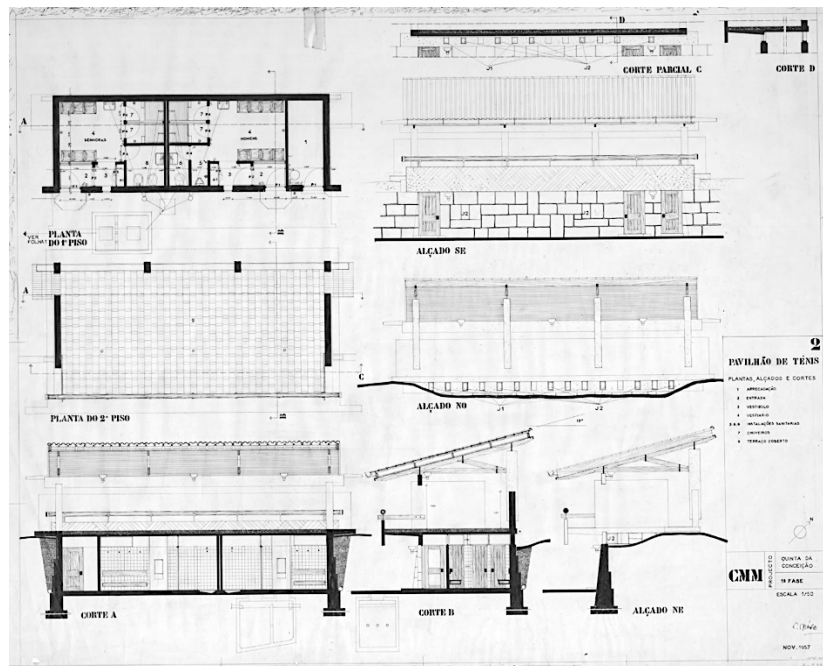


Figure 1. Project for the Tennis Pavilion of Quinta da Conceição. Távora, 1957. Archives of Marques da Silva Foundation (FIMS/FT/0036-pd008).

³ The CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) were the most important forum of architectural debate in the first half of the twentieth century; between 1928 and 1956, ten meetings were held in eight different countries.

The reinterpretation of traditional values in modern architecture was a theme very present in the Japanese architecture of the time, namely in the work of Kenzo Tange. Távora met him in 1951, in Hoddesdon, where he presented his drawings of the Hiroshima Peace Center and Memorial Park; they shared the same principles and became friends, as Távora refers when he remembers (in his diary) their reunion in Tokyo, in the World Design Conference of 1960 (Távora, 1960a, p. 305).⁴

The particular approach of Tange's first works was very similar to the ideas Távora was trying to implement in his own architecture. Thus, the resemblances between Távora's tennis pavilion in Leça da Palmeira (fig. 1) and the house Tange designed for himself in Tokio (1951-53) are not surprising: both works are an intentional compound of modern design and traditional values.

Therefore, the ideas and the work of Tange (and of other CIAM participants) were very influential in the new character his architecture showed, in this second phase. Távora finally discovered how to relate the formal and conceptual influences from architects of the modern movement (Corbusier in Vila da Feira, Kenzo Tange in the abovementioned tennis pavilion of Quinta da Conceição, Marcel Breuer in the house of Ofír, Alvar Aalto in the school of Cedro) with his knowledge of the vernacular heritage, reinforced by the lessons he was learning in the Surveys.

However, the study of the work of foreign architects and the intentional use of their principles and forms, adapted to the Portuguese reality and cultural values, was a philosophy already expressed in the aforementioned first text of Távora.

A new character of new conditions arises and it is there that the Portuguese Architecture must be connected without fear of losing its character. If we have individuality today, the study of foreign architecture will not cause us any evil; if we do not have it, then it will be useless to have the pretension to speak about Portuguese Architecture. (Távora, 1945)

Therefore, this philosophy (expressed in writing ten years before) became a methodology of design in this second phase and gave rise to the works mentioned

⁴ Távora and Tange were also present at the 1959 meeting of Team X, in Otterlo.

above, milestones in the history of Portuguese architecture of the twentieth century.

However, after 1960 the architecture of Távora changed again.

From Seia to Guimarães, from Chicago to Taliesen

We can establish the beginning of Fernando Távora's third phase as a consequence of a second language shift, between 1958 and 1959. In that period, he designed two fuel stations in the north of Portugal, for the same client (the Sacor fuel company) and with the same type of location, a national road on the outskirts of two medium-sized cities, Guimarães and Seia. There seems to be no reason that can justify any substantial differences in their design; yet, the tectonic options of Távora were quite distinct (Fernandes, 2016).

The project for the Sacor fuel station in Seia was initiated in 1958; the preliminary proposal presented to the clients in June of the same year establishes the solution that will be presented in the project, with minor changes, in December 1959. However, 8 months before the delivery of the Seia project, Távora had already submitted to Sacor the preliminary proposal for the petrol station of Guimarães (in April 1959), commissioned the previous year; as the first proposal for Seia, this preliminary proposal for Guimarães presented great resemblance with the final project (September 1960).⁵

Like in his abovementioned work in Vila da Feira, Leça da Palmeira and Ofír, Távora achieves in Seia (fig. 2) a perfect combination of local materials and traditional

⁵ In the archives of Marques da Silva Foundation (where Fernando Távora's legacy is kept) we can find all the interactions with the Sacor company documented. The first commission was a study for the location of petrol stations in the city of Porto and its environs; the proposal was submitted in November 1957. The project for the fuel station in Seia was designed between 1958 and 1959, with the collaboration of Alberto Neves and Augusto Amaral; some additions were designed between 1961 and 1965 (unbuilt). In June 1959 Távora designed a prototype project for the Sacor petrol stations, with the collaboration of Vasco Cunha, and presented the first studies for the Gaia station; a second study for Gaia was presented in July 1960. Between 1959 and 1961 Távora designed the petrol station of Guimarães (with the collaboration of Augusto Amaral), commissioned in the previous year. There were some small adjustments designed in 1963 and 1965, and the reformulation and enlargement of the building, proposing a Restaurant, was designed with the collaboration of Joaquim Sampaio and presented in 1966 (unbuilt).

construction techniques (using stone bearing walls, timber beans and tiles) with modern ones (big glass windows and reinforced concrete slabs) which, according to the 'spirit that presided to the design', intended a 'good integration in the environment' (Távora, 1960b, p. 3). However, although it was designed few months after,⁶ the Guimarães Fuel Station presented different tectonic options. Although it is still possible to recognize the influence of the Vernacular Architecture of the north of the country, it is materialized in a less obvious way: the bearing walls in granite stone are combined with flat roofs in reinforced concrete and metal pillars, as the concern for showing the possibilities of contemporary techniques replaced the direct references to traditional construction.

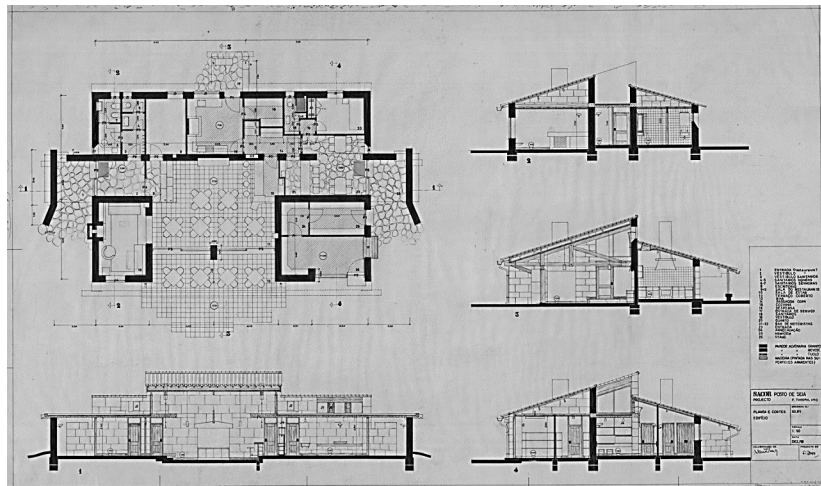


Figure 2. Project for the office, store and restaurant of the Sacor fuel station in Seia; Távora, December 1959. Archives of Marques da Silva Foundation (FIMS_FT_0101-pd0018.02).

This was the beginning of a second tectonic shift in Távora's work, which is clearly embodied by the difference between the sloped roof in tiles of Seia and the flat slab in reinforced concrete of Guimarães (fig. 3). From this moment on, the direct formal influences of vernacular construction will not be recognisable in his work,

⁶ As stated above, the preliminary proposals for Seia and Guimarães were presented in June 1958 and April 1959; in both cases, the preliminary design establishes the tectonic options of the final project.

although his architecture maintains the connection to the essence of Portuguese traditional values.

To understand this second shift we must consider some different but interrelated factors. First of all, the success of the Surveys. Since the mid-fifties, there was a growing trend in Portuguese architecture, which started immediately after the beginning of the field work of the Surveys and was substantially increased by the publication of the book *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal* (Amaral, 1961); this was a regionalist style, in which traditional techniques and building materials were used (often, but not always, articulated with new materials and modern construction techniques), with the intent of seeking formal references in vernacular culture.



Figure 3. Restaurant of the Sacor fuel station in Seia; Sacor fuel station in Guimarães. Photos by the author.

This regionalist trend was inspired by the Surveys; however, in the north of the country, it was also clearly influenced by the example of Távora's work in Vila da Feira, Ofir and Leça da Palmeira.

Unintentionally, Távora had created a style; but he did not identify himself with the attitude of many of the architects who were applying it, in buildings where the program or the context should imply other options. He believed that the new Modern Portuguese Architecture was not a style, but the result of an attitude which should 'translate exactly, in a perfect relationship, the reality that surrounds it' (Távora, 1952a).

So, the Seia fuel station shows the last traces of the direct formal influence of vernacular architecture in the work of Távora. At certain point, during the design process of the gas pumps at Guimarães, Távora felt the need to distance himself from this stylistic view of his ideas; mainly because he soon understood that this was an attempt to crystallize a reality that was, in fact, rapidly disappearing and could not translate the contemporary times.

The recognition that this could be an inadequate path was reinforced in September 1959, in the Oterlo meeting of the CIAM/Team Ten,⁷ where Távora had the opportunity to witness the criticisms of Peter Smithson to Ernesto Rogers and Kenzo Tange, accusing the projects of the Velasca Tower, the Tokyo City Hall and the Kagawa Prefectural Office of formalism and historicist revivalism (Newman, 1961).

Later, in 1960, in the end of his three-month journey to the United States,⁸ Távora participated in the World Design Conference in Japan. His interest in the work of his Japanese 'friend' led him, in the days following the congress, to visit some of Tange's works. On his diary, he recalls the aforementioned Otterlo debate about the Tokyo City Hall, where 'everyone criticized the expression of wood in the reinforced concrete'. Távora's comments show he identified himself with Tange's options: 'it is a good building (...) much more Japanese than the Diet Building or

⁷ The meeting of Otterlo (Holland, 1959) culminates in the dissolution of the CIAM. This, however, is considered by some authors as a Team Ten meeting; Kenneth Frampton (1997, p. 330), for example, classifies the previous Dubrovnik meeting as the "last meeting of the CIAM".

⁸ In April 1959 Távora applied to a Scholarship Grant for the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, proposing a study trip to understand the methods of teaching Architecture and Urbanism in the United States of America. The scholarship was granted in January 1960 and the journey was completed between February and June 1960, mostly in American territory (but also in Mexico, Japan and Greece). The diary that he wrote during this trip was recently published (Távora, 1960a).

the Tokyo Tower' (Távora, 1960a, p. 310-318). The 'expression of wood' dilemma is mentioned again when he visits the Toshogu Shrine, in Nikko: 'The door of the shrine is in granite which represents the stone translation of a wooden form. The «Tange case» has antecedents in the seventeenth century!' (Távora, 1960a, p. 320).

These personal thoughts, expressed in a private diary that Távora had no intention of seeing disclosed, show his identification with Tange's methodology, which is very similar to his own, in the second half of the 1950s. For example, in the abovementioned Tennis pavilion of Quinta da Conceição (fig. 1 and 4), the connection between the lintel and the walls of the first floor clearly reveals a concrete translation of a wooden form, with its wedge fittings of juxtaposed elements, inspired by vernacular constructions.



Figure 4. Tennis Pavilion of Quinta da Conceição, Távora, 1956-59. Photo by the author.

However, this was a time of doubt for Távora; although he did not necessarily agree with the criticism to Tange's language, he considered that the same kind of

negative judgement could be applied to his recent work. He was looking for answers to these doubts in his trip to the USA, and the reading of his diary shows that he was especially interested in the work of Frank Lloyd Wright and Mies van der Rohe.

During the journey, his impressions on Mies work suffered a subtle evolution, between the unrestrained admiration for the Seagram building (Távora, 1960a, p. 121) and the ambivalent feelings in the Chicago IIT: he described the Crown Hall as a work of 'impeccable proportion and certainty' but considered that it showed 'no mystery' and could 'be very hot inside'; the IIT chapel was described as 'scientific, rational and comfortable like most American churches' but criticised because of its 'two identical façades, in the front and in the back' (Távora, 1960a, p. 245-7).⁹ This slightly disillusioned discourse contrasts vehemently with the enthusiasm he shows when visiting Frank Lloyd Wright's work, reaching the peak in his visit to Spring Green (Távora, 1960a, p. 229-39) and in his lapidary conclusion: 'after seeing Taliesin, the Gropius house seems like a refrigerator on the top of a hill.'

Thus, at the end of his 1960 trip (which was intended to be enlightening) Távora returns with more doubts than when he left. While on the one hand he confirmed in Wright's work his personal conviction that the harmony between 'Man and Earth' should be the main ingredient for an 'integral architecture' (Távora, 1945), on the other hand he understood that the world was changing, precisely in the sense of breaking this harmony. Therefore, he did not find answers in America, only the conviction that there is a path that should not be followed.

I believe that America is a splendid Laboratory; it is indispensable to visit it, exactly and especially to know what should be avoided at all costs. The great fortune of Europe (...) was to have realized in America this experience of civilization (...). You can now look at this child and give perhaps different orientation to your grandchildren. (Távora, 1960a, p. 252).

⁹ Távora did not understand why Mies chose not to emphasize the front of the chapel.

Conclusion

The 1960 journey is a cornerstone in the evolution of Távora's ideas. If the Guimarães gasoline pump already showed a different path in the tectonics of his work, in the trip to the United States he understood that the times were inevitably changing and, two years later, in the Royaumont meeting of the Team Ten, he confirmed that these were times of great doubt.

There are times when it is possible for a group of men to come together to arrive at clear, lucid, schematic conclusions; there are others when, on the contrary, it is only possible to conclude that ... a conclusion cannot be found. (...) Times and dimensions have changed ... Reality is more diverse, richer and more varied. It is not possible, for now, to give recipes, to class with sovereignty, to rank with exactness. The World appears to our eyes and our spirit as complex, disturbing, unusual. (...) One feels that the moment is one of research and doubt, of reunion, drama and mystery. How therefore, to conclude with clarity? (Távora, 1963, p. 1)

Thus, the third phase of Távora's work (after his 1960 journey), can be characterized by these doubts, and by the awareness that there were multiple paths ahead, a multitude of possible answers to the different circumstances faced by the architects in each one of their different commissions.



Figure 5. Municipal building of Aveiro (1963-67), Fernando Távora. Photo by the author.

It is this understanding that each work is a different case that explains the different character of the municipal building of Aveiro (1963-67, fig. 5), the convent of Gondomar (1961-71), or the headquarters of the 'Assembleia' in Guimarães (1969-72), to refer just a few examples of public commissions. Thus, the challenge to the researchers in the study of this third phase of Távora's work is not to focus on the evidence of the differences, but to find points of contact between the diverse languages used.

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THE BARREDO'S URBAN RENEWAL STUDY

The third way in Portuguese Historic Cities urban conservation

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Abstract

The Barredo's urban renewal study established a turning point in the planning philosophy of the historic cities in Portugal. The previous plans for Porto historic core defined extensive demolitions of the urban tissue, mixed with a strategy of historic buildings renewal for touristic activities. These preceding approaches reflect the ongoing debate regarding the urban intervention in the historic environments, which followed two possible ways: the traditionalist, proposing the use of historic architectural elements in order to achieve a resemblance with the buildings of the past; or the modernist, which promoted functionalist strategies to solve the traffic and hygiene problems, resulting on the demolition of the outdated existing buildings.

The 1969's study, coordinated by the Architect Fernando Távora, introduced the social dimension, not only by adding the social sciences into the interdisciplinary working team, but also because the local inhabitants were considered as being so important on defining the character and significance of the place as the historic built environment. Concurrently, the traditional buildings which settle the urban environment are also considered as being so important as the monuments. This vision, which reflect the principles of the 1964's «Venice Charter», is undoubtedly a consequence of the personal and professional background of Távora, which participated in the 10th CIAM, and in the Portuguese Regional Architecture Survey. As pointed already in 1961 by Nuno Portas, his carrier gave visibility to an alternative way in the Portuguese Architecture, known as the third way, which was advocated by Távora since 1945, and is reflected on this renewal study.

The study did not produce direct results on the area. However, the new approach influenced directly the operation of the CRUARB office that applied these ideas in Porto Historic Centre after 1974. Further on, this interdisciplinary office played since the 1980's a role model for the Portuguese interventions in historical centres, disseminating indirectly the visionary concepts introduced by the 1969 study.

Keywords: Ribeira-Barredo; Fernando Távora; Porto Historic Centre; 1969 Urban Renewal Study.

Introduction

The 1969 Barredo's urban renewal study established a turning point in the philosophy of planning in the historic centre of Porto, cutting with the usual practice used in the Portuguese historic areas. The previous plans for the area promoted extensive demolitions of the urban fabric, which were mixed with a strategy of historic buildings renewal for commercial and touristic activities.

The 1969 study introduced the social dimension in these urban operations, not only by adding the social sciences into the interdisciplinary working team, but also because the local inhabitants were considered for the first time in the Portuguese context as being crucial on defining the character and significance of the historic landscape. Concurrently, the traditional buildings shaping the urban historic environment were considered as important as the monuments.

The study was coordinated by the architect Fernando Távora (1923-2005) and it reflects his personal and professional background. He participated in several CIAM's, including the fracturing 10th meeting held in Dubrovnik in 1956. Furthermore, it was one of the participants on the Portuguese Regional Architecture Survey (1955-1961), revealing the duality between traditional and modern which was present in the Portuguese architectural debate at the time. As pointed in 1961 by Nuno Portas, his carrier gave visibility to an alternative way in the Portuguese Architecture, which was already proposed in 1945 by Távora.

Is then possible to argue that this study represents a third way in Portuguese architectural practice, because it does not follow the traditionalist vision of the Portuguese house or the hygienist vision dominant in the new generation of modern architects. It further proposes a combined approach which represents a post-CIAM vision regarding the urban interventions in the historic city.

Background

The development of the study in the decade of 1960's is a reflex of the architectural and social debate which was progressively growing since the previous decades. The international vision of the Modern Movement was challenged by a younger generation which discovered a contextualist approach towards architecture and urban planning. Furthermore, the critics of the functionalist urbanism were backed up by the field of sociology, which pointed the decrease of the urban living vitality as a consequence of the Athens Charter urban zoning.

Additionally, Bernard Rudofsky organized in 1964 the exhibition «Architecture without Architects»¹, giving visibility to the usually neglected vernacular buildings, which were presented as a consequence of the plurality of the contextual environment.

This global perspective led to a renewed interest in the historic city and in the vernacular architecture. Concurrently, it was performed the revision of the heritage concept through the 1964's «Venice Charter», which included on it the traditional buildings, seen until then as a minor field of heritage.

This renewed interest on the traditional city and in the contextual approach allowed a favourable framework for the development of pioneer experiences on historic centres conservation and to the revision of the heritage laws in several European countries, with relevance to the Italian experiences developed since the 1950's (Albrecht & Magrin, 2015).

Fernando Távora

The strategic vision embodied in the 1969's study is undoubtedly influenced by the principles of the «Venice Charter», but also by the personal and professional background of Távora. His graduation as architect was made during the end of the 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's in a modernist architectural

¹ In the New York City Museum of Modern Art – MoMA.

environment at the Porto School of Fine Arts. He is also recognized as being one of the founders of what is known as the Porto's School of Architecture (Fernandes, 2010). Alongside, his practice as architect reveals a miscegenation between modernist and traditional influences, which represents one of the major characteristics of his work. This dichotomy is expressed in the project of the Santa Maria da Feira Market, that was presented on the 10th CIAM and on which he crossed the modernist spatial concepts with the vernacular roof shapes.

Other Portuguese architects² attended this symbolic CIAM, which critically reviewed the modernist visions of architecture and urbanism. Those architects presented the «Plan of a Rural Community in *Trás-os-Montes*» that was in accordance with some of the Team X presentations and reveals their involvement in the Portuguese Regional Architecture Survey which was undergoing and on which Távora was one of the regional team leaders (Maia & Cardoso, 2014). The plan presented at the CIAM was the architecture degree thesis of Arnaldo Araújo and it allows to perceive the growing number of graduation projects approaching this thematic in the Porto School of Fine Arts, which started with the pioneer thesis of Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, other of the participants in this CIAM and also a team leader in the Regional Survey (Almeida & Cardoso, 2007).

The Regional Architecture Survey expresses the new concept of heritage under development and reinforces the vernacular influences present in Távora's work. Additionally, the survey also introduced a timid social perspective recurring to the support of an anthropologist which was included in the global team.

It is also possible to root this contextualist vision in the work of Carlos Ramos, teacher and head of Architecture in the Porto School of Fine Arts. As wrote by Maia:

(...) the Olhão workers' housing development, designed by Carlos Ramos circa 1925, made a clear reference to vernacular architecture of that region. Carlos Ramos, who Pedro Vieira de Almeida identified as the root

² The Portuguese team was composed by the architects Viana de Lima, Fernando Távora and Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, by the trainee architects Arnaldo Araújo and Carvalho Dias and by the architecture student Alberto Neves.

of his concept of critical internationalism, travelled through Portugal with the geographer Orlando Ribeiro and together they worked on a private survey of national architecture. (Maia, 2012, p.252)

The practice and vision of Carlos Ramos can be pointed as the seed which helps to understand this place rooted approach which is encouraged by the Porto's School. Furthermore, he also is on the genesis of the attempts developed in the Portuguese Architectural context in order to overpass the conflict between nationalism and internationalism. In this framework, the text «*O Problema da Casa da Portuguesa*» [the Problem of the Portuguese House], wrote by Távora and first published in 1945, presents the emergence of an alternative, rooted in Carlos Ramos by employing '(...) *tradition in the construction of modernity.*' (Maia, 2012, p.253)

For a Portuguese Architecture today (...) a serious, concise, well-oriented and realistic work is required, whose studies could perhaps be grouped into three orders: a) the Portuguese environment; b) the existing Portuguese Architecture; c) the World Modern Architecture and their construction possibilities. (Távora, 1945)

The work of Távora is exactly an example of the alternative path for architecture as pointed by Portas in 1961, which is implied as a third way³. This background, based on the new concepts of heritage, critic of modernism and with a social perspective, is crucial to understand the innovative approach developed by Távora in the 1969 study for Porto.

Porto's Historic Centre Renovation background

In the study, Távora critically reviewed some of the plans developed for this historic neighbourhood between 1949 and 1962. Three plans are presented: «*Estudo de arranjo e salubridade da zona do Barredo, Ribeira e Escadas dos Guindais*» [Arrangement and salubrity study for the Barredo, Ribeira and

³ Was not possible to identify when this implicit Third Way was clearly denominated. However, Távora expressed it in a 1986's interview (Fernandes, 2010, p.99).

The attitude towards traditional fabrics embodied on these plans was current in the Portuguese context, where the generality of the Urban Plans still suffered from the hygienist perspective as pointed by Margarida Souza Lôbo (1995). According to this author, it is also possible to identify some conservationist interventions, focused however on the monuments or on the 'typicality' of their surroundings, revealing exclusively historical-touristic concerns and ignoring the social component.

The Portuguese situation follows the international current practice. The exception can be found on a few pioneering studies carried out in Italy in the 1950's and 1960's, namely in the city of Bologna where the social component was also one of the basic elements in the historic city rehabilitation strategy (Albrecht & Magrin, 2015). The Bologna Plan was completed in the same year of the study of Fernando Távora and its urban intervention was instituted in the 70's and 80's as a good-practice case study and spread throughout Europe (Flores, 1998).

The 1969 Study

The «*Estudo de renovação urbana do Barredo*» [Barredo's Urban Renewal Study], was coordinated by the Architect Fernando Távora in the Housing Services of the Porto City Council⁴ between 1968 and 1969 and presented in May of this last year.

The study selected the social and physical depreciated neighbourhood of Barredo, inserted in the core of the Porto's historic area, on the slope located between the Douro River and the Cathedral neighbourhood (figure 2). On it 14 blocks were identified (figure 3), from which two were selected as pilot studies (Q.I and Q.III). Despite being a City's Council study, it established the bridge with the Academia and with the population. The work was developed based on

⁴ The complete description of the Housing Services was: *Câmara Municipal do Porto, Direcção de Serviços de Habitação – Repartição de Construção de Casas.*

previous surveys made by the social services students between 1963 and 1968 (addressing the social and economic dimension) and by the architecture students of the ESBAP [Porto Fine Arts Superior School] during the academic year of 1967/1968 (addressing the physical dimension).



Figure 2. *Foto 9 – Vista geral da zona* [General view of the area] in (Távora, 1969, p.001)

It is important to stress the role of Octávio Lixa Filgueiras, colleague of Távora in the Porto Fine Arts School, where both were teachers. The humanist vision of Filgueiras towards housing design lead him to propose a discipline of Analytical Architecture [*Arquitectura Analítica*] where his students conducted several urban surveys since 1961 (Almeida & Cardoso, 2007, p.33) and which Távora used for the 1969 study.



Figure 3. *Mapa 1 - Zona, Sector e Quarteirões* [Map 1 - Area, Sector and Blocks] in (Távora, 1969, p.087). The dark hatched blocks are the selected as pilot studies.

The surveys unveiled a terrific framework of excessive densification, with entire families living painfully in one room. This overcrowded framework was aggravated by the ruinous state of conservation of most buildings and by the absence of minimum basic sanitation conditions.

The philosophy underlying the intervention is based on understanding that renewal implies innovating, giving a new life to the existing built structures, as Távora stated in the study:

We believe, firstly, that the physical and social morphology of the sector must be changed by a dynamic, secure and permanent process of renewal at all levels, thus giving the word renewal its true meaning, which is to continue innovating, in a constant movement of modification for better conditions, but respecting the positive values that may exist and that should not, therefore, be destroyed.

(...) And in these few words, renewal (or continue innovating⁵) with a global and open spirit, contains the whole essence of the option we have chosen to guide our proposal. (Távora, 1969, pp.46-47)

This means that the character of the place, socially and physically, must not be disrupted. But it also means that when new design proposals are needed, they should be made compatible with the pre-existing structures, refusing false mimetic solutions.

In this sense, Távora expresses his complete agreement with the principles of intervention proposed by the architect Luís Cunha in a project developed to fill an urban void located in a street of the Porto historic core [*Rua do Cimo do Muro*]:

It will be therefore the criteria of sensitivity to the fundamental values of the landscape that will guide the conception of the new construction and not only the historical reconstitution, in this case impossible, or the affirmation of modernity by modernity. (Távora, 1969, p.43, citing Luís Cunha)



Figure 4. *Quarteirão Q III. Planta do Nível 2: Estado atual e proposta* [Q III Block. Level 2 Plan: Current situation and proposal] in (Távora, 1969, p.110)

⁵ In the original words: '*renovar significa continuar-inovando*'.

The detailed projects for the two pilot-study blocks manifest a strategy based on the reduction of the density of occupation and on the refurbishment of the buildings, improving their living conditions through the introduction of toilets and reorganization of the dwellings inner space (figure 4).

At the urban scale, the study approached this sector as being inserted on a region and as constituting a living part of the city. Thus, it proposed the requalification of the sector's public space, fundamental to improve the local urban image, and, consequently, the quality of life. It also envisages the improvement of the connections with the neighbouring areas, aiming to overcome the ghetto situation previously identified (figure 5).

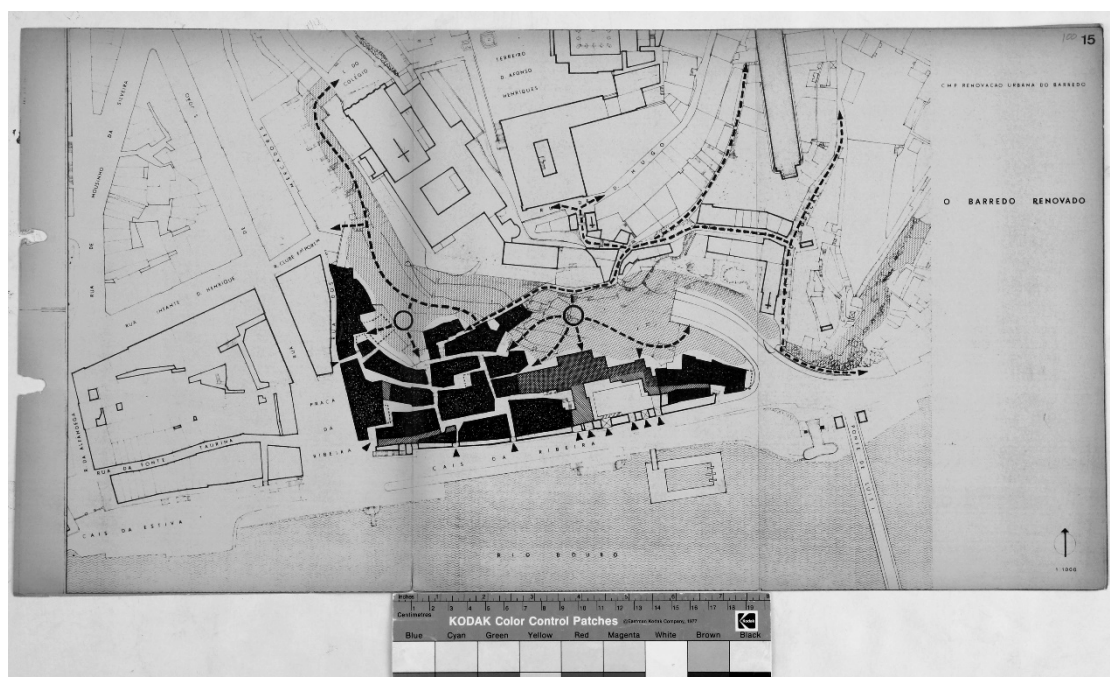


Figure 5. *Mapa 15 – O Barredo renovado: Proposta de ligações com a zona envolvente* [Renewed Barredo: Proposal of connections with the surrounding areas] in (Távora, 1969, p.100)

The influence of the study

The new approach of Távora towards the urban planning of Portuguese historic centres also embodied a defiant attitude to the policy established by the authoritarian regime that ruled the country at the time. This can both explain the reason why the study was not implemented in the epoch and why it established the basis for the new operations which started in Porto immediately after the April's 1974 revolution, which established the democratic regime in Portugal. It made possible the application of the study's approach by the CRUARB – *Comissariado para a Renovação Urbana da Área de Ribeira/Barredo*, an office created in September of 1974 to lead the urban renewal operation in the Historic Centre of Porto. The CRUARB applied the multidisciplinary strategy and expanded the previous intervention area to the Ribeira quarter, as suggested in the 1969 study. In the early years of the office, Távora collaborated as consultant of the operation along with other renamed architects, like Siza Vieira. Further on, the multidisciplinary approach implemented by the CRUARB office was used since the 1980's as a model for the interventions in the Portuguese historic centres, disseminating indirectly the visionary concepts introduced by the 1969 study (Flores, 1998).

Conclusion

The visionary study coordinated and presented by Fernando Távora in May 1969, results from his previous personal and professional experience in the field. It was later consolidated as a model for Portuguese interventions in historic centres and, above all, incorporated the most advanced spirit of its time.

It is clear by the philosophy of intervention applied that it corresponds to a humanist and pragmatic approach, avoiding both the dogmatism of nationalism and internationalism. It also reveals the crossing of tradition and modernity which was characteristic of Távora and its colleagues, and which emerged as a third way in the Portuguese architectural debate and practice. The expression

«continue innovating» used by Távora in the Study represents exactly this approach.

Moreover, the social integration, the conservation of the existing urban context and the attitude towards heritage, are in line with the revision of the modern movement advocated by the younger generations of architects. Is then possible to affirm that this study was clearly in the front line of the historic centres' conservation of its time.

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RADICAL OR NOT AT ALL?

Architectural criticism as a vehicle of CIAM and Team 10 networking in socialist Yugoslavia

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Abstract

The paper focuses on multi-layered roles of criticism in mapping architectural discourse, particularly its main actors and modes. It will present the context of CIAM X held in Dubrovnik simultaneously as 8th General Assembly of the International Association of Art Critics (AICA) took place there. The starting point is the political and ideological context in Yugoslavia during the 1950s and 1960s which provides an insight into the positioning the Croatian architecture and urban planning and/within/or Yugoslavian history as a key sign of the relationship between modernity and socialism. The proposed paper aims to clarify how political and cultural position of Yugoslavia "in-between" East and West determined connections of CIAM's new generation around Team X with Yugoslav architects. The paper examines these ties through international institutional framework during the 1950s and 1960s, particular attention will be paid to critical reception and appropriation of new approaches. Special attention will be paid to the cultural transfer exemplified by the connections between architect Radovan Nikšić from Zagreb and the circle around Bakema and Van den Broek that resulted with appropriation of new structuralist approaches in local milieu. By close reading of characteristic examples, debates and networks the aim is to examine the changes which occurred in the political, economic and cultural structure of societal modernisation and to examine the shifts of meaning(s) and cultural values.

Keywords: CIAM X in Dubrovnik, Team 10, architectural criticism

Introduction

Assuming the realization of the 'new social climate delivered from dogmatism of the late 1940s, the period of 1950s and 1960s was defined by the actors and vehicles of architectural criticism of the same period as a time when "anti-dogmatism" was the main trait of architectural interventions. Its broader social framework remained firmly socialist, but in terms of influential formal models, theoretical discourses, and technological innovation, as well as participation in

international organizations, Yugoslav architects shifted their attention to the political West.¹ The urban development of Yugoslav capitals during the 1950s and 1960s was also placed under the guise of the same doctrine, while the transformation of basic concept, from management city to city of housing, designated the direction of future interventions most intensively conducted during the second half of 1960s and first half of 1970s. The policy of non-alignment marked the epoch that began with Stalin's death in 1953 and consequent 'reconciliation' with the Soviet authorities. In international terms this meant an openness of the state borders both towards the West and the East, and especially the South where the affiliation to the Non-Aligned Movement (1961), whose foundation was, among others, initiated by Yugoslav authorities, enabled an economic expansion of Yugoslavia to Asian and African countries.

The cultural policies of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the 1950s included international networking activity, as can be observed in the AICA holding its 8th General Assembly at the Modern Art Gallery in Dubrovnik, in the period 10–15 September 1956. The first Assembly of AICA organised at the "other" side of Iron Curtain hosted Herbert Read (UK), James Johnson Sweeney (USA), Lionello Venturi, Gillo Dorfles,² H. L. C. Jaffe and other protagonists of the international art critic scene, which was a clear signal that the socialist country was opening up towards Western cultural policies. These circumstances were explicitly described in the conclusions of the General Assembly, which claimed that not only Dubrovnik but the entire coast had always been a place where "the East and the West" came together. This was reflected in the origin of the participants, who came from France, the USA, the UK, the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany, Turkey, Greece, Poland, the Czech Republic and Yugoslavia. The National Sections of all these countries were represented in equal measure at the Assembly. As many as eight new National Sections were in the process of being established at the time (those of Canada, Sweden, Israel, Chile, Uruguay, Columbia, India and Lebanon),

¹ For an overview of post war architecture in socialist Yugoslavia see: Stierli, M. et. al. (2018). *Toward a concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980*. New York: MOMA.

² At this time Gillo Dorfles was a guest of Yugoslav AICA in Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana. He gave a lecture at the History of Art department in Zagreb on contemporary Italian art. Venturi, Argan, and Read were among the most influential critics in Yugoslavia during the 50s and 60s.

while the USSR representative held observer status. The Dubrovnik Assembly recorded the greatest number of new AICA members up to that point – as many as 107. The Assembly conclusions, which addressed the directions the association should pursue, included the reflections of Pierre Francastel, who argued that criticism should extend to architecture. Furthermore, he suggested that one session of the AICA Congress to be held the following year in Naples and Palermo be dedicated to contemporary architecture. The representatives of the Italian Section agreed with this, and Lionello Venturi suggested that the theme of the first session be “Sources of Modern Architecture in Various Countries”. Gillo Dorfles emphasised the issue of industrial art, i.e., design. He claimed that architecture and design required that a methodological apparatus be defined which would extend the area of criticism to new forms of cultural production and everyday life. Jaffe remarked that the AICA General Assembly, which was to be held in Brussels in 1958, at the same time as the Expo, would be the ideal opportunity to discuss modern architecture. At CIAM 6 in Bridgewater, Somerset, in 1947, Team 10’s future agenda was already being formulated by Sigfried Giedion, CIAM’s secretary-general who cited the words of the English philosopher and mathematician Alfred North Whitehead, on the recommendation of his friend and colleague, the art critic Herbert Read. In his introduction to the questionnaire “The Synthesis of the Arts,” Giedion proposed to change the congress’s pre-war focus on rational techniques to a new subject: “Now we consciously promote another step. A step towards a rather intangible subject; aesthetic problems or, you may prefer to say, emotional expression.” (Giedion, 1951, p. 40). At the time, the role of CIAM in forming the discourse of urban design represented by Le Corbusier, Siegfried Giedion, Walter Gropius and other Pioneers, was challenged by young architects, criticising the universalist approaches of the leaders. By coincidence, friends and colleagues, both Read and Giedion participated at two almost simultaneous international meetings organised in Dubrovnik in 1956 and after that both became increasingly influential in Yugoslav cultural space.³

³ Indicative of this, are books and articles translated to Serbo-Croatian during the 1950s and 1960s, among others: H. Read, *A Concise History of Modern painting*, (transl.1966) and S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* (transl. 1969).

As stated by Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, 'The group's history challenges conventional historiography, as well as the more specific historiography of modern architecture (Risselada and van den Heuvel, 2005, p. 11). These challenges are even more evident in the context of critical reception of Team 10 ideas and ideology in "peripheral" zones such as Portuguese and Yugoslav architectural cultures. Similarly, in both cases a new generation of architects emerged from the mid-1950s, sharing common interests in contemporary international architectural debate.⁴ However, *in spite of growing interest for Yugoslav post-war architecture in recent historiography, criticism, as well as periodicals in mediating architectural culture has not yet been in focus of systematic study.*⁵

The context of CIAM 10 (1956)

The networking activity architects from Yugoslavia undertook with UIA and CIAM in the early 1950s was a reflection of Yugoslavian policies at the time, i.e., of opening up towards the West and introducing democratisation into government policy. The contribution of architect Drago Ibler, one of the key initial intermediaries and organisers (Bjažić Klarin, 2016) in addition to Ernest Weissmann and Vladimir Antolić (who were UN employees at the time), should also be viewed in this light. Ibler was a protagonist of modern interwar architecture in Croatia and continued to follow the precepts of modernism in new, post-1945 political circumstances. He is a rare member of the intellectual elite who played a key role in the professional, social and political life of Croatia and Yugoslavia, even after many years in Switzerland⁶. However, a new generation of architects born after 1920 were soon to take over as protagonists. The

⁴ For an overview of the Portuguese case study, see Pedro Baia, (2011). *Appropriating Modernism: From the Reception of Team 10 in Portuguese Architectural Culture to the SAAL Programme (1959-74)*. *Footprint*, 5(2), 49-70.

⁵ See recently published Thorsten Schmiedeknecht and Andrew Peckham eds. (2018). *Modernism and the professional architecture journal: Reporting, Editing and Reconstructing in postwar Europe*. London, Routledge, focused on "key European architectural journals collected to reveal how modernist architecture was perceived and disseminated in different European countries."

⁶ From 1941 to 1951.

architectural scene in Yugoslavia at the time was exceptionally dynamic and receptive, with young architects taking advantage of United Nations development programmes and spending time studying abroad, then returning to implement their experiences in the areas they came from and initiating international networking activity. Grants from the Dutch government allowed Radovan Nikšić (1956) and Milica Šterić (1957) –one of the most successful postwar Yugoslav female architects – to spend time at the firm of Van den Broek & Bakema, while Slovenian architect France Ivanšek did his advanced studies in Sweden (1954-1960).

As pointed out by Lukasz Stanek the attention to visual connections rather than to the articulation of the particular units within one spatial hierarchy was shared by Team 10 architects on both sides of Iron Curtain. This included Yugoslav fellow travellers who invited Bakema to lecture in to propose designs for the New Zagreb City Center (1964) and for Skopje (1964), as well as Team 10 members from Hungary and Poland, Charles Polónyi and Oskar Hansen. (Stanek, 2014).⁷ The critique of rigid CIAM plans gained an unexpected platform at the end of the 1950s in *Forum*, monthly journal for architecture and related arts which had a key role in promoting new concepts of redefining CIAM. On the occasion of reconstruction after the 1963 earthquake, Skopje became an experimental field where exceptional architecture was produced by international, leading Yugoslav and local architects. Macedonian architects returning from study in prominent schools in the United States, as well as international architects among others Kenzo Tange (Japan), Johannes van den Broek and Jacob Bakema (Holland), Luigi Piccinato (Italy), Maurice Rotival (USA), invited to participate at the competition for master plan of Skopje in 1965.

Modern urban and architectural principles of CIAM (Blau, Rupnik, 2007, 164) were contextualized as part of the new political and social system and realized in the construction of Moscow Boulevard, conceived as a translation of CIAM principles of “functionalist city” to the language of socialist discourse. Thus, this avenue reflects its symbolic value integrated into the major public buildings that were built

⁷ <http://open.jaapbakemastudycentre.nl/sites/default/files/BakemaVolumeInsert-from%20the%20chair%20to%20the%20city.pdf>

on the edges⁸, representing genius loci of power, culture and planned economy. Architects of the Worker's University (1956-1961), Radovan Nikšić with co-author Ninoslav Kučan and associate Petar Kušan conceived a new kind of socially engaged architecture suitable to the innovative educational methods for adults and workers, and multifunctional centre for various media of modern cultural production. The main idea was to create a totally active space-time concept expressing the aim of city-building (cultural ambition of developing a new city district and overall community). During six-month stay in the Netherlands in 1956 Radovan Nikšić was working in Johannes van den Broek and Jacob Bakema's studio in Rotterdam and studied the Dutch construction industry and contemporary residential and school buildings. Bakema's own encounter with the Croatian architectural context happened that same year, on the occasion of the tenth CIAM congress held in Dubrovnik at the Modern Art Gallery, 3-13 August 1956 (Mumford, 2000).



Figure 1. CIAM 10, Dubrovnik 1956.
Repro: *Arhitektura* (Zagreb),
No. 1-6, 1956.

⁸ The main points among them were the City Hall (1958), Worker's University (1961), Hall of Justice (1970), Concert Hall Vatroslav Lisinski (1973), and Public Accounts Service (1981),

From that moment onwards, Team 10 ideas considerably influenced the local modernist tradition.⁹ Furthermore, Jacob Bakema invited Nikšić to present this extraordinary work at the last CIAM meeting in Otterlo in 1959, thereby manifesting the recognition of correspondence of this architectural concept with Team 10 ideas and Bakema's own theories.



Figure 2. Radovan Nikšić explains his work. Personal Archival Fonds of Radovan Nikšić, Croatian Museum of Architecture, Zagreb



Figure 3. CIAM in Otterlo 1959, Participants (Radovan Nikšić stands in the fourth row, second on the right). Personal Archival Fonds of Radovan Nikšić, Croatian Museum of Architecture, Zagreb

⁹ The first contacts between Croatian and Dutch architectural scene are traced in the magazine *Man and Space* on the occasion of the exhibition of Yugoslav architecture in Hague 1955 and the review of a public lecture given by Reinder Blijstra, editor of *Forum*, on contemporary Dutch architecture at the Society of Croatian Architects on 22nd of May 1956.

Although these facts from architect's biography concerning his stay in Netherlands are quite known, the radical change of the competition project that differs final design has till now not been analysed in the context of structuralist approach in architectural design, particularly focusing on its communicational aspects. Compatibility with Team 10 concepts and theories is evident in the idea of flexibility (flexible ground plan in which units could change and enable redesigns according to the program). According to the principle of total synthesis, Bernardo Bernardi designed complete fitting for the interior, composing the organic whole of highly individualized spaces that could be easily modified.

Yugoslav architectural periodicals had a prominent role in medialization of new phenomena from the world scene current, as well as in establishing a media space for the activity of criticism that was contributing to the formation and evaluation criteria for these issues. As elsewhere in architectural journals, the role of the editors and their networks played a key role in shaping the critical positions and narratives. The most popular among architectural periodicals in Yugoslavia during the 50s and 60s; *Man and Space*¹⁰ appropriated the layout of the daily newspaper; suggesting the actuality, directness and openness as programmatic codes of communication. At the same time, local reactions to CIAM taking place in Dubrovnik were highly reserved. Reflections on the Congress taking place in the city took the common view that CIAM was an elitist organisation which was not sustainable in its interwar format, that the heroic age of CIAM was over and that radical transformation of the organisation was necessary. At the time, Yugoslavia was not a formal CIAM member, nor did it have a formally established group. Apart from Drago Ibler, who was the only one to actively participate in congress events, the following took part as observers: Bogdan Teodorović, Božidar Rašica, Zvonimir Radić and Srđan Šeferov from Zagreb, Oliver Minić from Belgrade, Branko Kalajžić from Sarajevo, and Vladimir Braco Mušič from Ljubljana. Mušič was also the author of the only written review of the CIAM Congress, in which he

¹⁰ Published by Croatian Association of Architects from 1954.

regretfully observed that Yugoslav architects were completely “physically and spiritually absent” from the Dubrovnik CIAM (*Arhitekt*, 1956).

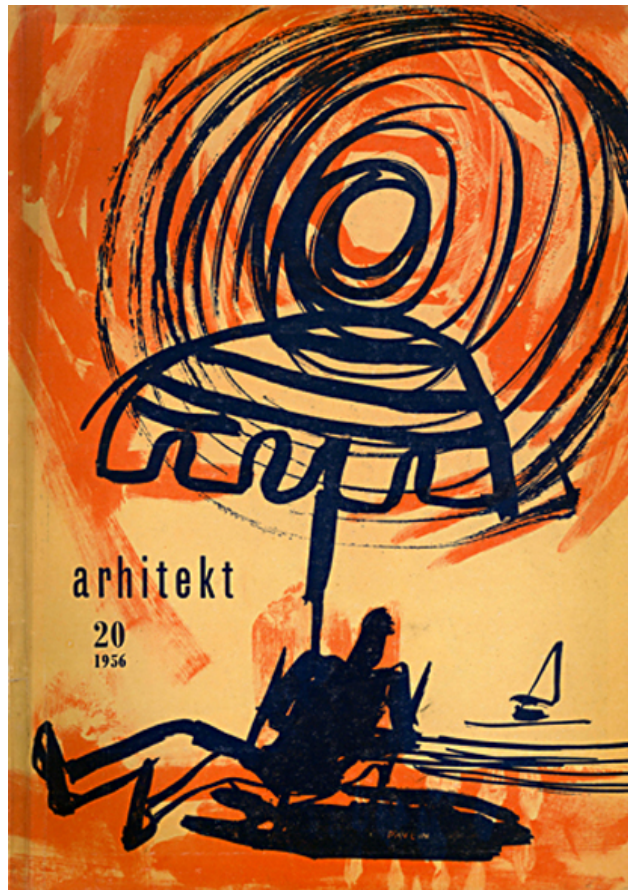


Figure 4. Cover page of architectural journal *Arhitekt* (Ljubljana), No. 20, 1956

Despite the fact that CIAM was experiencing the most difficult period in its history, Mušič believed that it was still the only global architect organisation to hold a progressive ideological programme. His view was that this was an excellent opportunity to raise issues relevant to the Yugoslav context within an international forum which led to the resolution of global issues of contemporary architecture. On a personal level, the Dubrovnik Congress was important for Mušič because he met Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, a figure of key importance for his international career and one who introduced him to American urban culture.¹¹ Mušič would later go on to

¹¹ In 1963 Mušič was awarded a Ford Foundation scholarship from the United States. After he had been assigned a study of urbanism at one of the lesser-known American universities, thanks to

apply his critical observations of CIAM principles in his architectural and urbanistic practice.¹²

The congress delegates met in Padua and held their first meetings on 2 and 3 August, then they travelled by sea from Rijeka to Dubrovnik, expecting the Dubrovnik Congress to have a significant impact on the restructuring of CIAM. Mušič listed the following direct aims: to collate the "Relationships" materials sourced from new "grilles" into a new version of the Charte de l'Habitat (Charter of Habitat) and to produce a definition of the restructured CIAM. A special committee headed by Georges Candillis looked at the relationship between urbanism and habitat within the context of the global environment. The future of CIAM was discussed behind closed doors and it was decided that the organisation would be founded on working groups that would coordinate their activities with one another but would no longer be national in character, as well as on a committee of 30 members. Leadership would be taken over by the younger generation, which would put the ideas of CIAM into practice. In the 1960s, open form, organic growth and polycentrism were themes that permeated not only the work of Team 10 and urbanism but also architecture and art in a broader sense. Although Gropius' and Le Corbusier's letters to Sert at the Dubrovnik Congress supported the idea of carrying on with the principles of the programme, it soon became clear that this was indeed very questionable. Still, an article written by Belgrade architect Oliver Minić published a decade later (Minić, *Arhitektura Urbanizam*, 1965, 84), demonstrates the perception of the role played by Le Corbusier, identifying his absence of presence in Dubrovnik as "a symptom of the end of CIAM."

An article by Sena Gvozdanović was indicatively titled '*Is CIAM Still Alive?*' (*Arhitektura*, 1961, 54–55). In her critically intonated review, she questioned if it was possible to transform CIAM, i.e., what status the protagonists and the

Tyrwhitt, at that time Associate Professor of Urban Design at Graduate School of Design, he was redirected to Harvard.

¹² In his projects for Ljubljana (1966), Split III (1968) and Maribor, where he performs a complete redefinition of what is perceived as urban through the prism of local communities and the pedestrian street.

founders held in the historical circumstances at the time. She provided a brief chronological overview of the organisation and declared CIAM as it had been until 1956 and the Dubrovnik Congress to be dead. She said the '*revived CIAM*' made a new start in Otterlo in 1959, when the Reorganisation Committee – CIAM's Research Group for Social and Visual Relationships – met intending to bring together young and middle-aged architects from all over the globe. However, because they were unable to define the common principles of the new programme, Gvozdanović quotes Bakema, who said that two methodologically different groups were formed: one which followed in the footsteps of the old CIAM and maintained a neutral stance towards the current situation and another, which saw contemporary circumstances as a means of resolving problems. She further quotes Kenzo Tange, who saw this latter group as composed of two subgroups in turn: the Italians, who relied on regional traditions, and the followers of Team 10. The former were closer to life and more human-oriented, while the latter were more modern in terms of accepting technological advances. Gvozdanović believes that the architectural *World Design Conference* held in Tokyo in May 1960 was an expression of the divide between the two subgroups and symbolised the conflict between new technologies and humanism. She believed the solution lay in bringing back the unifying category of the human criterion, similar to the categories of biopolitics, and claimed its subversive potential should not be ruled out. Gvozdanović was skeptical of extending the life of an exclusive organisation such as CIAM and instead favoured institutions such as the U. I. A., primarily because of its broader and more democratic views on architecture, mostly regarding globally relevant topics such as housing.

New urban concepts: plans for New Zagreb (1962), reconstruction of Skopje (1964) and Bakema's proposal for New Zagreb (1965)

Still, one of the earliest criticisms levelled at CIAM principles could be observed in the initiative to redefine the urban matrix of Novi Zagreb (New Zagreb) in 1962. The authors (Neda Bešlić, Vojtjeh Delfin, Vladimir Ivanović, Grozdan Knežević, Zdenko Kolacio, Mirko Maretić, Zdenka Smolej and Josip Uhlik) of the Zagreb

Urban Planning Office proposed a complete reorganisation of satellite neighbourhoods of the type whose construction had begun in the 1950s, as a result of the need to find a quick solution to the problem of housing. It is significant that this study was published in *Čovjek i prostor* (Man and Space), an influential professional journal at the time, cofounded by Vojtjeh Delfin (one of the authors of the project).¹³

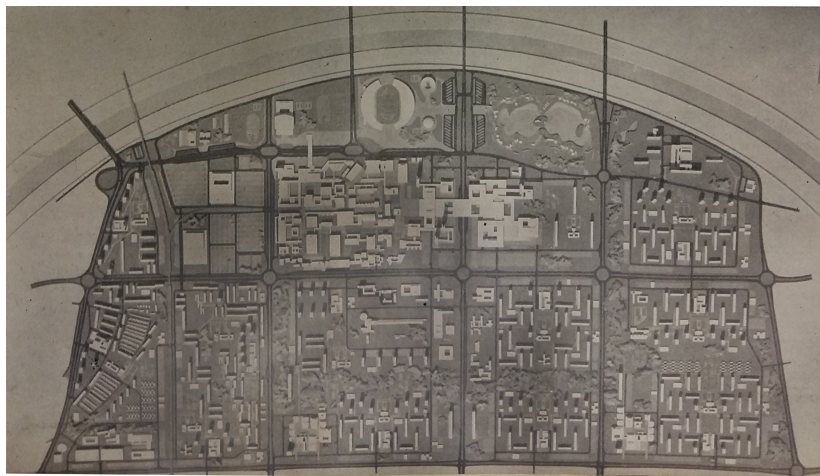


Figure 5. Zagreb Urban Planning Office, Proposal for the Novi Zagreb Center, 1962, Repro: *Čovjek i prostor* (Man and Space), (Zagreb), No. 116, 1962.

The study proposed that neighbourhoods, residential communities and residential administrative units– primary and secondary spatial units – be combined into a single functional entity. Four to six residential communities with 10,000–12,000 residents over a space of 20–30 hectares would constitute a residential district with an accompanying centre, which would mean Southern Zagreb would have a total of 76 neighbourhoods, or 24 residential communities with public facilities located in three smaller centres and one primary urban centre. The study provides

¹³ Analogous to the journals *Forum* and *Architectural Design*, that had close ties with Team 10 members – architectural periodicals in Yugoslavia, particularly *Čovjek i prostor* (Man and Space), *Arhitektura* (Architecture), *Arhitekt* (Architect) and *Arhitektura Urbanizam* (Architecture Urbanism) played a decisive role in disseminating criticism directed against dogmatic principles of modernism.

a detailed overview of how road traffic would be organised and particular attention is devoted to "pleasant and humane" spaces, including the facilitation of communication among pedestrians by way of entryways, ramps, staircases and green spaces¹⁴. The study remained just a proposal for reasons that should be ascribed to a lack of political willpower and primarily the fact that mayor Većeslav Holjevac left office in 1963. However, architects and urban planners engaged in various forms of dialogue with the public, whereby critical views of the study could be heard. A public consultation was held on the Southern Zagreb study – an exceptionally popular format at the time, used to address relevant architectural and urbanistic issues – and the voices of art historians prevailed. They were proponents of modernist urban planning and their reviews of the study were negative.¹⁵

Matko Meštrović, a proponent of interdisciplinary methodologies and the radical elimination of traditional cultural practices, illustrated his study titled "What Future Direction Should Architecture Take?" (Arhitektura, 1963) with the works of Aldo Van Eyck, François Morellet, Vjenceslav Richter, Pier Luigi Nervi and Noriaki Kurokawa to further emphasise the need for integral programming and the use of exploratory and experimental practices in art, architecture and design. Instead of following formalist and technicist models, urbanism should focus on a structural approach to responding to spatial needs, including the impact of socio-psychological factors such as alienation and leisure time on the formation of social structures. In this context, the concept of the environment plays a key role in communication, from the "commune" which constitutes a basic spatial unit to regional expression as a prerequisite of contemporary architecture. The new Master City Development Plan was roundly criticised by urban planners. The critique reached its peak in ideological interpretation of future urban planning. In 1964, an issue of *Naše teme* (Topics of Relevance to Us), a journal addressing social and culture issues, was devoted to urbanism and bore the telling question

¹⁴ - South Zagreb. *Čovjek i prostor (Man and Space)*, No. 116, November 1962, pp. 2–3; 6

¹⁵ - Discussion Held by the Society of Art Historians on the Southern Zagreb Project, at the Museum of Arts and Crafts on 20 December 1962. *Čovjek i prostor (Man and Space)*, No. 120 March 1963, pp. 1–2.

"Urbanism in Spite of Socialism?" above its title (*Naše teme*, 1964). The issue consisted of critically-intoned invited contributions by eight authors: architects, urban planners, art historians and critics, who reflected on issues of relevance in the political and social context of the time. A key issue was that of the function of urbanism with regard to the social dynamic of a modern socialist society. The discourse of architecture and urbanism was becoming more accessible to the general public, and this was supported by the increased engagement of critics as mediators in the process of rendering decision-making more democratic with regard to key issues such as residential construction and large scales. A special contribution to the profiling of critical consciousness in the early 1960s was made public consultations, which were open spaces for the exchange of opinions at various institutionalised levels. Meetings were focused on the topics as mass housing construction, urban infrastructure and the welfare state, participants presented their designs and then discussed them. The exchange of ideas wasn't confined to meetings, however, since most members were active in architectural education. As a result, new generations of architects were introduced to the ideas of Team 10. The presence and the impact of critics and an increased critical consciousness could be observed in the declining assurance of dogmatic practice in urbanism, as well as in the contribution of critics to the forming of urbanistic views in urban planning.

In line with these attempts, the Zagreb Urban Planning Office invited Jacob Bakema to design a project plan for the centre of Southern Zagreb. His proposal envisioned a dense urban structure crisscrossed by internal communication paths. Bakema visited Zagreb once again in 1965 to present his project plan and delivered three lectures at the Faculty of Architecture.¹⁶

¹⁶ These lectures took place on 15, 16 and 17 February 1965.

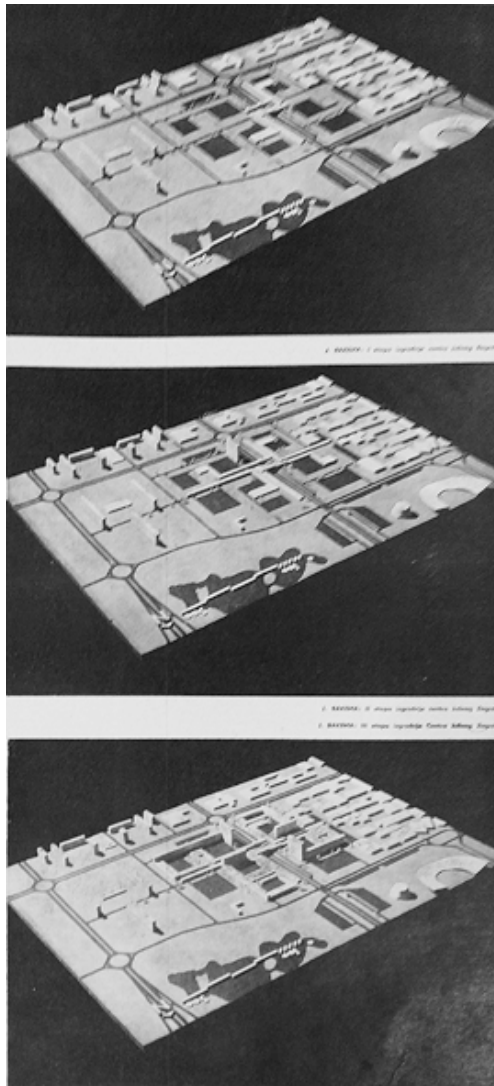


Figure 6. Jacob Bakema, A project plan for the centre of Southern Zagreb. Repro: *Čovjek i prostor (Man and Space)*, (Zagreb), No. 152, 1965.

This was followed by a panel discussion organised by the editorial office of the *Čovjek i prostor (Man and Space)* journal, and hosting some of the leading figures in architecture, urbanism and art history.¹⁷ His proposal sparked considerable interest, while the panel discussion covered a wide range of issues, from philosophical and existentialist ones to societal issues. At the same time, a special

¹⁷ „Discussions on the Visit of J. Bakema to Zagreb“, *Čovjek i prostor (Man and Space)*, No. 152, November 1965, pp. 1–2.

issue of the *Arhitektura* (Architecture) journal, dedicated to the topic of the environment, featured a comprehensive text titled "Architecture as an Instrument in the Process of Identifying Man" (*Arhitektura*, 1965).¹⁸ The article included excerpts from Bakema's recently published volume "From Chair to City" (1965), a hybrid discourse of theory and criticism, incorporating text in the form of dialogue and drawings mirroring comic strip narration. This issue also featured Bakema's theoretical essay titled "Let's Try to Get Buildings to Hold out Their Hands to Each Other Again" (*Arhitektura*, 1965), previously published in the first issue of Austrian architectural magazine *Bau* (1965), which was a space for discussion and presentation of innovative and experimental practices in architecture, urbanism, art and design from 1965 to 1970. Bakema believed that the logical progression of cities was humane architecture both in terms of continuity and creating new value. Nevertheless, he demonstrated a sound familiarity with the urban histories of Poreč, Split, Dubrovnik and Zagreb, and thus pointed to some negative examples of how continuity was rejected in favour of prefabricated, mass-produced architecture.¹⁹

Conclusion

At the final CIAM gathering in Otterlo in 1959, Bakema presented the idea of the *open society*, which would remain the focus of his interest, as Dirk Van den Heuvel's monograph *Jaap Bakema and the Open Society* (Van den Heuvel, 2018) tells us in some detail. His vision of the *open society* was that of a society founded on the principles of the welfare state and made possible through the collaboration of government bodies, citizens and the industry. This implied the foundations of a healthy society were to be found in radical social change, critique and dialogue. Bakema saw the Netherlands as a textbook example of an *open society*, as well

¹⁸ The members of editorial boards of both journals were highly supportive to Team 10 ideas. Radovan Nikšić was a member of editorial board of the journal *Arhitektura*.

¹⁹ Following his visit to Split in 1961, Bakema dedicated an entire issue of the *Forum* journal to analysing the palace in Split (*Forum*, 2, 1962), including an article titled "From an Emperor's Palace to a City of 3,000 Inhabitants".

as a place which afforded the best opportunities for functional humane and democratic architecture. During the Cold War and the inception of the Non-Aligned Movement as a political alternative to divisions along bloc lines, Yugoslavia was an important platform for the exchange of ideas between the East and West. This post-national and anticolonial spirit of a universal society and the social engagement of architecture and urbanism could also be observed in CIAM, as it reorganised and abandoned national groups. The politically neutral Switzerland, Austria and Finland were also neutral in CIAM, i.e., they did not belong to a power bloc. In this sense, Skopje was an experimental playground which enabled the use of radical ideas of the city of the future. It is a paradox that architectural culture, despite all creative potential of these ideas, did not survive the recent tsunami of nationalist ‘revival’.



Figure 7. Johannes Van den Broek and Jacob Bakema, Competition design for the rebuilding of Skopje central area, 1965. Repro: *Skopje resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. New York, United Nations Development Programme, 1970, p. 310.

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BREAKING BARRIERS

Giancarlo De Carlo from CIAM to ILAUD

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Abstract

After World War II, the inflexibility characterizing the first CIAM congresses soon become unsustainable, provoking the criticism of Team 10, active from 1953 for a reform of the congress. The participated discourse of the group, "considering the characteristics of society and individuals", would be inherited, years later, by the International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD), founded by Giancarlo De Carlo in 1976. The laboratory, together with the magazine Spazio e Società (1978-2001), called back to De Carlo's operative militancy in Team 10, expressing a brand-new approach to urban studies. As De Carlo himself affirmed: "Some messages of Team 10 have been gathered in ILAUD [...] but ILAUD and Team 10 are different things". Indeed, the laboratory strongly pushed on the dimension of the project and on the students' collective contribution. The project was no more an end point but became the tool through which every possible solution to the problem could be tested. Courses at ILAUD were given by international professionals like Aldo Van Eyck, Peter Smithson, Renzo Piano, Sverre Fehn and Balkrishna Vithaldas Doshi, some already in Team 10. The laboratory formed many young students, and several would have become internationally-recognized professionals -e.g. Eric Miralles, Carme Pinos, Santiago Calatrava, Mario Cucinella-. The paper wants to consider the contribution of ILAUD to urban studies and didactics through the examination of the rich material (annual publications, posters, projects, photos, etc.) collected in the archive of the Biblioteca Poletti in Modena. The aim is to point out how ILAUD represented a turning point in the formation of the post-CIAM generation and a certain reference for the architectural practices of the XXI century.

Keywords: CIAM; Giancarlo De Carlo; ILAUD; Spazio e Società; Team 10.

The year 2019 marks the centennial of the birth of Giancarlo De Carlo (1919-2005)¹. Among the most influential figures in the panorama of Italian architectural culture, De Carlo attended the last *Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne* and led the International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD), a pioneering international course in architecture, till his death in 2005. While starting a new discourse on reuse and site-specific in architecture, the experiment of ILAUD presented a new approach to didactics and, with its international appeal, anticipated the later success of student exchange programs².

This paper aims at outlining the theoretical, political, didactical and professional stimuli which contributed to the construction of ILAUD, anchoring its origin to the experiences and the criticism of De Carlo within the context of CIAM. Surely influenced by the international dialogue of the congresses, the program of the laboratory delved deeper into the hints of the objections to the CIAM '59 and humanistically fostered the connection between the urban project and its specific cultural context.



Figure 1. Giancarlo De Carlo in Urbino during the ILAUD Residential Course 1981. Urbino, Facoltà di Magistero.

¹ On this occasion the Association of Architects of Milan will open the exhibition “Giancarlo De Carlo e l’ILAUD: una frontiera mobile” (May-December 2019).

² The Erasmus program would have been created in 1987.

Although De Carlo's contribution to CIAM has already been indagated largely (Molinari, 2003; Tuscano, 2003; Heuvel & Risselada, 2005; Vidotto, 2006), few lines are here requested for the sake of completeness. Not wishing to reduce the complexity of a figure as multifaceted as De Carlo, it is appropriate to collocate his experience with CIAM in the context of the criticism of the last Congress. Its prodromes were already palpable during the ninth CIAM congress in Aix-en-Provence (1953), which signed the participation of a new generation of architects, as Shadrach Woods (1923-1973), Alison Margaret Smithson (1928-1993), Peter Denham Smithson (1923-2003), Aldo van Eyck (1918-1999), Georges Candilis (1913-1995) and Jacob Berend Bakema (1914-1981). They would gather in the well-known Team 10, the team in charge of organizing the 10th edition of CIAM, to be held in Dubrovnik in 1956. Already in 1953, the future Team 10 members started to complain about the blind rationalist approach of the Congress, arguing that in CIAM the vision for the city had lost its human dimension. The opposition of the group underlined the necessity of a new moment of self-criticism for CIAM. The demand for a renewal brought the congress secretary Sigfried Giedon (1888-1968) to ask council members to present a young architect from their own Country to be introduced in the debate.

In response, Ernesto Nathan Rogers (1909-1969) and Lodovico Barbiano di Belgiojoso (1909-2004) of Italian office B.B.P.R., in charge of the Italian team, decided to bring the young Giancarlo De Carlo to the 1955 meeting, despite knowing his objections to the intransigent action of the Modern Movement. Indeed, as editor-in-chief (1953-1965) of *Casabella Continuità*, Rogers had already invited De Carlo to write on the magazine, where the young architect had launched a campaign against formalism in modern architecture (De Carlo, 1953). His editorial line had to constitute one of the three theoretical directions of the publication, along with the theme of prefabrication, presented by Marco Zanuso, and that of 'continuity' in architecture, examined by Rogers (Molinari, 2003, pp. 99-102). The accusation of De Carlo against formalism was above all about the detachment of the Modern Movement from the freedom and the coherence of civilization, which was translated into an allegation of the indifference of architecture to cultural and historical contexts. His articles claimed how top-down

and utopic projects, once allied in the fight against academism, had then lost the contact with the complexity of the real world, overlooking the relation between humans and their space.

The position expressed in the articles revealed the unavoidable adherence of the young architect to the politics of Team 10. In coherence with his criticism, in 1957 De Carlo stepped back from the editorial board of the magazine. In his letter of resignation he lamented the continuity with the Modern Movement in the editorial line prompted by Rogers. He remarked, above all, how in Italy *'the affirmation of a modern language is not at all a positive result, since today everybody can use it: the serious architects as the philistines, and above all, the property speculation, which finds it comfortable, quick and cheap'* (De Carlo, 1957).

The vision proposed in *Casabella Continuità* offered a prelude of the fervent discourse that De Carlo brought at the Otterlo congress of 1959. In Netherlands, after presenting his project for a public housing complex in Matera, he summarized the history of the International Congresses³. The excursus was concluded by the assertion that *'Ciam had died long ago'*, accompanied by the desire to develop a new international organization to keep alive the debate on architecture (Mumford, 2000, p. 261). The dispute clearly expressed the new wind agitating CIAM: the contrast which arose in Otterlo turned the possibility of a cease of the congresses into a tangible solution (Newman, 1961).

Extinguished the experience of CIAM and lost the international breath of a review as *Casabella Continuità*, De Carlo tried to materialize his visions in a new form. ILAUD would have been the occasion for it to happen. In the middle were the years of the youth protest. De Carlo looked with attention at the new student movements, whose enquiries gave new fuel to the social theories of Team 10. He thought that their request for a revolution in the academic hierarchy had to be answered with a change in the relation between the city and the university. The theme emerged in his projects for the university campuses of Urbino (1960-66), Dublin (1963-64) and Pavia (1970-76) (Zuddas, 2015). The political basis of their

³ The project for Matera received the disapproval of Peter Smithson for not having looked back to the genuine architectural context of the town.

spatial results was instead suggested in the pamphlet "La Piramide Rovesciata" (The Overturned Pyramid), published in April 1968, one month before the Parisian May. In the text De Carlo accused the distance between professors and students and denounced the impossibility for the latter to participate, decide and discuss on an institution which had been created for them (De Carlo, 1968).

Such discontent nourished the need to build a new tool, a barrier-free space: an institution free from formalism, from the nation-centric theories on architecture, from the sterile hierarchy of teaching, from the scholastic negligence towards the human environment. The International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design was born.

The idea of ILAUD was conceived by Giancarlo De Carlo along with Carlo Bo (1911-2001), rector of the University of Urbino from 1947 to his death. De Carlo was the director, Connie Etra Occhialini (1951-) the secretary. Among the main sources of inspiration there were definitely the CIAM summer schools (1949-1956), held in Venice from 1952 to 1956. Their global discourse consistently influenced the international atmosphere of ILAUD, which involved six architecture schools in Europe and the USA. After a long correspondence with several universities, the group of six was formed and the representatives met in Milan in April 1976. The Milan meeting was actually a reproduction of the organizing assemblies of CIAM: in that occasion the leading board was set up, problems were discussed, and a final document with goals was redacted.

Activities at ILAUD consisted of two programs: the Residential Course, with a duration of about two months, and the Permanent Activities, two short periods before and after the residential course, used respectively to gather preparatory materials for the design phase and to collect the final works (Occhialini, 2005). The methodological approach to didactics encouraged the removal of the traditional division between students and professors, promoting research groups where *'everyone would have a role as a protagonist, the only distinction being that some would be senior, other junior researchers'* (1st Residential Course Urbino 1976, from now on *Yearbook 1976, 1977*, p. 6).



Figure 2. The manifesto of ILAUD

The first Residential Course of ILAUD took place in Urbino from 6 September to 31 October 1976. In later years the course would have moved to other cities, such as Siena, San Marino and Venice⁴. According to the final agreement with universities, the students attending the first edition were individuated by professors. They came from the Escuela Tecnica Superior de Arquitectura of Barcelona, the Katholieke Universiteit of Leuven, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Oslo School of Architecture, The University of Urbino and the Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule of Zurich. English was chosen as a common language of communication. The objectives of the course were summarized by De Carlo in a report, which was published in the opening of the first yearbook

⁴ From 1976 to 1981 the laboratory was based in Urbino, then from 1981 to 1990 in Siena, from 1992 to 1993 again in Urbino, from 1994 to 1996 in San Marino, from 1997 to 2003 in Venice. In recent years, under the presidency of Paolo Ceccarelli, ILAUD has organized formative events in collaboration with the University of Ferrara.

(*Yearbook 1976, 1977*). The main goals highlighted by the director were: the experimentation of new methodologies and design techniques; the creation of an international net of contacts among students and professors; the opportunity for universities to compare their didactic approaches; the opening of a channel for cultural exchange between universities.

The backgrounds of students, coming from diverse contexts and of various ages, reflected the difference among the didactic methods of schools, representing the existing debate between the political duties and the professional competences of architects. Admitting that schools were usually oriented towards one of the two extremes and rescuing his critic towards Formalism, De Carlo conceived the laboratory as a powerful machine to break the barriers between these two static fronts (*Yearbook 1976, 1977, p. 9*).

In order to achieve this aim, students were to be provided with the right instruments for developing a critical consciousness. Magazines, for instance, were considered by De Carlo a fundamental tool to appreciate different approaches to the architectural problem. That was the reason why he wrote letters to the editorial boards of international architecture magazines asking for some free issues to be donated to ILAUD. The faith in written texts, supposed to represent the current architectural debates, was already diffused in the cultural environment of CIAM. In 1949 "*Metron*" published the acts of the CIAM congress of Bergamo (*Metron 33/34, July/August 1949*), while in 1958 the Helsinki group of CIAM gave life to a brand-new review, "*Le Carré Bleu*". Few years after instituting ILAUD, in 1978, De Carlo took the direction of a bilingual Italo-English magazine, "*Spazio e Società - Space and Society*", which testifies his interest in the written medium. (Daidone, 2018)⁵.

At ILAUD the fecundity of the paper space was enhanced by the adoption of the magazine format both as a platform of shared knowledge between lecturers and as a frame for the final presentation of student works. From 1977 the *Bulletins* were printed: they constituted a collection of work programs, projects, researches

⁵ The magazine was born in 1975 as the translation of Henri Lefebvre and Anatol Kopp's French magazine "*Espaces et Sociétés*". De Carlo restarted the numeration and chose to publish new original articles.

and reports of the staff meetings which were sent to lecturers to keep them updated on the activities of the laboratory⁶. The *Yearbooks*, instead, contained a more detailed exposition of works produced during the previous years, combined with discussions on aims and on experienced criticalities, synopsis of lectures, descriptions of programs and trips. They served as an occasion of promotion of ILAUD among universities, as well as a witness of the end products of the research groups. Projects were represented by drawings, schemes and texts realized by students, sometimes together with members of the staff. If the first Yearbook for the 1976 course, published in 1977, was still pioneering, the following issues already showed a more structured organization⁷.

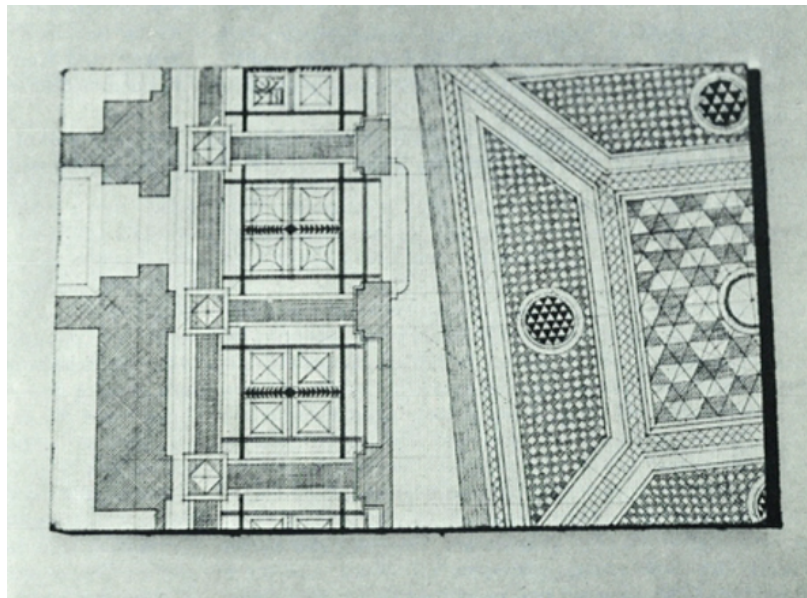


Figure 3. Drawing from *Discussion on participation and reuse*, by Marcià Codinachs and Enric Miralles, from *Yearbook 1977 (1978)*, p.127.

⁶ *Bollettini 1977-2005*. Modena, Biblioteca Luigi Poletti, International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design Archive 1975 – 2004, f. 1.

⁷ The index of the first issue listed the following entries: introduction; design topics; lectures and conversations; appendixes. Appendixes included documents, notes, criticism, list of participants, calendar, program, report and observations on the Milan meeting. On the second number: introduction, calendar, presentations of schools, seminars, design works, lectures.

Yearbooks even attest the names of people involved, since they contain for each year the lists of students, permanent staff and lecturers. Many recognized professionals can be found among them. During the first year among the lecturers there were Mario Botta (1943-), José Muntañola (1940-), Christian Norberg-Schulz (1926-2000), Dolf Schnebli (1928-2009) and Bernardo Secchi (1934-2014). In the 1977 edition among the visiting critics there were Jacob Bakema, Ludovico Quaroni (1911-1987) and Peter Smithson, among the students there were the promising Spanish Enric Miralles (1955-2000), Carme Pinós (1954-) and Josep Maria Montaner (1954-). The tradition of external architecture theorists, designers, figures from the political and civil society, called to lecture at ILAUD would have continued through the years⁸.

The invitation of Bakema and Smithson to the second residential course underlines the political debt of ILAUD to the theories of Team 10. Bakema spoke about "*Architecture based on energy-lines*", presenting his works and illustrating objectives and methods of his design (*Yearbook 1977*, 1978, p. 154-155). Peter Smithson, for his part, dealt with "*Risking more to the future: some further thoughts on connection; concerning narrative and change of organizational base*". The presence of history, embodied in masterpieces of architecture and art, such as the *Flagellation* of Piero della Francesca, was for the English architect the occasion of a deeper reflection on connections, trying to infuse "*both formal and narrative connection from the classical past into the industrial present*" (*Yearbook 1977*, 1978 p. 163). The year 1977 marked the first of a long series of lessons that Peter Smithson gave at ILAUD; from then he would participate every year with a lecture of his, actualizing the discourse of Team 10 (Occhialini 2016). He talked of different themes, whose eccentricity can only be evoked by some of the

⁸ Many recognized professionals were invited. Among them there were: in 1978 George Candilis, Carlo Doglio and José María García de Paredes; in 1979 Francesco Dal Co, Sverre Fehn, Renzo Piano, Santiago Calatrava and Aldo Van Eyck; in 1980 Leonardo Benevolo, Herman Hertzberger and Mario Manieri-Elia; in 1981 Charles Moore; in 1982 the physicist Giuliano Toraldo di Francia; in 1983 Ralph Erskine; in 1984 Edoardo Benvenuto and Lucien Kroll; in 1985 François Chaslin, José María García de Paredes, Lucien Kroll, Renzo Piano and Migueal Angel Roca; in 1986 Gae Aulenti, Reima Pietilä and Manfredo Tafuri; in 1987 Balkrishna Vithaldas Doshi; in 1988 Atelier 5, Charles Moore and Bernardo Secchi; in 1989 William J. R. Curtis, Georges Descombes and Aldo Van Eyck; in 1990 Herman Hertzberger; in 1991 Georges Descombes and Balkrishna Vithaldas Doshi; in 1992 Nezar AlSayyad; in 1993 Danilo Guerri and Ralph Erskine; in 1994 Franco Purini and the mayor of Naples Antonio Bassolino; in 1995 the anthropologist Franco La Cecla, Colin Stansfield Smith and Juhani Pallasmaa; in 1996 Rainer Mahlamäki; in 1997 Leonardo Benevolo, the astrophysicist Franco Pacini, Andrew Todd and Gino Valle; in 1998 the philosopher and mayor of Venice Massimo Cacciari.

titles: *"In Praise of Cupboard Doors"* (1979), *"The Masque and the Exhibition: Stages toward the Real"* (1981), *"Think of It as a Farm"* (1988), *"Sky"* (1994). The involvement of Aldo Van Heyck, George Candilis, Ralph Erskine, Herman Hertzberger and Reima Pietilä also strengthens the connection between ILAUD and Team 10, although a distinction of goals is required. Indeed, as declared by De Carlo:

Some messages of Team 10 have been collected in ILAUD... but ILAUD and Team 10 are different things. Goals and researches have been different... ILAUD was born and continues to be a laboratory, not only a place to discuss but above all a place to design all together⁹. (Bunčuga, 2000)

The last sentence points out the direct relation with design existing in the laboratory, the project being the final product of every discussion. If in Team 10 theoretical speculations often did not land to practical solutions, in ILAUD, instead, the project was supposed to be the inevitable responsive act of the architect, whose duty was to meet the requirements of society. The methodological approach to projects followed at ILAUD a peculiar track, that would have been defined as 'tentative design'. De Carlo intended it as a *'sequence of hypothesis to be explored not to reach univocal conclusions but to open solutions that can take a sense or another, according to the circumstances framing the problem, till reaching, through attempts and temptations, overall significative results'*¹⁰ (De Carlo, 1999). In other words, it stood for an anarchic conception of the architectural poietic, where the barriers of a rigid sequential production were destroyed by a multi-oriented tactic, implementing the intolerance of De Carlo towards the institutionalization of society and of architectural processes (Wood, 2018). The revolutionary spirit of ILAUD and its political implications were clearly stated by the involvement of non-violent activist Danilo Dolci, urban theorist Carlo Doglio and anarchic architect Colin Ward, who all lectured in the courses (Zardini, 1997).

⁹ Translation by the author.

¹⁰ Translation by the author.

In accordance with the political substrate of ILAUD, the process of de-institutionalization of architecture required a conscious participation of people: “*architecture has become too important to be left to architects*” (De Carlo, 2005, p.11). The problem of participation in architecture was not only about how to consider the needs of people, in a patronising attitude; it was rather about finding a new design process in which people could feel the final project as something of their own (*Yearbook 1977*, 1978). The search for a participative method should not make one believe that external people and residents actively contributed to the projects of ILAUD. Such a direct participation would have required much more time than the few months available and it would have clashed against the inability of students to understand Italian. The only participative process that fitted timing was the final presentation, which was followed by a fertile discussion with population. The lack of direct communication with residents in the design phase was fixed through the supply of materials, prepared by the staff or produced during the permanent activities, which often included surveys and interviews.

Didactics at ILAUD pursued a ground-breaking approach, extraneous to the orthodoxy of universities. Due to his teaching experience, De Carlo was fully aware of the condition of didactics in Italian architecture faculties. As he explained in a public talk, he believed that the main risk of architecture courses was in the reduction of the modern language to mere graphism, devoid of its meaning (Baffa, 1994, p. 404)¹¹. His speech foretold the future deviation of architecture towards pure fashion.

According to De Carlo, participation was once again supposed to be the only medicine for the illness of architectural education, as tested through the experiment of ILAUD. Although being adjusted unceasingly, the laboratory was an extraordinary tool to introduce participative politics in the design process and to break the barriers of a formalistic attitude to architecture. ILAUD was the concretization of the revolutionary drives of its creator, who constantly looked for a mechanism to unhinge the polluted relation between space and society. As

¹¹ The talk was given at the national congress of FAIAM (Federazione delle Associazioni Italiane di Architettura Moderna) held in Milan in 1953.

stated by De Carlo in an impassioned article, published in 1969 on the magazine "Parametro":

A real metamorphosis is necessary to develop new characteristics in the practice of architecture and new behaviour patterns in its authors: therefore all barriers between builders and users must be abolished, so that building and using become two different parts of the same planning process (De Carlo, 2005, p. 11).

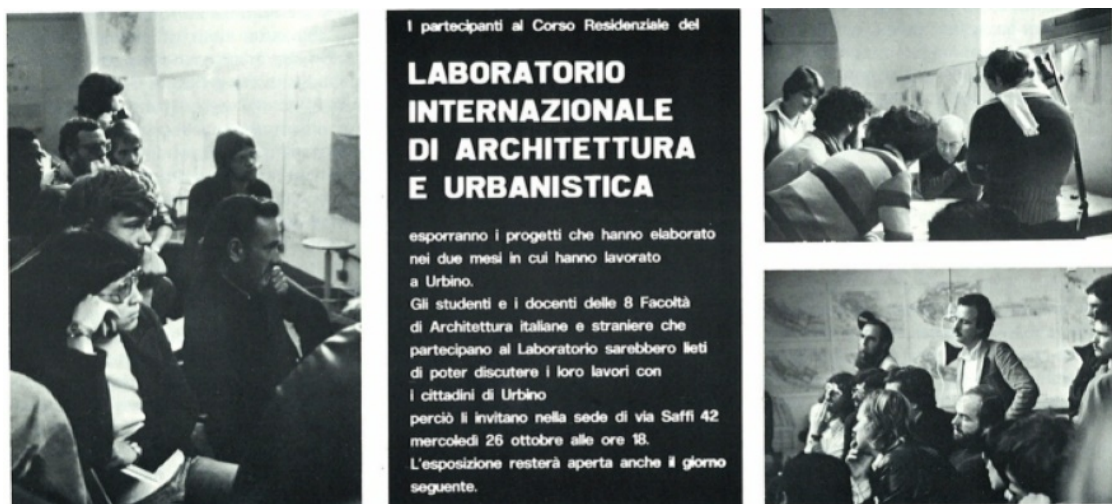


Figure 4. Poster for the exhibition of projects realized during the second Residential Course of ILAUD in 1977.

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BACK TO MONUMENTALITY

Modernisation and Memorialisation in Post-War Yugoslavia

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Abstract

Only a few Yugoslav architects attended Post-War CIAMs, whose reception in Yugoslavia was rather lukewarm. This may perhaps suffice to question the role of Yugoslavia in the European and international architectural debate. However, to understand the importance acquired by memorials and monumental architecture in Yugoslavia, contrary to the Modernist orthodoxy, a series of historical events should come into focus. In Yugoslavia, architects internalized monuments as a specific design field, and monumentality as a quality to achieve.

Along this line of thoughts, this paper ends by exploring the 1957 architectural design competition for the Jajinci Memorial in Belgrade, arguing that the architectural representation of state socialism, all but univocal, was actually defying stereotypes, and that the generation emerging in the decade 1950-1960 marked a true political, social and cultural watershed.

Keywords: Monumentality, Post-War Memorials, Yugoslavia.

Modern monumentality, modern monument

'[...] monuments and memorials are located in a country where, for centuries, the living coveted the dead.'

These seemingly harsh words by Serbian painter P. Misovaljević (1980: 257) may well introduce the importance of memorial architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1990), a country established after World War II, which confederated different ethno-religious groups. Each with its own culture and traditions, these

groups had shaped for centuries the troubled history of the Balkans between East and West.

The narrative about the newly established political and cultural unity was deeply rooted into the feats of the Partisan movement, always surrounded by an aura of legend in the cultural public sphere. The Liberation War – and the Socialist Revolution that followed – enhanced the epic narrative of World War II, whereas public celebrations of battles and offensives, war heroes, personal and collective tragedies, were often presented as the victory of good over evil.

This eagerness to memorialise pushed for artistic representation, mobilising architecture and the visual arts to reach the broadest possible consensus. The symbolic imagery consolidated in some key examples, which clearly epitomise the singularity of Yugoslavia as a case study.

The discourse on Monumentality provides us with a reading lens for approaching the local architectural debate.

Recent literature and historiographical accounts on Yugoslavia, often dub the architecture produced in the Socialist period as 'in between', 'hybrid' or 'unique,' somehow highlighting its growing international relevance. From 15 July 2018 to 13 January 2019, the New York Museum of Modern Art hosted the exhibition 'Towards a Concrete Utopia,' presenting public buildings and monuments dating back to the socialist time. On visiting this exhibition, we may agree with Kulić that Yugoslavian architecture was not a cohesive body of buildings and projects, much rather it was the result of different 'centres' (Kulić, 2012), schools and 'patriarchs' (Kulić, 2009, p. 294).

Such differences faded throughout the post-war reconstruction, when monuments were back on the scene as an architectural theme, in sharp contrast with the Modern Movement dismissal of monument design. Lewis Mumford believed that monument was as a society's fixation on death over life. In his essay *The death of the Monument*, Mumford argued that the very notion of 'modern monument' was a contradiction in terms: a monument could not be modern, and a modern building could not be a monument.' (Mumford, 1937, p.264) Nonetheless, he

admitted that functional buildings favouring human betterment - far from commemorating death - could express some kind of monumentality.

Just before the end of World War II, some European architects who had moved to the United States showed a renewed interest into the spatial qualities of monuments. After the war, while the discourse on monumentality animated the Yugoslavian debate, monumentality re-appeared in the theoretical statements made by many CIAM members. Both architects and town planners unconditionally disapproved the '*false monumentality*' of the interwar period (Giedion, 1958), when totalitarian regimes mistook celebration for commemoration, and produced buildings on a gigantic scale overloaded with rhetoric which '*dwarfed a man.*' (D. Elliot, 1963, p.37)

Giedion's revaluation of monumental expression in architecture called on the human universal need for '*buildings that represent their social, ceremonial and community life*' (Giedion, 1958, p.27). Much of Giedion's written work was based on conferences, essays and lectures which he delivered from 1944 to 1956. In 1956, *Architecture you and Me* was published in German¹ and translated into English in 1958. Questioning themes like taste, sculpture, politics and art in relation to social changes, Giedion's ideas paved the way for CIAM post-war agenda (after the single cell and urbanism).

He wrote: *The third step lies ahead. In view of what has happened in the last century and because of the way modern architecture has come into being, it is the most dangerous and the most difficult step. This is the reconquest of monumental expression.* (Giedion, 1944, p. 552)

Together with Josep Louis Sert and Fernard Leger (both CIAM members), Sigfried Giedion conceived the *Nine Points of New Monumentality*, a sort of manifesto advocating the need for architecture and urbanism to claim back their spiritual dimension. In fact, this document bears evidence to the shifting perception of

¹ First published in 1956 in Hamburg as vol.18 of the Rowohlt's Deutsche Enzyklopaedie under the title *Architektur und Gemeinschaft*. Revision and translation into English has been curated by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, CIAM member as well.

memory and to the need of bridging the divide between 'form' and 'content,' thus restoring figurativity to the realm of architecture.

Naturally, such positions among CIAM members challenged the orthodoxy of Modernism, leaving room for the fifth function² to surface. Spatially-wise, the modern monument found its ultimate expression in the civic centre (Giedion, 1944) 'a site for collective emotional events [...] where a unity of the architectural background, the people and the symbols conveyed by the spectacles will be achieved' (Giedion, 1958, p. 39)

It comes as no surprise that such ideas resurfaced during the post-war period: European city-centres had been totally or partially erased, the social order undermined, shaking from the roots any blind faith in Functionalism.

Rather than simply rejecting Modernist urban models, *Nine Points of New Monumentality* sounded like a challenge to the new generation, in that architects were invited to consider monumentality when interpreting the 'heart of the city'³ as the place for 'spiritual growth' (Giedion, 1954, p. 12).

However, we cannot overlook the debated on the so-called *deliberate monument* (Riegl, 1982), concerning all those buildings meant to be monumental instead of functional, namely sculptures or three-dimension artefacts, erected in the historical urban fabric to commemorate an event or a personality. In such cases, monumentality meant mastering scale, a certain ornament, equating the relevance of a given event with the material durability of the artefact.

All these features characterised monuments produced upon great commissions, a set of established symbols that arouse the Modernists' disapproval and lost their evocative power in the wake of WWII destructions. At this crucial historical juncture, there seemed to be no future for the *classical monument* (Violi, 2012).

According to Giedion and his supporters, monumentality required a collaborative

² Besides the four elaborated in the Athens Charter, i.e. dwelling, work, circulation, recreation the fifth was civic representation.

³ Title of the VIII CIAM in 1951 in Hoddesden, England.

work between architects, painters and sculptors.⁴ Avoiding to erect monuments in the traditional manner, artefact and space had to be conceived as a whole, as an indivisible spatial entity.

In the changing political and ideological context of Socialist Yugoslavia, aesthetics, art and architecture aimed at a synthesis, somehow expanding the pre-war idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk*.⁵ After the war, Yugoslavian architects set synthesis as their programmatic objective. As stated in their manifesto, the Croatian group EXAT '51⁶ (mainly including architects) epitomised the modernist idea of the 'total work' as a synthesis of pure and applied arts. EXAT '51 attempted to achieve a spatial synthesis that lead architect Vjenceslav Richter to design the Yugoslav Pavilion at the 1958 Expo in Brussels, contradicting the lingering stereotypes about socialist countries whose preferences lied in monumental and classical architecture (Kulić & Zarecor, 2014, p.228). The Yugoslav Pavilion received broad international consensus and ranked among the top four (Architectural Review, 124, August 1958). Even if it did not represent '*an architectural watershed*' in his home country, it certainly was an '*original achievements*' featuring '*new formulas for key dilemmas of modernity,*' such as synthesis of the arts. (Kulić 2014)

Despite architects' effort to present Yugoslavia abroad as a country that rejected monumentality, a process of 'memorialisation' did occur. During the so-called 'Enthusiastic decade' (Milasinović-Maric, 2017) more than 600 monuments, memorials or simple tombstone were unveiled, showing that monuments were back on the agenda of Yugoslav architects.

⁴ It is a question Giedion rose during the VII CIAM. Articles presented during CIAM in a note called Architect's attitudes toward Aesthetics during CIAM VII in 1947; references can find in Architects and politics: an east-west during the CIAM VIII in Bergamo 1949.

⁵ It is a word created by the German philosopher Karl Friedrich Eusebius Trahdorff in 1827 and refers to the fusion of music, dance and gesture. A possible translation is total work of art. Richard Wagner called upon this concept when referring to the creation of the drama but added architecture and sculpture

⁶ Acronym for *Eksperimentalni atelje*, meaning Experimental Atelier. Founded in 1951 in Zagreb by architect and designer Bernardo Bernardi (1921-1985), architect Zdravko Bregovac (1924-1998), painter Ivan Picelj (1924-2011), architect Zvonimir Radić (1921-1985), architect and designer Bozidar Rašica (1912-1992), architect and sculptor Vjenceslav Richter (1917-2002), painter and sculptor Aleksandar Srnec (1924-2010), architect Vladimir Zarahović and painter Vladimir Kristl (1923-2004). In their manifesto, the members embraced Abstract Art advocating for the synthesis of all visual arts. The group was active until 1956.

The 'Enthusiastic' decade: monumentality in a Socialist country

The years from 1950 to 1960 marked a political and economic change for Yugoslavian architecture, a crucial shift from Social-realism towards a more 'locally adjusted' modernism (Vodopivec, 2010, p. 31).

The architectural journal *Arhitektura* echoed the debate on Socialist-realism, whether or not to be understood as a style for representative buildings. This debate was developing at a time when cities were being rebuilt with many prefabricated residential quarters and very few monumental structures. This happened because the Soviet Grand-manner never took-off and monumental buildings often remained unfinished when not only ideal projects on paper.

In 1948, the rupture between the Yugoslav Communist Party and USSR Comintern paved the way for a major geo-political change, which sanctioned the end of Socialist Realism and fostered the connection between local and Western architects.

Economically wise, the decade from 1950 to 1960 marked the decline of state-run socialism and the five-year plans (which started to be adjusted) leading to a more flexible economical model. All this favoured massive housing and urban expansion, and a shift beyond aseptic functionalism towards a more humanistic architecture, which paralleled the CIAM trend towards a less dogmatic Modernism.

In November 1950, only two years after the rupture with USSR, architects and planners from all Yugoslavia met in Dubrovnik for the first time. The First Conference of Architects and Urban Planners of Yugoslavia provided an opportunity to find some common points for professionals from very different cultural and training backgrounds. In view of the adjusted five-year plan, they agreed upon the need of a new development model, equally distant from the Soviet and capitalistic influence.

For Yugoslav architects, this was a time of generational turnover: the pioneer modernists who had to cope with the Socialist political context and resulting economic and social change was giving space to the younger generation called upon to express a new architectural figuration.

The redefinition of the professional profile - from a collective design approach to a more personal and authorial engagement – was the major outcome of the Dubrovnik Conference, which also marked a revival of architectural design competitions. Seen as the best way for professionals to compete in creativity and originality, to provide investors (mainly public or state-run institutions) with high quality design proposal, competition announcements soon multiplied. Eventually, this situation fostered the formation of temporary design teams who competed with more institutionalised offices.

This trend favoured the exchange of ideas, opening to foreign influences thanks to Yugoslav architects who had travelled extensively abroad. As most announcements concerned architecture, urban and infrastructure projects,⁷ competitions helped reshape the disciplinary boundaries of architecture (Stojanović, 1955). In 1947, Yugoslavia counted 889 architects and engineers, 60% employed by state-owned offices; the majority of them was from Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia, thus unevenly distributed among the Federal Republics. (Kulić, 2009)

In 1956, six years after the First Conference of Architects and Urban Planners of Yugoslavia, Dubrovnik hosted CIAM X, a by-product of Western friendly policies. The personal connection between Drago Ibler, a modernist architect from Zagreb who had moved to Switzerland in the Forties, and Alfred Roth, a Swiss member of CIAM, partly explains the choice of Dubrovnik as a venue (Bjazić-Klarin, 2016). Nevertheless, the perception of CIAM among Yugoslav architects was far from enthusiastic. Many Croatian architects labelled CIAM as '*international capitalist architectural organization*' (Bjazić-Klarin, 2016, p.44) or as '*an exclusive*' (Bjazić-Klarin: 44) and antidemocratic organization. Only a few Croatians took an active part in CIAM X and in the last CIAM held in 1959. For them, CIAM was certainly an opportunity to travel and work abroad in close relation to the leading international personalities. Significantly, those architects reflected the generational shift then occurring in Yugoslavia, and within CIAM. Croat architect

⁷ Due to the lack of professionals in Yugoslavia in the first aftermath of WWII, engineers and technicians were allowed to make architecture and urban projects; they usually were appointed by administrative officials or due to political reasons.

Radovan Niksić, a former student of Ibler's, worked for six months in the firm run by J. Van den Broek and J. Bakema, also employing Milica Sterić, who was later to become the chief architect of Energoprojekt (a prominent state-run office).

The year 1956 was very significant because of the many architectural-related events.

The exhibition '*Apartment for our conditions*' (Milasinović-Marić, 2017) held in Ljubljana dealt with the same themes of CIAM X (*Chartre d'Habitat*). This event introduced the First Yugoslav Conference on dwelling and housing (26-28 May 1956). From 7 July to 6 August 1956, partially overlapping with CIAM X (3-13 July), Belgrade⁸ hosted USA Contemporary Art from the MoMA, the last of a series of exhibitions promoting western art.

Yugoslavia political non-alignment left sufficient room for exploring monumentality as a quality to achieve without mimicking codified elements from the past. The effort consisted in pursuing a non-religious sacredness that could evoke people's struggle and sacrifice. Actually, sacredness became a recurrent theme among the architectural critics, marking the success of Yugoslavian memorials in Western journals.

L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui (108) in 1963, dedicated a monographic issue to sacred architecture⁹ including Yugoslavia's memorials, with a special focus on Bogdan Bogdanović's work.

The personality of Bogdan Bogdanović (1922-2010) epitomised the urgency for a generation to emerge. Born into a bourgeois family from Belgrade, where he graduated in 1950, Bogdanović was one of the A50 generation, the core of the so-called Belgrade School of Architecture. In 1971, historian Zoran Manević described

⁸ This exhibition was a travelling throughout Europe from 1955. Previously hosted in Paris, Zurich, Barcelona, Frankfurt, London, The Hague, Vienna and Belgrade. Yugoslavia was the one and only Socialist country that hosted the MOMA exhibition. The selection of artworks showcased mainly included abstract art. the artists who presented their work were Arshile Gorky, Jackson Pollock, Mark Tobey and Mark Rothko among others.

⁹ The monographic issue is dedicated both to sacred architecture and structural experimentation. The main curator is Danielle Velaix.

Bogdanovic's work as 'Second Avant-garde',¹⁰ equally distant from Socialist-Realism and the International Style. According to Manević, Bogdanović marked the revival of 'soil culture' and curved lines bringing back to focus both the ornament and landscape design.

Bogdanović managed to build up his entire career by designing monuments and memorials, establishing himself as an authority in the field. His 1952 competition entry for a monument dedicated to the Jews killed in Belgrade envisaged a cutting-edge solution. Adopting an asymmetrical footprint to encompass the nearby Jewish cemetery into the composition, Bogdanović's anti-monumental design envisaged the possibility to inhabit the monument. Rather than staging the new monument, Bogdanović used it to extend the perspective of a pre-existing central alley creating a space-time whirl while approaching to the monument.

Bogdanovic's work received broad international recognition before being fully appreciated in Yugoslavia.

Answering to O. Minić, in an interview published after the article in *L'architecture d'aujourd' hui*,¹¹ Bogdanović said:

[...] our sacred buildings are atheistic. But they find values in our architecture because we are stepping back to ancient, archaic and elementary human symbols.

[...] Even the man who has materialistic visions is facing the matter of death. In this case it's a violent death, a human suffering or a conscious victim, and these extraordinary ethical values of our time, our revolution seek for their spiritualized, artistic creation.

¹⁰ Zoran Manević wrote that 1958 represented the peak of this movement, when the members (Alekselj Brkić and Mihajlo Mitrović) already had the chance to build. Manević traced a parallelism between the 1928, when the Belgrade Rationalists summoned into GAMP (Grupa Arhitekata Modernog Pokreta, i.e. Group of Modern Movement Architects). Manević is the first and only critic that applied this category for Bogdan Bogdanovic's work.

¹¹ The 1963 issue dedicated to sacred architecture and structural researches. It was curated by Danielle Valeix. The article included works by Bogdanović, Džamonja and Vojin Bakić among others.

Also adding:

[...] The French didn't miss the fact that it is a new type of memorial entity with spatial features which integrate architecture and sculptures in a single whole, just like it happened in ancient architecture. (Minić, 1963)

In 1957, Partisan authorities launched the pan-Yugoslavian Competition for a memorial to be built at Jajincj¹², the site of two Nazi concentration camps close to Belgrade. The camps were set for political prisoners and 80.000 were killed from 1941 to 1943, deeply affecting Belgrade's collective memory.

The Jajincj Memorial was to be a park, an articulation of public spaces set in an evocative landscape. The Jajinci competition showed the importance of memorials and the need to emphasise the eminently memorial character of a given place. At Jajinci, memorial architecture was to evoke the landscape dimension of a trauma-site.

This competition ended by established the canons of a new monumentality that had to distance itself from the totalitarian regimes of the past and particularly from the Soviet social-realism.

The symbolical value of the great memorial transcended any utilitarian aspect, so much so that all efforts were concentrated on memorializing the site and overshadowing ancillary buildings.

Josip Seissel¹³ (1958) wrote: *'[...] Modern monumentality! Two terms until recently mutually exclusive. Today we pronounce them together again.'*

An Avant-garde artist and architect during the Twenties, Seissel echoed the new perspective on monumentality:

¹² Jajinci is a municipality, 9 km southern from Belgrade.

¹³ Josip Seissel (1904-1987), also known as Jo Klek. Prominent 20s Avangard artist. In 1929, he became an architect and after WWII professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb. On the occasion of 1957 competition for Jajinci, Seissel served as a judging commission member. The commission numbered important architects (Ratomir Bogojević, Aca Djordjević, Smiljan Klajić, Edvard Ravnikar, Neven Segvić), visual artists (Marko Celebonović, Pedja Milosavljević, Rista Stijović) and writers (Dobrica Cosić, Jara Ribnikar).

The development of modern architecture was bound to proceed in a direction opposite to the monumental. It was just in the name of monumentality that violence was committed in this area not long ago. (Seissel, 1958, p. 12)

The Jajinci competition marked a breaking point also because it gathered the prominent memorialist architects of Yugoslavia working in heterogeneous groups that included visual artists; the evaluating committee included politicians, architects, writers and sculptors.

The competition agenda emphasised the idea of the synthesis of the arts, steadily pursued for public and commemorative buildings but still with no precedents

The first prize was awarded to a team including the most prolific monument and memorial builders in Socialist Croatia.¹⁴ Bogdanović's entry qualified for its originality, openly dismissing the functional requirement of the competition brief.

It is worth noticing that the Croatian architects who represented Yugoslavia at CIAM X in Dubrovnik also placed an entry for this competition. Aleksandar Dragomanović, Nino Kučan and Radovan Nikšić¹⁵ proposed a redesign of the landscape highlighting the highest quote of the hilly area with a monumental charnel house. The idea of re-dramatization was achieved by laying on the mass graves an enlarged detached ramp that enters the charnel house.

Remarkably, all the competition entries proposed movement as a key-figure of the composition. Rather than focusing on giant sculptural elements, all the participants acknowledge the importance of defining the approach to the site, '*the space emanating-power of contemporary sculpture*' in Giedion's words. (Giedion, 1958)

Bogdanović's proposal started from the poetic concept of the death – taking as

¹⁴ The leading architect, Zdenko Kolacio (1912-1987) and the sculptor Kosta Andjeli-Radovani (1916-2002) were among the most prolific monument and memorial builders in Croatia during Socialist period.

¹⁵ in collaboration with sculptors Dusan Dzamonja , architect Bernardo Bernardi, painter Olga Vujović all from Zagreb.

inspiration a verse from Garcia Lorca¹⁶ - and its translation into spatial dramatization as a tool for visitors to 're-experience' (Violi, 2014) the drama through perception.

The modernity of such a proposal lies in the interplay between architectural composition and spatial narrative, aimed at informing / educating the visitor while also allowing for a memorable spatial experience.

Bogdanović and his group wrote in the submitted brief:

A possible and frequent error in memorials of this type is that they may be approached from different quarters. We have an opposite attitude: we have closed the whole area and lead the visitor along a definite route, so that one may realize the essence and the entirety of the memorial in the shortest time. The principles of exposition are similar to the principles of museum display but, of course, on a large scale. [...] our aim is to preserve with the aid of impressive strokes the character of this area which devoured a hundred thousand victims. The original topography is preserved and by being remodelled it is even accentuated. [...] the configuration of the terrain is dramatized, given greater stress, and rendered more sensitized, than as it was found. (Bogdanović, 1958, p. 59)

In this unrealized project as in many others the positioning of a plastic object in the landscape works with the theme of the 'classical monument' (P.Violi, 2014) but questioning its location within the landscape.

The architectural value of Bogdanović's memorials could be found in the mindful layout of artificial elements such as paths, viewpoints and sculptural elements leaning against landscape and wilderness of nature.

This idea of a spatial ensemble partly natural and partly artificial induce emotional effects in the visitor, and illustrates the attempt Yugoslav architects made to

¹⁶ Garcia Lorca verse became also the motto for the project. the verse is: 'let them not cover his face with a handkerchief; let him inure himself to the death he bears'; it is taken from Lorca's 1935 poem *Cuerpo presente*.

materialise CIAM's 'fifth function'.

Concluding remarks

Yugoslav architects approached memorial buildings hovering between art and architecture and, more important, focusing on landscape. In so doing, they expanded the field of action to achieve the desired synthesis (Krauss, 1979). The design of memorials allowed architects to step out of strictly functionalist assignments and favoured collaboration and exchanges from different intellectual fields.

Paralleled by the liberalizing socio-political changes in Yugoslavia, the generation shift that occurred after 1950 eventually allowed for example authorship to prevail over collective projects originated from state-run ateliers.

While the synthesis of the arts was to broaden the scope of architecture, the quest for a new monumentality triggered a more complex thinking about the ultimate meaning of monuments and monumentality itself. Intentionally or not, CIAM discourses on monumentality never grasped the design of monuments as buildings meant to commemorate an event or a personality. The discussions rather stressed the social value of art and architecture meant to serve civic representational needs.

Assuming the plea for 'New Monumentality' launched by Giedion has been unconsciously interpreted, monument design in Yugoslavia sanctioned the creation of memorial as an original commemorative space typology.

Despite Yugoslavia was seeking international affirmation, local architects, except very few, never openly embraced post-WWII CIAM postulates.

The lack of clear evidence whether or not CIAM ideas circulated among the new generation of Yugoslav architects and how they were implemented is quite revealing. The impacts of CIAMs in non-Capitalist countries like Yugoslavia is a field worth to be further explored particularly taking into account dramatic political changes before and after WWII but also a very delayed modernisation and

urbanisation.

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TEAM 10 THE 'YOUNGERS' OR THE CONSTRUCTION OF ANOTHER AVANT-GARDE

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the notion of 'generation' in terms of inheritance and transference of authority to examine when, why and how the Team X generation took shape. Situated within, and taking inspiration from, the reflexive turn in social sciences, a socio-historical perspective is used to examine a generation that is not formed biologically, but rather constructed socially: Team 10 is called the 'Younger' generation. The old/young categorization is considered here not as a natural phenomenon — a notion propagated by Le Corbusier — but as a tool that serves to redefine each group of actors and their tasks, and disqualifies those considered 'modernist' traitors, or 'non-creatives', unable to breathe new life into the movement. The Youngers, entrusted with the impossible task of ensuring the continuity of the organization but also the renewal of the movement, must be equal to the Masters, while also not repeating the past: they must do otherwise. The architects who become Team 10 differ in terms of their professional situations and resources. To achieve their task of renewal, they construct an intellectual system of difference — otherness — primarily in relation to their Masters but also inside their professional environment. The self-dissolution of CIAM that results reinforces the story of the birth of a new avant-garde, especially since this new elite of heirs no longer needs the CIAM to assert itself.

Finally, this paper focuses on the social construction of Team 10 as a 'young generation' and a grouping of 'creators', 'heirs' and ultimately, a new 'avant-garde'.

Keywords: generation, socio-histoire, avant-garde, organization, otherness.

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DEBATING MODERN ARCHITECTURE

A brief account of the Iberian Peninsula circa 1967

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Abstract

In the 1960s, a group of Portuguese and Spanish architects began to meet on a regular basis. An informal structure based on a network of close contacts, not unlike the Team 10, this group met to discuss architectural theory and practice, to visit buildings, and also – or above all – to socialize and share ideas and experiences. Despite the casual nature of most of these meetings, they had considerable impact in the evolution of Portuguese architecture, leading to a series of encounters with prominent European architects and the publication of several articles in international journals, as the result of a strategy of editorial exchange promoted by some of the meetings' participants. Concurrently, a number of architects and critics were invested in finding new tools and methods for thinking about architecture, and especially for debating and critiquing architecture. The present text provides an introduction to this context and explores the reciprocal influence that Spanish and Portuguese architects exerted on each other's work, by focusing on the moment when two important milestones concur: the Iberian meeting taking place in Portugal, promoted by Nuno Portas, and the publication of a critical analysis of Álvaro Siza's early works, written by Pedro Vieira de Almeida.

Keywords: meetings, pequeños-congresos, debate, criticism, Siza

1.

Originally thought of as a meeting of the French- and German-speaking architectural elite, the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) soon became a complex and bureaucratic organizational structure. In 1929, only one year after the founding act, an estimated 130 architects from eighteen countries attended the CIAM 2 in Frankfurt (Mumford 2000: 34). From that point on, all work was organized through official organs such as the general assembly, the national committees, which consisted of elected delegates, and several study

groups. The apparatus continued to grow until the post-war Congresses, in which, according to Mumford, a new organizational structure for CIAM was created (Bridgwater, 1947), although with no tangible results: the following Congress (Bergamo, 1949) revealed '*CIAM's inability to develop a shared and coherent agenda, foreshadowing the lack of coherence of most of the post-war Congresses*' (*Ibid.*: 201).

When CIAM's leaders recognized the need for change and began to give the 'younger generation' a more prominent role in the organization of the Congresses, it became clear that the change would be deeper than they had imagined. In 1953, after one of the most crucial and sought-after CIAM (Aix-en-Provence, attended by an estimated 500 members from thirty-one countries), a subset of the English committee met to reflect on the Congress and draft proposals for immediate work. The group considered that '*the accepted definitions and methods of work within CIAM [were] not adequate for dealing with the problems*' they were facing (Smithson 1982: 10)¹. When this group joined the organization of CIAM 10 (Dubrovnik), they preferred to think of the committee as a small group of individuals with shared interests, and they strove to limit the number of Congress participants. Not surprisingly, in the Congress' report, they commended the fact '*that CIAM as a whole began doubting the reason for its continuing existence*' (*Ibid.*: 71)².

In December 1956, the Smithsons wrote a proposal for the sort of organization they thought should replace CIAM, in which they called for a '*complete break with the name CIAM*'. In their opinion, while '*Architecture Moderne*' was inextricably associated with the aesthetic of the 1920s, the international aspect of the old CIAM had become irrelevant since, according to them, it was now more important '*to concentrate the few people who feel a common aim*' (*Ibid.*: 75-76)³. Three months later, the English group repudiated a proposal for a reorganization of

¹ Document signed by A&P Smithson, W&G Howell and John Voelcker, dated December 18, 1953.

² Document not signed, with a stamp 'Alison and Peter Smithson – Architects', dated August 8, 1956 (possibly written at the Congress).

³ 'Future of CIAM/ To Team X and old CIAM COUNCIL / From A. and P. Smithson', dated December 9, 1956.

CIAM, maintaining that any '*re-creation of a CIAM type formal organization would lead to a dispersal of energy*' and stating that they would not agree with any such proposal, '*or indeed to anything but maintaining a series of informal contacts until the moment that group action becomes necessary*' (*Ibid.*: 78)⁴.

Planned as a working session, the last 'official' CIAM meeting is the result of a series of informal contacts. The coordinating group addressed personal invitations to every participant, inviting each to submit a project for critical discussion and evaluation. For eight days, a small assembly of forty architects, mostly from Europe, debated at the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo (the Netherlands). According to Oscar Newman (1961: 7), '*the Otterlo group was able to maintain complete informality: colleagues spoke up freely to criticize or defend each others' work and directives and were able to illustrate their arguments graphically*', with the assembly '*gathering and moving, reassembling and dispersing from panel to panel*'. In the concluding evaluations, it was decided that no formal structure should be given to the group, and that all contact should be maintained through a 'Post-Box' with the address of the congress coordinator, Jaap Bakema. This network of close ties, with an atmosphere of familiarity, would come to define Team 10's meetings⁵.

2.

In September 1959, while a young and a not-so-young generation of CIAM's participants were gathered in Otterlo, Oriol Bohigas was visiting Madrid with a local friend, Antonio Perpiná. When he realized how isolated the architects of Madrid and Barcelona were from each other, he decided to organize '*a small conference of good will architects*', an opportunity to meet and talk at length⁶. In

⁴ 'CIAM [reorganization or] dissolution[?]', dated March 22, 1957, signed by Howell, Lasdun, Smithsons, Voelcker.

⁵ As recalled by Alison Smithson (1982: 4): '*Team 10 functions without chairman, secretary, or any bureaucratic structure... our idea was to be totally different from what had gone before... function naturally in the manner of a real family; accepting in the beginning that when its cohesive energy died, it would die*'.

⁶ In this part of the text I make use of some documentation from Oriol Bohigas' archive gathered in Nuno Correia's Master Thesis (see references).

a letter to Carlos de Miguel, editor of *Arquitectura*, the magazine of the Architects' Association of Madrid, Bohigas outlined the kind of programme that would encapsulate his idea:

Then, we thought about you, about the magazine and the 'sessions of criticism'. Why not organize a meeting during two or three days in Madrid with detailed visits and discussions about each building, with trips to the outskirts (...), with dinners and meals, so we can get together and chat, even if only about bulls? (Correia 2010: 32)

In November 1959, almost forty architects from Barcelona joined their colleagues in Madrid for three days of debate, informal talks and visits to modern and historical buildings. Given the warm reception and the event's success, a second meeting was held in Barcelona in return. These two events, separated by only six months, mark the beginning of what would become known as '*Pequeños Congresos*' (small conferences). Initially intended to connect architects from Spain's two main cultural centres, the meetings were soon extended to architects from the rest of the country and began to take place in other cities, such as San Sebastian (1960), Cordoba (1961), Malaga (1963), Tarragona (1963, 1967) and Segovia/Toledo (1965). The programme, however, remained similar: a three-day stay at a hotel, rigorously scheduled sessions of criticism (presentation of plans or projects) and visits to buildings, interlaid with lively meals.

In 1967, Oriol Bohigas sent an invitation to Nuno Portas to join the 8th *Pequeño Congreso*, to be held May 4–7 in Tarragona⁷. Portas went together with Carlos Duarte, who he knew well from ten years of intense collaboration in the Portuguese magazine *Arquitectura*. Their accounts of the meeting with the Spanish group coincide. Both describe it as a stimulating experience, full of vitality, and both show some surprise at the informality and general feeling of ease. Nuno Portas, notoriously enthusiastic about the results of the meeting, wrote a note inviting Portuguese architects to reflect upon '*the inertia and the*

⁷ In 1966, the magazine *Hogar y Arquitectura*, edited in Madrid by Carlos Flores, launched an issue (62) dedicated to 'housing with community spaces' in which were published a building in Barcelona by MBM – Martorell, Bohigas, Mackay – and the seven-storey building in Olivais Sul by Portas and Costa Cabral. Both began to exchange correspondence due to the mutual interest on their work.

collective inefficiency (...) that have dominated the field of critical and theoretical thought in the last years', and launched an urgent call for periodic and intensive work meetings to discuss and '*prepare a new common front for professional action within the present conditionalism'* (Portas 1967: 88). He praised groups such as Team 10, forums where new ideas and concepts flowed and were extensively debated. This practice of small forums already had a tradition in Spain, since the *Pequeños Congresos* had come to fill the void left by the disappearance of two avant-garde groups, the GATEPAC and Grup R.

Portas and Duarte's enthusiasm in Tarragona earned them the organization of the next meeting, to be held in Portugal by the end of 1967. This was seen as a unique opportunity to 'import' the same model of debate, and therefore the format of the previous meetings was for the most part preserved, the only major difference being that the visits and the 'hotel sessions' were scheduled for separate days. The meeting took place in December 1967, and almost one hundred architects attended. The first day was dedicated to Lisbon, and included a tour of the modern neighbourhood of Olivais, while the last day was dedicated to Porto, including visits to buildings by Álvaro Siza. Between the two, the architects stayed in Tomar, in a new hotel designed by Carlos Manuel Ramos. The event was reported in the popular press⁸ alongside testimonials from several participants, which were later included in the journal *Arquitectura*.

Most testimonials agreed that the meeting's occurrence was in itself a highly positive accomplishment, facilitating professional and personal contact between architects from the two countries. In general, it was felt that the Spanish architects elevated the debate to an international level. Carlos Duarte (1967: 189) recalled that the names Kevin Lynch, Christopher Alexander and Giancarlo de Carlo were mentioned in the critiques to each and every project or building presented. According to him, '*the debate of ideas at the international level (...) was always present in the interventions of the Spanish group'*, and '*this being within the process and contributing to it'* was what he had found most valuable (*Ibid.*).

⁸ Arquitectos portugueses e espanhóis reunidos em Tomar discutiram problemas urbanísticos e habitacionais. (1967) *O Século Ilustrado*, nº1565, December 30, p.62-63.

Notwithstanding, the testimonials also pointed out several shortcomings of the meeting, with regard to its objectives, namely the large number of participants, which compromised the possibility of creating a 'working group', and the lack of participation by part of the audience. In Nuno Portas' testimonial, there is a discernible dampening of enthusiasm and a certain resignation about the possibilities of this model: '*The essential was the get-together (for how long had there been no discussion about architecture wider than the atelier or the cafe group?)*', reaffirming that '*the merit of this formula lies in its relative informality*' (O I Encontro..., 1967: 218). It is possible that he was facing a contradiction: while he favoured the lightness of the *Congresos*, he wondered if achieving certain objectives – such as organizing a *new common front* – would require a more institutionalized and bureaucratic type of organization.

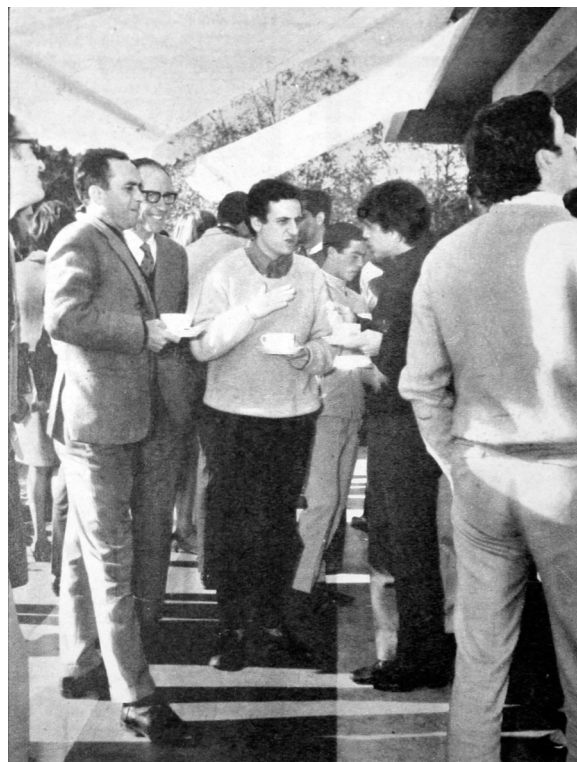


Figure 1. Tomar meeting, December 1967: Nuno Portas amongst Spanish architects. *O Século Ilustrado*, 1565, 1967-12-30.

In fact, these meetings were neither so 'small' nor free of 'institutional' features: there were organizing committees, invited lecturers, themes – 'Housing units: common ground between architecture and urbanism' was the theme for both the Tarragona and the Tomar meetings –, schedules, and in 1960, statutes were drafted. Nevertheless, when Oriol Bohigas received an official letter from the Portuguese section of the *Union Internationale des Architectes* (UIA)⁹, a delegation that gave economic and legal support to the event in Tomar, he wrote to Nuno Portas explaining that such an involvement was not much to the liking of the Spanish architects, due to the compromises it entailed (such as the obligatory participation in the meetings of a UIA delegate)¹⁰. They didn't want UIA meetings, and neither did Portas: on his return from a UIA Housing Commission meeting in July 1967, he wrote to Bohigas saying he had missed him in Prague, for the friendship and '*not for the big congress [sic] that was not worth a thousandth of 'our' pequeño congreso*'¹¹.

Informality and a certain degree of 'anarchy' continued to characterize the *Pequeños Congresos*, which had two further editions, in Vitoria (1968) and La Garriga (1970), both with Portuguese participation. These meetings had an impact in the course of Portuguese architecture throughout the 1970s, due to both the relevance of the debates¹² and the presence of high profile international speakers. Marcial Echenique and Aldo Rossi were guest speakers in Tarragona, while Vittorio Gregotti and Peter Eisenman were guest speakers in Vitoria¹³. In the latter meeting, a group that had travelled to the USA had brought with them Robert

⁹ Letter from Nuno Teotónio Pereira, as president of the Portuguese section of the UIA, to Oriol Bohigas, signed, not dated (Oriol Bohigas Archive, Barcelona). The event is referred as '*Iº Encontro de Outono*'.

¹⁰ Letter from Oriol Bohigas to Nuno Portas, signed, dated November 27, 1967 (Oriol Bohigas Archive, Barcelona).

¹¹ Letter from Nuno Portas to Oriol Bohigas, signed, not dated (Oriol Bohigas Archive, Barcelona).

¹² See: Lopes Dias, T. (2016) *Arquitecturas en Portugal, 1967-1972: ¿marginadas o en las márgenes?* In Pozo, J.M. (Ed.) *Arquitectura importada y exportada en España y Portugal (1925-1975)*. Pamplona: ETSAUN, pp.375-384.

¹³ Echenique was working in Cambridge with Leslie Martin, and would be a fundamental link between Martin's Centre for Land Use and Built Forms and Manuel de Solà-Morales' *Laboratorio de Urbanismo de Barcelona*.

Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966)¹⁴. Venturi and Eisenman's divergent (grey / white) 'post-functionalism', which has had decisive influence on the work of Álvaro Siza¹⁵, must have first become apparent to Siza in the Victoria meeting. On the other hand, the work of the Portuguese architects, and in particular the visit to Siza's Swimming Pools in Leça also had a powerful impact on the Spanish group¹⁶.

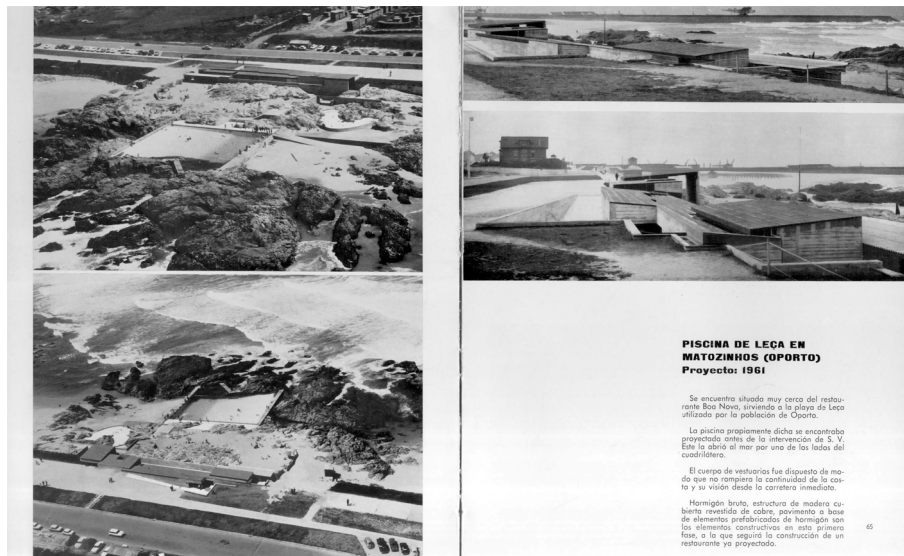


Figure 2. Swimming Pools in Leça (Porto): presentation of Álvaro Siza's work in the magazine edited by Carlos Flores. *Hogar y Arquitectura*, 68, 1967.

Finally, while the *Pequeños Congresos* targeted a restricted circle, the debates that animated them were extended to architectural magazines¹⁷. After the issue

¹⁴ A group from the *Pequeños Congresos* travelled together to the USA in the summer of 1968 to attend the Aspen International Design Conference: Oriol Bohigas, Rafael Moneo, Federico Correa, Nuno Portas et al. Correa and Portas were speakers and Eisenman was also part of the panel.

¹⁵ See: Varela Gomes, P. (1995) *Arquitectura, os últimos vinte e cinco anos*. In Pereira, P. (Ed.) *História da Arte Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, vol.III, pp.547-591.

¹⁶ See the testimonies of Oriol Bohigas and Óscar Tusquets respectively in *Dit o Fet. Dietari de Records II* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1992) and *Amables Personages* (Barcelona: El Acantillado, 2014).

¹⁷ Besides Carlos de Miguel and Carlos Flores, who were both editors, Bohigas was part of the editorial board of *Serra d'Or*, a cultural magazine published in Montserrat, Barcelona.

of *Zodiac* dedicated to Spain (nº15, 1965), which included a text on the panorama of modern Spanish architecture by Oriol Bohigas and Carlos Flores, the two started to present the new Catalan production in Madrid and vice versa. Soon after that, the exchange was extended to the magazine edited by Carlos de Miguel. Immediately, Portas and Duarte began to use the same strategy in *Arquitectura*, advertising the meetings and showcasing the work of the Spanish group, by presenting buildings and projects (for a short while in almost every issue) and publishing essays from their 'neighbours'. Meanwhile, the first in-depth study of Portuguese architecture is published abroad, in Flores' *Hogar y Arquitectura* (nº68, 1967). Nuno Portas presented the two post-war generations of Portuguese architects while Pedro Vieira de Almeida focused on the work of Álvaro Siza, to which the magazine dedicated almost forty pages. Further studies would be presented in *Cuadernos Summa* (1970) and *Controspazio* (1972).

3.

In parallel to all this activity, a critical thought current was developing, one concerned with the real possibilities for debate and critique, and its conceptual support. After Tomar, some of those who were present showed their frustration with the way criticism had been expressed. Palma de Melo considered that '*a relative clarification and convergence of opinions was overshadowed by a direct, bothersome and inconsequential form of criticism*' (O I Encontro..., 1967: 218). The perception that two different, if not opposed, approaches to architecture were at stake became generalized. Regarding this, a few months later, Pedro Vieira de Almeida – who wasn't at Tomar –, wrote:

What concerns me now about this meeting is that several architects that were present and did not share identical points of view told me later that they had felt unable to argue with those in the group that opposed them; both of them confessed '*We do not speak the same language*', and this simply stunned me. (Vieira de Almeida 1968: 42)

By then, he was responsible for the section on architecture in the cultural newspaper *Jornal de Letras e Artes*, for which he had been writing since 1965. This collaboration was key to introducing the architectural debate to a wider audience. Vieira de Almeida understood that his primary role should be in disseminating new ways of thinking rather than established ideas, i.e.: to debate methods of thought and action rather than specific buildings or projects. Throughout several articles¹⁸, he will endorse an engaged and responsible form of criticism, with literary echoes such as the praise of the 'egoistic' nature of the essay (in the sense of an avowed expression of the individual preferences of the author), an understanding of critique as an independent and creative act, and a profound rejection of an impersonal, objective and detached stance, a viewpoint that can also be found in the essayistic works of Virginia Woolf and Oscar Wilde, to name but two compelling authors.

Besides these texts with a clear emphasis on method, Vieira de Almeida wrote other, more targeted, articles, where he presented a particular new building, exhibition or event to the public while at the same time criticizing it. His strategy was often to incite a dialogue between the author of a building and the critic, a strategy that was not uncommon in literary criticism. In *Reviewing*, Virginia Woolf proposed to replace the bureaucratic and hasty book review by '*an expression of individual opinion, given without any attempt to refer to "eternal standards" by a man who is in a hurry [and] pressed for space*' (Woolf 1939: 14). Woolf despised the 'professional', distant and snobbish reviewer and considered that literature had much more to gain from a fearless and disinterested discussion between reader and writer.

In Vieira de Almeida's view of criticism, the dialogue between author and critic was paramount. The public, if not directly invited to participate in the debate, was at least made aware of its standing as an interested party. Fundamentally, he decried the view of the critic as 'judge', to which a large part of the profession still adhered, but which he deemed too comfortable. In his newspaper column, Vieira de Almeida looked for opportunities to provoke debate, by replying to letters or

¹⁸ See: Maia, MH; Correia, N, eds. (2018) *Pedro Vieira de Almeida: O Espaço Perdido e outros textos críticos*. Porto, CEAA.

reigniting some controversy that was waning in the public sphere, in the café or in the pages of a magazine.

However, the two examples that best illustrate this debate strategy are found in the journal *Arquitectura*, since both are architectural analyses. The first concerns the early work of Álvaro Siza, with an emphasis on the Swimming Pools in Leça – the same building that had caused a strong impression on the Spanish architects during their visit to Porto in 1967 –, and the second concerns a small chapel in the Portuguese hinterland designed by Diogo Lino Pimentel. After writing his review of the works, Vieira de Almeida sent it to the authors; his intention was to publish their remarks along with his text: the buildings were thus presented with a critical comment and a rebuttal from the author.

The importance of this invitation to dialogue between two interpreters – the one who creates and the one who reads the work – is worth emphasising. This behaviour was all the more remarkable in a cultural milieu where the open confrontation of ideas was not common practice. The proposal was well received by the editors of the magazine, as we can see in the editorial note:

At our request, Pedro Vieira de Almeida wrote for *Arquitectura* a critical note about the chapel of the Seminary of Olival. By his suggestion, the author, Diogo Lino Pimentel, answered him clarifying some aspects of the project and discussing some of his statements. This is a kind of dialogue that we think is of the greatest interest to promote and which we'll try to continue in further issues of our magazine. (Vieira de Almeida 1967b: 242)¹⁹

By doing this, Vieira de Almeida meant to extend a practice that was already common to a small group of architects to the entire professional class. Vieira de Almeida, Lino Pimentel, Álvaro Siza, Nuno Portas, among others, regularly attended debate sessions promoted by the Movement for the Renovation of Religious Art (MRAR), which they saw as fundamental to compensate for the dearth of theory in architecture schools. MRAR played an important role in the Portuguese cultural scene. It hosted exhibitions, architectural competitions – in

¹⁹ The editorial note, included in the same page of Vieira de Almeida's review, is not signed.

which modern architecture was defended –, it published a periodical bulletin, and it organized regular debates on architecture. These were not attended exclusively by 'progressive Catholics': anyone interested in architecture or in the arts could attend, irrespective of religious confession or belief (Siza and Vieira de Almeida were not religious). The design teams presented their proposals for an assembly of architects, artists, priests and members of industrial workers committees, and everyone's opinion was heard, in a frank and candid exchange of ideas that came as a breath of fresh air in the rarefied atmosphere of the dictatorship.

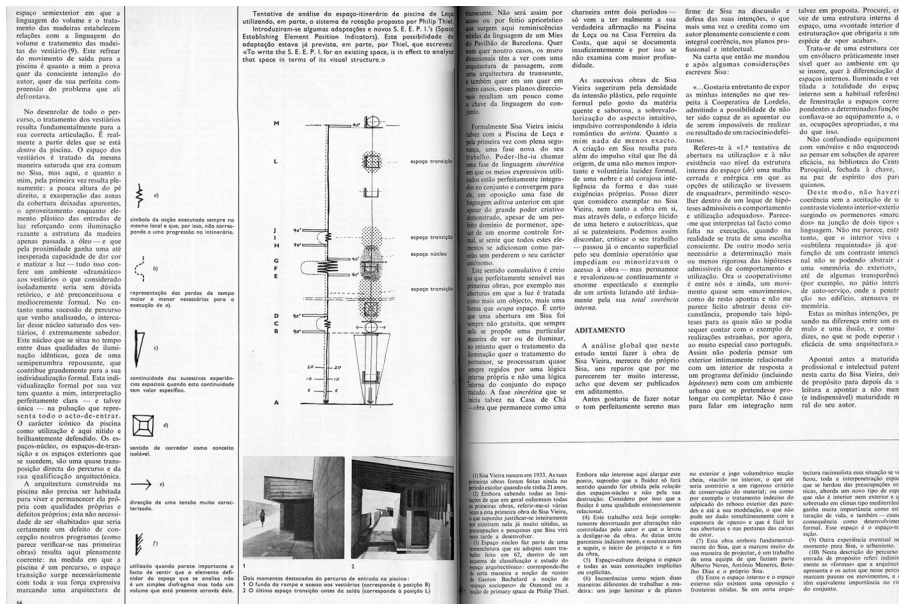


Figure 3. Swimming Pools in Leça (Porto): double page with diagram of space notation by Pedro Vieira de Almeida (left) and Siza's rebuttal (right). *Arquitetura*, 96, 1967.

In the analysis of Siza's works, and specifically in the case of the swimming pools, Vieira de Almeida put in practice a method that had as much of abstract and intellectual as of empirical and sensitive. The diagram of space notation, based on the work of Philip Thiel, meant to demonstrate how the architect controlled the spatial and sequential experience of the user in complete coherence with the use of materials, natural light and openings to the surrounding landscape. What Vieira de Almeida considered to be truly exemplary was Siza's lucid effort to establish

critical bases within the discipline itself, something he considered essential for the maturity of the modern movement. From Siza's remarks (intended to clarify some design choices), he emphasized '*the perfectly calm but firm tone (...) in the discussion and defence of his intentions, which reveals him as an author who is fully conscious and coherent in the professional and intellectual spheres*' (Vieira de Almeida 1967a: 67).

This text, translated and included in the edition of *Hogar y Arquitectura* dedicated to the young generation of Portuguese architects²⁰, had considerable diffusion. The magazine was launched around the same time that the Spanish architects visited Portugal, and it may have embolden Oriol Bohigas and Rafael Moneo to write about Siza's buildings. The former sent a letter to Vieira de Almeida asking for references on studies about 'the perception of space' and the line of research developed by Philip Thiel²¹. Vieira de Almeida's critique also had also an important impact on the author of the project: Siza acknowledged that the analysis contributed to his awareness of certain issues of composition and language, towards which he had admittedly been more intuitive than conscious²². Some of the issues Siza is referring to were addressed in a book that both critic and author had read and admired: *The Idea of Space in Greek Architecture* (1956), in which Rex Martienssen argues that the deliberate induction of a transitional experience is an essential factor in the creation of a system of formal architecture.

In the case of the chapel, Vieira de Almeida chooses to make a critical analysis focused on the syntactic coherence of the building. As an interpretative scheme, he draws a longitudinal axis that divides it in two opposite parts: on the left, an organic wall like a shell formed by the palm of a hand, with almost no detailing, defines a more enclosed and poetic space; on the right, a free plan layout finely detailed defines a lighter and modernistic space. Diogo Lino Pimentel observes that the two spatial, linguistic and constructive solutions (supposedly antagonistic)

²⁰ See: Vieira de Almeida, P. (1967) Un análisis de la obra de Siza Vieira. *Hogar y Arquitectura*, 68, 72-76. Although Siza's remarks are not included in the Spanish version of the text.

²¹ Letter from Oriol Bohigas to Pedro Vieira de Almeida, signed, dated June 19, 1970 (Oriol Bohigas Archive, Barcelona).

²² Interview of Tiago Lopes Dias to Álvaro Siza, recorded in his office in Porto, March 4, 2013.

do not correspond to the initial intention of the project, and therefore proposes a different diagram. Nevertheless, he is made aware of possible contradictions in certain design choices: *'If the solution did not correspond to the intention, that is another question, and so I am interested and I admit that Vieira de Almeida's interpretation is fair'* (Lino Pimentel 1967: 244).

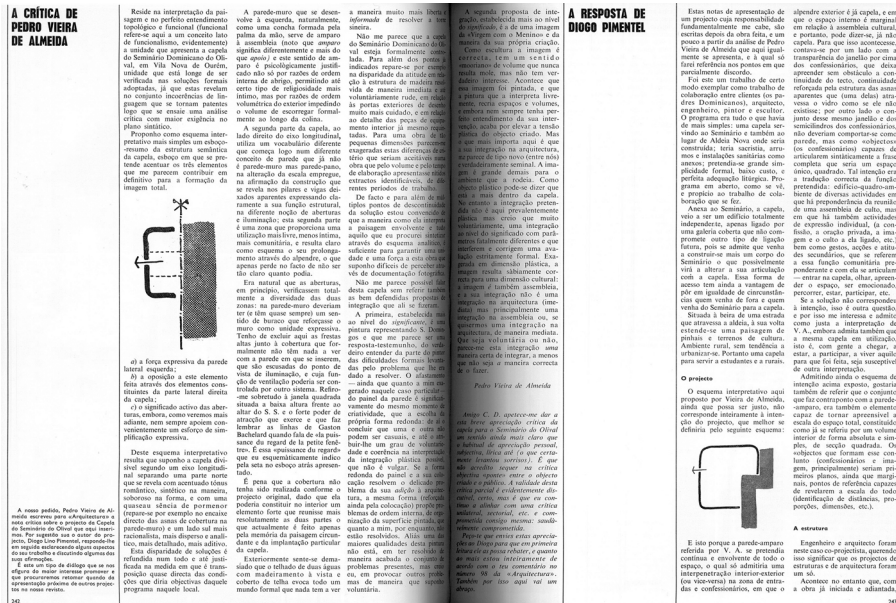


Figure 4. Chapel of the Dominican Seminary of Olival: double page with interpretive diagram by Pedro Vieira de Almeida (left) and Diogo Lino Pimentel's rebuttal (right). *Arquitetura*, 100, 1967.

Despite the effort to create a space for debate in the magazine *Arquitetura* – which did not continue to publish ‘dialogues’ between authors and critics regularly – and Vieira de Almeida’s regular collaboration in high-circulation newspapers²³, the architectural debate in Portugal remained poor and barely reaching the general public. It was not until the revolutionary period (1974-76) that architecture started to feature as a recurring subject in daily newspapers and even television. Nonetheless, the ties that grew out of the *Pequenos Congressos* seemed to further

²³ Vieira de Almeida wrote in daily newspapers such as *A Capital* and *O Comércio do Lisboa* in the late 1960s, *O Diário de Lisboa* in the 1980s, and in weekly newspapers such as *O Expresso* in the 1970s.

Portuguese participation in international meetings, debates and events throughout the 1970s. Indeed, *PC's* participants and guests met again on several occasions: in the symposium of Casteldefells (1972: Bohigas, Portas, Eisenman et al.), in the International Conference on Urban Models (Cambridge 1974: Echenique, M. Solà-Morales, Portas), in the 1st International Seminar on Architecture (Santiago de Compostela 1975: Peña Ganchequi, Siza, Rossi), in the Venice Biennial (1976: Gregotti, Eisenman, Siza²⁴) and in the first retrospective exhibition of Siza's career (Milan 1979, curated by Gregotti). Some of these events changed the critical perception of Portuguese modern architecture.

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²⁴ The former two were the organizers of the event "Europe-America, Historical Centre-Suburb", which recovered the thematic of the 1968 edition of the Aspen International Design Conference, "Dialogues: Europe/America".

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'FORUM' ARCHITECTURAL JOURNAL AS AN EDUCATIONAL AND SPREADING MEDIA IN THE NETHERLANDS

Influences on Herman Hertzberger

Rebeca Merino del Río

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Abstract

In the sixties, the journal Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten becomes the media employed by the Dutch wing of Team 10 to lecture on and spread the new architectural theories developed after the dissolution of C.I.A.M. Aldo van Eyck and Jaap Bakema head the editorial board in between 1959 and 1967. The editorial approach gravitates towards the themes defended by these young architects in the last meetings of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture, accompanied by the analysis of works of architecture that, in the editorial board's opinion, give a correct response to the epoch's needs. Moreover, the permeability and cross-sectional nature of the content, bring the editors' board closer to the European architectural, cultural and artistic avant-garde. Thus, it is appreciated that similar theoretical assumptions than the ones that gave support to the different revolts that happened in Paris, London and Amsterdam between 1966 and 1968 underlie in great part of the journal's writings. Its content is aligned parallel to the revolutionary phenomenon, contributing to some degree to it. Herman Hertzberger, a young architect who worked for years as a part of the editorial board, was highly influenced by the contents of the journal. His later dedication to education as professor at Delft University of Technology, and his association with Dutch Structuralism as well, turn him a key figure to study, because of the determining role of Forum's acquired knowledge in his future professional activity.

The proposed study pretends, first, to accentuate the content of Forum voor Architectuur en Daarmee Verbonden journal where the approach to the avant-gardes is produced, reflecting on the impact it had on the imagery of Herman Hertzberger based on his diverse contributions to the journal. Furthermore, it is aimed to stress the role of the cross-sectional nature architectural magazines in the transmission and contribution to the cultural and artistic avant-garde in the Sixties.

Keywords: Forum, architectural journals, Herman Hertzberger, the sixties, Aldo van Eyck, Jaap Bakema.

Forum voor Architectuure en Daarmee Verbonden Kunsten: Intellectual framework for Dutch post-CIAM generation

Assuming as certain the hypothesis that Herman Hertzberger's architecture can be understood as an instrument at the service of user, it is vital to enlighten in which way his collaboration with *Forum voor Architectuur en Verbonden Kunsten* (we will henceforth refer to it simply as *Forum*) evidences the influence of Dutch Team 10 on his imagery.

The explicit influences take place during the period when Hertzberger is working as secretary of the editors' board of *Forum's* journal¹ since September 1959 until 1967. In this period, he happens to meet Aldo van Eyck, Jaap B. Bakema, D.C. Apon, Gerrit Boon, Joop Hardy and Jurriaan Schrofer while editing 23 issues of the journal, which were grouped in four volumes. Consequently, he was up to date on the architectural advances and cultural and artistic trends at national and international level.

In the following four sections, the transference of knowledge between architects and intellectuals that took place in *Forum's* journal framework is studied. As part of the editorial team, the youngest architects (more of them comprised within Dutch structuralism later on) came across outstanding figures of Dutch post-war architectural scene, such as Aldo van Eyck or Jaap Bakema. The contact with these authors allows them to know first-hand the main preoccupations Team 10 wanted to face. However, Team 10 influence on Hertzberger is not considered in this case, even though their postulates underlie great part of the journal's content. Far from being a homogeneous group, Team 10 is set up as a debate and working space with common objectives, where authors from diverse places and with different ways of understanding architecture bring together². In this sense, Aldo van Eyck

¹ The journal is conceived as a broadcast media pursuing an architectural critical discourse with reports on study trips and researches, biographies and monographies, or even philosophical treatises. The carefully designed typography is part of an innovative and experimental strategy fostered by the journal's directors who tried to recover *Wendingen's* magazine essence. http://www.aeta.nl/nieuws/wat_is_forum-3414 (Consulted on the 26th of October 2017).

² Thus, it is possible to distinguish diverse factions within Team 10 ranks, such as the English one, headed by Alison and Peter Smithson, or the Netherlander wing, led by Aldo van Eyck and Jaap Bakema.

and Jaap Bakema are the ones who share the advances presented at CIAM and Team 10 meetings, by using *Forum* journal as a broadcast platform. On this basis, new architectural research lines are developed not only by Van Eyck and Bakema, but also by the young architects who helped them and collaborated in the edition of the different issues. Hereunder, the journal's content between 1959 and 1967 is dissected, stressing those references or articles that are considered to have notably influenced Hertzberger.

***Forum* 1959, vol. 14: Editorial Shift in Changing Times**

Under the title "The Story of another Idea", the first issue coordinated by the editors' board mentioned above — Hertzberger among them — is endowed with an eminently theoretical character. The content becomes a statement of intent by the Dutch wing of Team 10 because of the references driven by Jaap Bakema and Aldo van Eyck that bring the editorial line closer to Team 10 reactive activity against the architectural and urban model promoted by CIAM.

Writings and oral contributions by Bakema and Van Eyck to the different congresses and meetings of CIAM³ are complemented by a large amount of quotes and references to other architects like Le Corbusier, John Voelcker, Peter Smithson and Alison Smithson, and intellectuals like Giedion, Ortega y Gasset, Martin Buber or Franz Boas. A general picture of the architectural scene before Team 10 irruption and CIAM dismantlement is rendered. The diagrams showed by the Smithsons and Howell during the 1953 intermediate meeting held in Aix-en-Provence, where the scales of association are identified, are included. Different elements of the city are re-grouped around these scales. The "Statement of Habitat", which was conducted during the 1954 intermediate meeting held in Doorn, is also published here. This manifesto arose as a response to "La Charte

³ 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 (Risselada & Heuvel, 2014).

de l'Habitat" stemmed from the ninth CIAM conference and that advocated the continuity of the functional city model.

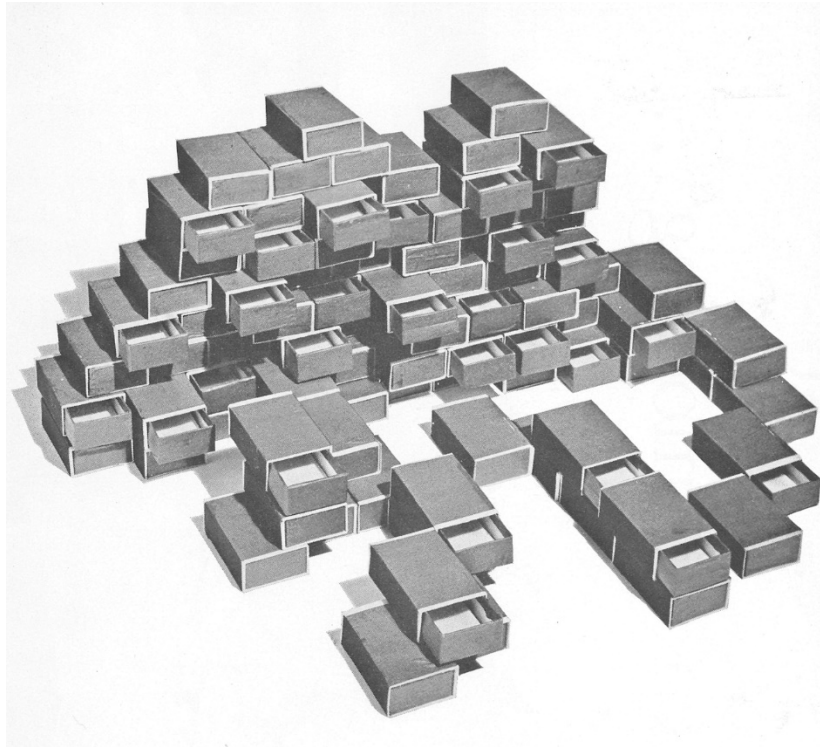


Figure 1. Study of configuration, model of a conceivable spatial arrangement designed by Herman Hertzberger using matchboxes to represent the cells (Hertzberger, 1959, p. 277).

The second issue, titled "Threshold and Encounter: The Form of In-Betweenness", begins with an extract of *Das Problem des Menschen* where the German philosopher Martin Buber affirms that the main problem the post-war man has to face is the dissociation between individuality and collectivity, being the spatial response the only one able to reinstate this segregation. Hertzberger's only contribution to this volume is incorporated in this issue. He reflects on different spatial arrangements created by repeating the same cell, which is represented by a matchbox. This allows him to illustrate the way architecture can enlarge personal identity, as a previous step to the community idea.

In the third number, five projects that were considered interesting by the editors' board are selected, for instance the awarded proposal for Auschwitz monument or Torre Valentina residential tower in Costa Brava, Spain. Both were presented, respectively, by Oskar Hansen and José Antonio Coderch in the last CIAM at Oterloo in 1959. Thus, CIAM congresses are recognised as a meritorious exchange platform and broadcast media, a model that they shortly try to reproduce via B.P.H. The project for a terraced housing by Alison and Peter Smithson is also published. The ending of this number is a contribution signed by Jaap Bakema titled "Oterloo... or from CIAM to B.P.H." in which he subjectively describes CIAM decline and the birth of B.P.H. — the French initials of Post Box for the Development of the Habitat — that managed to publish 18 issues between 1959 and 1971. Correspondence with personalities, institutions and academics is published in B.P.H. Through this spreading media, the editors' board aimed at keeping international contact and inciting the exchange of information, especially about the habitat. In the following *Forum* issues, out of the strict content, Team 10 most outstanding activities are summed up through the correspondence held via B.P.H.

A suggestive issue finishes this volume, where the editors' board gets closer to European counterculture at the hands of Guillaume Apollinaire and Lucebert⁴. A *Zone's* piece of poem by Apollinaire prologues the main content, in which a subjective description of the activity and atmosphere in an industrial street in Paris is presented. Far from being fortuitous, this choice evidences the soundness of one of the major surrealist themes⁵: 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.

⁴ Lucebert is the pseudonym of the Netherlander artist and poet Lubertus Jacobus Swaanswijk (Netherlands, 1924-1994). He 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, which were accompanied by graphic works to promote the collaborative production (Muller, 2011).

⁵ Guillaume Apollinaire is considered one of the precursors of surrealism.

The main content is comprised by numerous poems and songs composed by Lucebert, which are accompanied by a selection of evocative 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. The approach to other arts such as poetry and photography directly links the content to the idea of *total art*, which was emerging at the same time within the ranks of Situationist International, and so the journal's activity is placed in the counterculture because of assuming its characteristic formats.

Forum 1960-1, vol. 15: looking for a distinctive architectural identity

In the introduction of the next issue, Hertzberger's prologue forwards to the content of the previous number, which allows us to grasp how he understands it and the influence on his imagery. He appeals to human adaptability as the man's inherent capability to interpret the built environment that surrounds him and to interact with it to satisfy his needs and concerns. The environment, unlike in the existentialist doctrine, becomes an external catalytic agent with the ability of encourage the user. In this line, he demands a complementary reading of the city, not as a reduction and addition of functions that happen in a certain place, 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 habitat⁶.

The second issue, which recovers a theoretical character, takes as a starting point the relation between architect and man, and between man and his fellowmen. Thus, some themes already anticipated by Aldo van Eyck, such as the ethical commitment that architects acquire with society, are undertaken. Inside, several academical proposals are displayed, which were developed by architecture

⁶ In Hertzberger's words: '*For the reader it [the last issue] is meant to be an appeal, so that he becomes restless and that the comparison with modern urbanism shows that we have become entangled in a number of inadequate formulas; inadequate because the result turns out to be incomplete*' (Hertzberger, 1960-1a).

students and materialised, in the editors' opinion, the cutting-edge architectural paradigm. The incorporation of these sort of examples becomes a recurrent section in the following numbers of *Forum*, what reveals its educational value and fundamental role in the definition of Dutch structuralism. Hertzberger's contribution is limited to a short intermediate comment where he refers to a piece of text written by the romantic author G.P. Friedrich von Hardenberg, who signed as Novaltis⁷.

Hertzberger is in charge of writing the introduction of the fifth issue, where he reflects on the problems stemmed from the design of high-storey housing, for instance the homogeneous grouping, the uprootedness caused by the standardization of the ways of life or the primacy of the prevailing capitalist logic⁸. At the end of his intervention, he speculates about the consequences derived from the design of a *static* habitat, highlighting that it turns a recognisable entity over time with the ability to attract a certain type of family and pattern of life. This concern lies behind his earliest projects, in which he tries to give response through the architectural project to diverse situations in such a way that change is an intrinsic condition when designing. Out of the main pages, the correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Team 10 until January of 1961 through B.P.H. bulletin is published. The collection of writings reveals the existing tensions between the directing members of CIAM and Team 10, as well as the main points of divergence⁹.

⁷ Hertzberger outlines that the content, which depicts the Romanticism essence, is still in force even though it was written in the early 19th century. In his opinion, the architect should be able to uncover certain aspects of the everyday life that remain hidden in such a way that a sensitive experience of daily surroundings will be promoted. In this regard, he writes: '*The key is to amplify everything you make with the sound of society as the basis; to make a poem with the commoner words; to intensify and inspire everything that happens in our surroundings as it should be expected of an architect*' (Hertzberger, 1960-1b, p. 49).

⁸ In his opinion, the problem of the standardization of the ways of life is amplified because of repetition with which architects face the lack of dwellings: '*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*' (Hertzberger, 1960-1c, p. 159).

⁹ Giedion sent, in response to the increasing controversy entailed by the use of CIAM nomenclature to refer to Team 10 work, 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. Bakema replies to Giedion, arguing that the new times require the revision of the outdated techniques that were used to lay the foundations for the conferences.

The double issue six and seven, 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 (Strauven, 1998), is key for the next generation of architects in the wake of Van Eyck, Hertzberger among them. The only licences to other authors’ writings are some brief quotes of Tristan Tzara and Lucebert, which connect this building to the avant-gardes and post-war artistic trends. The building is organised according to an urban logic, following to promote the social relationships characteristic of public spaces. This reference is key to understand the proposals for Valkenswaard and Amsterdam town halls and Centraal Beheer office building designed by Herman Hertzberger between 1966 and 1969. Despite the generative principles are different, the idea of designing the building as a city underlies all these projects (Merino, Grijalba, & Grijalba, 2016).

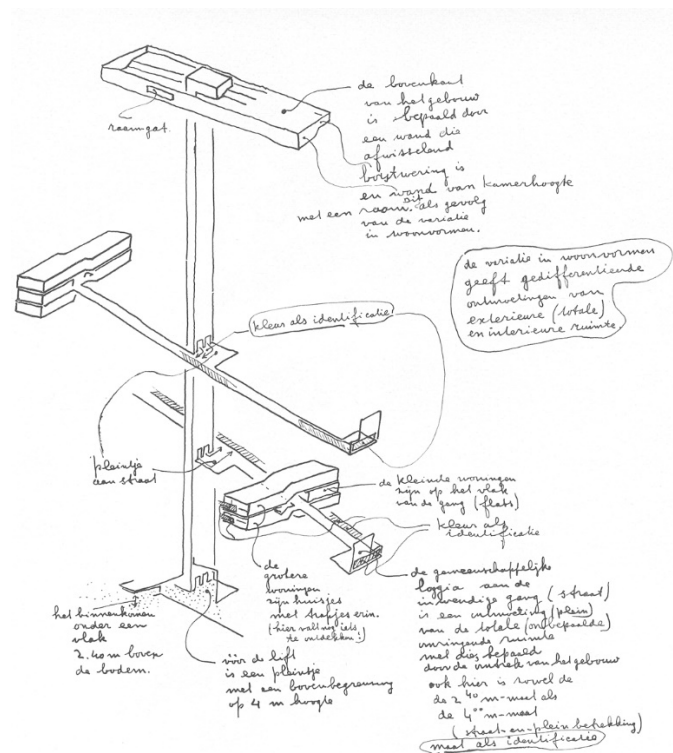


Figure 2. Residential building in Berlin, sketch outlined by Jaap Bakema in which he tries to identify the different collective elements until reaching the dwellings. The project was carried out by Van den Broek, Bakema and Stokla. Hertzberger refers to this building in the writing titled “Towards a vertical residential area” (Hertzberger, 1960-1d, p. 266).

"Towards a Vertical Residential Area" is the article written by Hertzberger for the eighth issue, in which he inquires into architectural solutions to amplify the individual's identity and his belonging to a certain place when designing high-storey housing. He takes as reference the housing building of Van den Broek, Bakema and Stokla in Berlin, which evidences his deep knowledge of the project's strategy. He demands a greater provision of collective spaces where contact between neighbours and with the surroundings, is increased¹⁰. This way, disruption from public space to dwellings is removed and becomes a sum of intermediate spaces with social function that blur the boundaries between these opposite realities.

Forum 1962, vol. 16: laying the basis and creating school

In this volume, it should be stood out the issue number two, titled "The Anonymous Client", centred on the disappearance of the link between architect and client as a consequence of the design for a mass society. Jaap Bakema develops the main article where he theoretically puts forward some architectural solutions, such as the creation of diversity and the competence to change, after having detected the weaknesses of the contemporary residential model. Furthermore, 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 made by the people through the centuries of the space enclosed by an ancient Roman complex, which is still recognisable. The different phases over time are reconstructed by means of photographs, historical plans and technical drawings that allow the reader to observe the growth and mechanisms of appropriation

¹⁰ Among other possibilities, he contemplates the provision of adjacent spaces to the corridors that give access to the dwellings, where families can expand and meet other neighbours in a safety environment. Regarding the furnishing of these spaces, he backs the possibility of a greater user involvement in the customization, although he also recognizes that as collective spaces should be furnished considering the minimum needs of the inhabitants, it is possible for the architect to include some elements, for example benches, glass-ceiling, playgrounds, etc.; which incite the desired used. 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*' (Hertzberger, 1960-1d, p. 273).

employed by the man through the centuries. The inverse graphic mechanism will be utilized by Hertzberger to represent the spatial polyvalence in Centraal Beheer and Diagoon experimental housing. 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. Following this text, Bakema revisits the initial discourse on the new methodologies applicable to architecture in view of the problems arisen in the sixties¹¹.

The third issue, "The Fake Client and the Great Word 'No'", is essential in that it includes for the very first time Herman Hertzberger's writing "Flexibility and Polyvalency". However, a series of essays by Aldo van Eyck carry the most weight at the number. "Steps towards a Configurative Discipline" outlines the theoretical and architectural principles that will be later employed to catalogue certain works within the movement internationally known as Dutch structuralism¹², whereas in "The Pueblos" a succession of primitive towns in the south of the current United States are depicted where it is possible to recognise the collective ways of life impact on the built environment.

In "Flexibility and Polyvalency", Hertzberger reconsiders the discourse of Bakema in the case study of Split and of Van Eyck in "The Pueblos"¹³. The lack of identity, i.e. the lack of recognition in the built environment as part of its history, is one of the diagnosed deficiencies in the relationships between the man and the contemporary city. Even at the risk of redound to a simplification, Hertzberger, like Van Eyck and Bakema, advocates recognisable urban superstructures arisen

¹¹ Bakema opens the door to a possible superseding of the social model, where architecture has a fundamental role in that it can contribute to the user's release: '*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*' (Bakema, 1962a, p. 74).

¹² The choice of this terminology has been criticised by some authors, like Francis Strauven (Heuvel et al., 2014). It is maintained that this selection is suitable to refer to Herman Hertzberger's work.

¹³ Hertzberger recognizes this condition at the beginning of his intervention and so evidences the influences that motivate his work: '*This motive [the Roman palace-ruins] from which every space derives its form, and is everywhere recognizable, enhances the individual identity of the inhabitants; their similarity as well as their diversity [...] Examples such as Split and the Pueblos suggest a way, lost identity could be recovered in present-day town by a basic structure as motive and way of identification through form*' (Hertzberger, 1962, p. 115).

in the collective consciousness and able to bear different interpretations as time goes by. The speech is redirected to the topic of dwelling since this typology is the more clearly affected by contingencies through the human cycle of life. He introduces the differentiation between flexibility and polyvalence in this point, which is distinctive of his imagery. Polyvalence is presented as a lower degree of spatial adaptability than flexibility¹⁴. Polyvalence parts from the idea that architecture by means of the right articulation and without renouncing to a recognisable image can optimally accommodate certain number of uses (Merino & Grijalba, 2018a, p. 43).

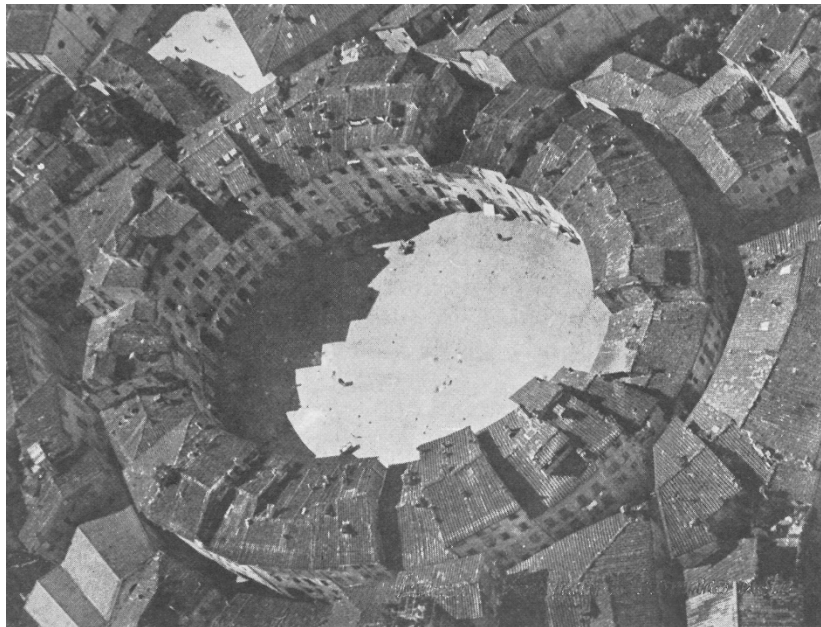


Figure 3. Amphitheatre of Lucca, aerial view used by Herman Hertzberger to illustrate the ability of certain superstructures to accommodate different uses over time (Hertzberger, 1962, p. 120).

The 1962 fourth issue is edited under the title "The Belgian-Netherlands Section in the Berlin Exhibition 'Our Neighbours are Building'". There, the photographs and

¹⁴ Criticism on flexible models derives from the fact that they take as a starting point the architecture capability to give response to all kind of interpretations over time. Consequently, flexible models, usually lack of character and articulation, are meant to be able to accommodate all the possible uses, a total misunderstood in Hertzberger's opinion.

theoretical reflections extracted from the exhibition with the same name held in the Academy of Arts of Berlin from the 1st to the 25th of September 1962 are collected¹⁵. Bakema's essay entitled "From Doorstep to Town" precludes the catalogue and gathers his diagnosis of the habitability conditions in the contemporary city. He appeals to a change of paradigm coincident with the development of the mass society, in which the man has the right to choose how to live, accentuating that only those able to exert their rights can subvert the previous order based on the accumulation of goods (Bakema, 1962b, p. 127). This essay is vital inasmuch as it condenses the essence of the concept of *total space* introduced by Bakema for the first time in the third issue of 1960-1¹⁶. Bakema defends an intelligible architecture and urbanism that allow the user to take part in their configuration at different scales and so including him in his meaning (Heuvel, 2015).

In the fifth number, the editors lend importance 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 socioeconomic reality that the United States and Canada were facing by 1960, which unavoidably implied changes in the urban habitability conditions¹⁷. The academic proposal of G. Manten for an agricultural community in Aalsmeer, directed by Herman Hertzberger, is shown among other projects. The scales of association are carefully considered and clearly organize the plan at successive levels, from clusters to districts. Thus, it is possible to assert that Team 10

¹⁵ The exhibition brings together photographs by diverse authors that focus on the relationships between urban elements at different scales, which correspond to those anticipated by Alison and Peter Smithson in the Doorn's Manifesto. The exhibition scheme, which was curated by Jaap Bakema, Jurriaan Schrofer and Kees Nieuwenhuijze, tries to reproduce the spatial, hierarchical sequence of the scales of association: house, street, square, city and territory.

¹⁶ In this issue, Bakema introduces for the very first time the concept of *total space*, which he defines as the space in which 'everything exists and originates' (Bakema, 1960-1, pp. 119-120).

¹⁷ Against the characteristic low-density urbanism promoted before the sixties, a future scenario is envisaged where the habitation density is increased by high-storey housing as the population raises. Moshe Safdie publishes three proposals for a vertical city in which he pays special attention to the design of the collective elements, as well as to diversity and the way the units relate to each other.

subjects, acquired via the Dutch representatives, were spread and transferred from his position as faculty at the Amsterdam Academy of Architecture.

Forum 1963-1967, vol. 17: maturity and editors' board declining

After a first issue mainly devoted to the proposals presented to the Prix de Rome by Piet Blom and Joop van Stigt¹⁸, it should be highlighted the second issue titled "Architecture as an Instrument of Man's Self-Realization", where Bakema's contributions are predominant. The phrase '*the function of the game with the space: identification*' is incorporated in the inner cover, a relevant fact since it introduces the game in the architectural experience and brings the artistic and cultural trends closer¹⁹. He stresses, among other processes, the architects' greater involvement and commitment to designing everyday environments or, when it was not possible, '*to provide patterns giving the anonymous client the greatest opportunity of finding his own nook in which to live and work*' (Bakema, 1963, p. 53). Then, plan Bochum, a proposal designed in 1962 by Van den Broek and Bakema office for a university campus in Germany, is presented.

The third issue of 1963 is a special number mostly comprised by Joseph Rykwert's essay titled "The Idea of the Town". In the introduction, Van Eyck (1963, p. 98) emphasizes the man's need for a greater involvement in the configuration of the city. Given the complexity of this reality, it is by taking part in its meaning that the city becomes intelligible and decipherable for the user. The selection of this writing is but a master movement by the editors to defend the close relation between life in community and habitat configuration. The ethnologic and historic study carried out by Rykwert also serves as a nexus with other researches that were being simultaneously developed internationally, for instance, by Claude Lévi-Strauss.

¹⁸ Although the competition for Amsterdam town hall is considered the starting point of the Dutch structuralism movement, these two proposals by Piet Blom and Van Stigt already include most of the formal resources characteristic of this trend. Hertzberger's projects for Valkenswaard and Amsterdam town halls, whose evolution results in the office building of Apeldoorn (Grijalba & Merino, 2018), take as references some of the aesthetic and composition mechanisms anticipated here.

¹⁹ Concretely, the artistic production of CoBra and some surrealist authors is relevant to the extent that the expressivity of their oeuvres is grounded on the unconscious experimentation and the use of primitive and essential resources.

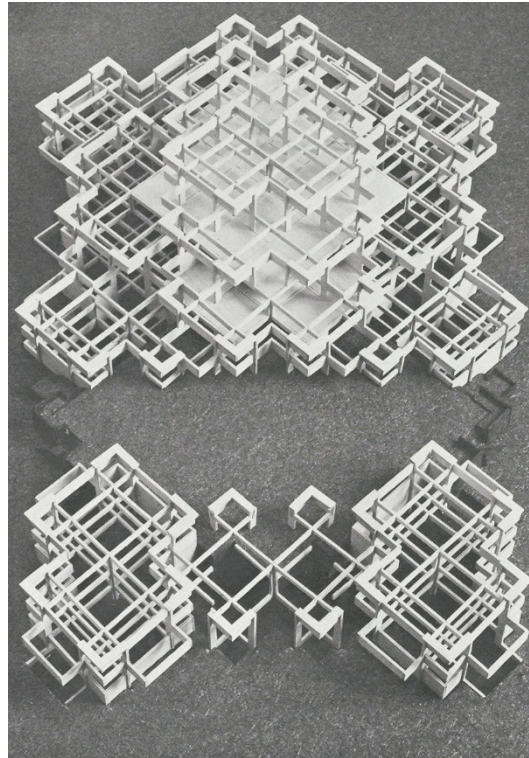


Figure 4. Study for a Children's Village, structural model of the proposal presented by Joop van Stigt for the Prix de Rome in 1962 and published in *Forum* along with Piet Blom's design (Stigt, 1963, p. 17).

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 the definition of the city's axes by means of *templum* primitive ritual. Town's division into four sectors is highlighted as one of the most elementary forms of urban planning, hypothesis grounded in the fact that numerous urban schemes follow the same pattern even though they are geographically distant (for example in India). In recent research, it is defended that Centraal Beheer works as a support-space to the extent that it is configured following an *ex novo* urban layout based on a

quadripartite plan division, where displacements to-and-fro different points aim at exploring the surroundings²⁰ (Merino & Grijalba, 2018b).

The last issue of *Forum*, published four years afterwards, is devised as a colophon where the editorial resources used in the first issues are recovered. A fragmentary discourse formed by texts of Aldo van Eyck, Peter Smithson and Werner Heisenberg, similar to that of the earliest numbers, proves the editors to be aligned with Team 10 postulates. Herman Hertzberger has a larger involvement in this issue. In addition to other contributions, he signs two theoretical essays titled "Form and Programme are Reciprocally Evocative" and "Identity", 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. Any built architecture constitutes a structure that, in Hertzberger's opinion, is comprised by two complementary components that feed on each other, form and function. Time factor consideration is fundamental because it helps to understand this reciprocate nature. It should be accentuated the use in the article of concepts such as 'individual pattern of life' or 'collective pattern of life', to the extent that they are highly didactical. Against the standardization of the architectural forms based on individual patterns of life, Hertzberger supports the designs grounded in collective patterns of life that satisfy basic common needs at the same time that allow the individual's interpretation²¹. With this philosophy, he sketches a housing promotion in 1967 in Vaassen promoted by Bouwfonds Nederlandse. In "Identity", man is included in the equation. He focuses on the

²⁰ The urban replica of Centraal Beheer becomes a complex entity when the building is used, and the different users customize and alter their workplaces according to their necessities. The unceasing evolution originates a changing inside landscape that can contribute to the user's disorientation. This situation is similar to the one presented by Rykwert in relation to the city's setting up. Displacements become mechanisms to rediscover the surroundings, in the very same way than the labyrinthine dances, whose knowledge allows the users to orientate and produce a premeditated answer depending on their interests.

²¹ The discussion on the spatial polyvalence, inaugurated in the 1963 article, is re-examined here. He maintains that the only way to give a response to the standardization problem and the coagulation of the freedom to choose, is by designing polyvalent forms able to bear diverse interpretations: '*In order to have various implications a form must be interpretable in the sense of being able to play a changing role. It must in fact be such that the implications are posed beforehand as hidden possibility, in such a way that they are present as provocation, suggested but not stated.*' (Hertzberger, 1967a, p. 16).

way the greater interpretability of architecture is a feasible response to solve the lack of identity experienced by society²²: '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' (Hertzberger, 1967b, p. 17).

Plans and pictures of the students' housing in Amsterdam designed by Hertzberger are published in this last issue along with documentation of Aldo van Eyck's Sonsbeek pavilion built in 1966 and Van den Broek and Bakema's Aula building for Delft University of Technology and 1964 awarded proposal for Zürich municipal theatre. Each entry is complemented with theoretical essays that ease the comprehension of the architectural work as the materialisation of a series of concepts and ideals. "Anna was Livia is Plurabelle's to be", "The Interior of Space" or "The Image of a Total Urbanization" should be highlighted²³.

Conclusions

First, it is concluded that the evolution of Hertzberger's role within the editors' board runs parallel to *Forum's* content evolution. The minimal initial presence is enlarged, acquiring a greater relevance in the last stages. This is easily contrastable when observing the increasing in the number of essays since 1962. His minor intervention in the first issues, which possess a broadcast and protest character, is justified as Hertzberger did not attend to CIAM conferences and he only participated in two Team 10 meetings. The larger implication occurs at the same time that he starts to lecture at the Amsterdam Academy of Architecture

²² "Identiteit" is accompanied by a Lucebert's poem entitled *Van de Afgrond en de Luchtmens*, which was initially published in 1953 and here appears illustrated by the fisherman painting of Ma Yuan. This brings his reflections closer to CoBra work.

²³ "Dogon", with texts by Dr. Paul Parin, Dr. Fritz Morgenthaler and Aldo van Eyck, continue with the same narrative than "Split" and "De Pueblos" essays. "De Spiegelmeester: Joost van Roojen" is a catalogue of paintings and architectural collaborations made by Joost van Roojen. Aldo van Eyck was 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 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 "Voor en Spatial Colorisme". To conclude Van Eyck's entries, a variation of the 1963 prologue is published now titled "Call it Labyrinthian Clarity".

between 1965 and 1969. This supports the hypothesis that the contents developed in *Forum* served as educational resources and so contributed to ground the foundations of the Dutch structuralism movement. On the other hand, the ideas close to Team 10 postulates place the editors' board in a controversial position which is rapidly criticised by professionals and academics. The content of the fourth issue of 1960-1, mainly devoted to the editors' answers to criticisms, corroborates these disagreements and reveals the existing tensions and divergencies.

Against the generalised opinion that Dutch structuralism movement emerges after the categorisation of some of the proposals presented to the Amsterdam town hall competition under the theme *The Building as a City*, it is observed that the preparation and emerging of this movement occurred few years before in the editorial context of *Forum*. This journal becomes a platform for intellectual exchange with a clear impact on the next generation of young architects linked to the editors' board.

The study also allows us to check to which point it is interesting to consider Jaap Bakema's influence on Hertzberger's imagery. The numerous references to Bakema's work, both theoretical and practical, which were assumed for years while he was working as the secretary of *Forum* editors' board, are needful to understand his early proposals. In this regard, it is estimated that Bakema's influence is almost equivalent to Aldo van Eyck's one, against the uniform criteria until the date, which establishes that Hertzberger takes over from Van Eyck without mentioning Bakema's work among his references.

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FROM CASABELLA TO ARQUITECTURA. The Italian influence on Portuguese post CIAM debate

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Abstract

With the number 57-58 of 1957, the magazine "Arquitectura" declares the beginning of a new phase. In a country at the edge of Europe, far from the debate on modern architecture and marked by a dictatorship that has limited its contact with the outside world, this magazine (founded in 1927 and led by the ICAT group until 1957) represented the main diffusion medium of ideas and international contributions to the debate on modern architecture in Portugal.

At the same time, the magazine represented a selection and filter of what was spread from the outside within the country.

On this basis, the proposal for the "REVISITING THE POST-CIAM GENERATION" symposium intends to investigate the influence that the Italian modern architecture, conveyed by the Italian magazines (for ex. "Casabella") through "Arquitectura", has had on the Portuguese post CIAM debate.

"Casabella", which together with the contemporary "Domus" represented the main Italian magazine leading international debate of these years, was well known by the editorial group of the magazine "Arquitectura" and offered an interesting source for the development of articles concerning Italian architecture.

*Indeed, the diffusion of the Italian projects and critical articles dates back already from the 40s with the publications of the articles by Ernesto Nathan Rogers and the projects of Giuseppe Terragni. On the other hand, it will be necessary to wait until 1972 for Vittorio Gregotti to publish the works of Álvaro Siza Vieira for the first time, beginning a season of renewed interest in Portuguese architecture coinciding with the end of the dictatorship (see V. Gregotti, *Architetture recenti di Álvaro Siza*, in "Controspazio", 9, Sept. 1972, 22-39).*

Keywords: Identity; regionalism; history; tradition; crafts.

Premise. The magazine "Arquitectura"

If it is true that the literature is one of the parameters used to evaluate the architectural level of a country; the analysis of the overtime changes within the "Arquitectura" journal could represent a compelling approach to study the evolution of the internal architectural debate inside Portugal.

"Arquitectura" was the main mean of circulation of ideas and contribute to the establishment architectural awareness within the nation, as well as ensuring the access to duly selected international contributions.

The journal was founded in 1927, at the same time as the major international journals. Indeed, with the exception of "The Architectural Review", active since the end of the nineteenth century, the Italian "Casabella" (originally named La Casa Bella) and the French "L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui" were founded respectively in 1928 and 1930. All together these actively provide the fuel to the international debate.

However, the story of the "Arquitectura" journal was different. At first, between the 1927 and 1939 (*first series*), the journal was published irregularly, without a proper editorial policy and object of the repressive influence of the authority; up to the moment of its interruption during the Second World War.

The turning point came in 1947, when the Iniciativas Culturais Arte and Técnica (ICAT) group and in particular Francisco Keil do Amaral took the direction of the journal.

That period, between the end of the Forties and the beginning of the Fifties, was truly extraordinary, I would say magical, thanks above all to the many stimulus and the considerable enthusiasm that characterized it. The fall of the fascist regimes had determined, after World War II, the inevitable opening of Salazar government, forced to renounce the radical initial isolation. Consequently, contacts that were previously impossible to make, were possible, while even the censure was less oppressive. The same European landscape was particularly vivid in those years of "reconstruction", which, as is known, were clearly characterized by the

affirmation of the principles proposed by the International Congresses of Modern Architecture¹. (G. Giangregorio, 2002, 8)

The ICAT group led the journal between the 1947 and 1957 (*second series*), shaping a period of great changes. The opening granted by Salazar allowed the diffusion of international architectures and critical papers within the country; papers by Le Corbusier, Gropius, Alvar Aalto, Breuer and Neutra were published, as well as those by Geidion and E. N. Rogers. From Italy, papers on the architectures of Terragni were published, among others².

Thus, in Portugal, there was a growing critical awareness of the international debate, thanks to the greater openness towards external influences.

This period was characterized by the formation of groups aiming to the diffusion of a modern architecture, the group *Organização dos Arquitectos Modernos* (ODAM), group that acted between the 1947 and 1952 in Porto, and the above-mentioned ICAT group, active in Lisbon since 1946 up to the 1960. These were the years of the first experimentation on residential buildings in which the architects tried to translate the traits of the Portuguese culture to modern living.

However already with the first attempts, it was visible how the integration of modern issues had to constantly come to terms with a rooted local identity. Portugal was an outlying country, characterized by a delay in the industrialization process and overall a rural country; these aspects, together with the important role covered by craftsmanship, led to a constant consideration on the need for a

¹ 'Quel periodo, tra la fine degli anni Quaranta e l'inizio degli anni Cinquanta, è stato davvero straordinario, direi magico, grazie soprattutto ai molti stimoli e al notevole entusiasmo che lo hanno caratterizzato. La caduta dei regimi fascisti aveva determinato, nel secondo dopoguerra, l'inevitabile apertura del governo di Salazar, costretto a rinunciare al radicale isolamento iniziale. Conseguentemente, diventavano possibili contatti fino ad allora improponibili, mentre persino la censura era meno oppressiva. Lo stesso panorama europeo era particolarmente vivo in quegli anni di "ricostruzione", che, come è noto, risultarono chiaramente caratterizzati dall'affermazione dei principi proposti dai Congressi Internazionali di Architettura Moderna'. Translated by the author.

² This refers to the paper by E.N. Rogers *To Architecture students (Ao estudante de Arquitectura)* published in "Arquitectura", 28, Jan. 1949 or to Terragni's projects published in *Citizen's center in Lissone. Arch. Terragni e Carminatti (Casa do Povo em Lissone. Arq. Terragni e Carminatti)*, "Arquitectura", 25, June 1948.

new architecture to go along the line with experimentations and modern language, but at the same time rooted within the Portuguese tradition.

This issue is clearly addressed in the paper *O Problema da Casa Portuguesa* by Fernando Távora (Távora, 1947) where the architect declares how Portugal should open up to new international inspiration to meet the present housing needs. The history, meant as part of man's evolution and country's tradition, cannot be forgotten, but interpreted according to new needs; what can be forgotten is the historical derivation, the use of applied decoration, of the *style*, as only meant to legitimize architecture (obvious is the critique to the style dictate by the authority and to the *português suave*). Yet Távora refers to the honesty of the popular houses, as an example of integration of the tradition (meant as an interaction with the space, the materials and the buildings techniques) with the modern applications³. Along the same lines is placed the concept of *regionalismo honesto* defined by Keil do Amaral in the paper *Uma Iniciativa Necessária [A Necessary Initiative]*, which predicts the educative goal of the future *Inquérito à Arquitectura Regional* (Amaral, 1947).

The gradual opening towards the outside reached the peak with the first direct contact with the international debate in 1952, when Viana da Lima was invited by S. Giedion and J. L. Sert, as a Portuguese delegate, to CIAM. As a consequence, the ODAM group joined the CIAM by attending in the last meetings of the group; among the various contributions, stand out the one proposed during the CIAM X, with the topic *Habitat*, which used the rural community as an expression of the gradual return toward tradition and vernacular architecture.

³ In Italy, a figure linked to the recovery of vernacular architecture is Giuseppe Pagano (1896-1945). His research, recorded in the *Architettura rurale Italiana [Italian rural Architecture]* catalogue and presented at the Milan Triennale in 1936, focused on researching the origins of modern architecture in rural and popular tradition. Pagano, not only wanted to identify in the elementary geometry of spontaneous architecture a proximity to the modern and its link with tradition, but wanted, above all, to promote a return to the relationship with the site and with the tradition, so strong in vernacular architecture. His research will be the basis of the subsequent investigations by Rudofsky, Cosenza and Ponti.

However, practically from the beginning, many criticisms took place, determined by the surprise, not always pleasant, caused by the supposed application of those ideas, which were also considered very solid and consistent. Quickly, this protest, born in many European countries such as Italy or England, ended up in a sort of revolt in CIAM. A very explicit testimony to all this was the abandonment of Le Corbusier, who was also the dominant figure of those Congresses. The Swiss architect decided not to go to the last CIAM, sending a very nice letter, in which he stated that he considered "the killing of father" necessary. To the letter he added a drawing, which probably represented the architect himself: a giant figure with a child on his shoulders. The following period was dominated by the need for a balance and the awareness of the importance of a project immersed in reality or, more precisely, in the various European realities.⁴ (G. Giangregorio, 2002, 8-9).

New editorial lines. The relationship with the magazine "Casabella - Continuità"

The number 57/58 of January/February 1957 "Arquitectura" marks the beginning of a new phase and of the so-called *third series*. The direction of the journal is taken over by a group of architects from the Escola de Belas Artes de Lisboa (Carlos Duarte, Federico Santana, José Daniel Santa-Rita, Nikias Skapikias and, later, Nuno Portas).

The task of these architects was, on the one hand, to establish a new editorial policy for the journal in order to maintain the open attitude toward the outside;

⁴ 'Tuttavia, praticamente sin dall'inizio, presero corpo numerose critiche, determinate dalla sorpresa, non sempre piacevole, provocata dalla supposta applicazione di quelle idee, che pure erano considerate molto solide e consistenti. Rapidamente, tale contestazione, nata in molti paesi europei come l'Italia o l'Inghilterra, finì per determinare una specie di rivolta negli stessi CIAM. Una testimonianza molto esplicita di tutto ciò fu l'abbandono di Le Corbusier, che pure era la figura dominante di quei Congressi. L'architetto svizzero decise di non andare all'ultimo CIAM, inviando una lettera molto bella, nella quale affermava che riteneva necessaria "l'uccisione del padre". Alla lettera aggiunse un disegno, che probabilmente rappresentava lo stesso architetto: una figura gigante con un bambino sulle spalle. Il periodo seguente risultò dominato dalla necessità di un bilancio e dalla consapevolezza dell'importanza di un'immersione del progetto nella realtà o, più precisamente, nelle varie realtà europee'. Translated by the author.

on the other hand, to define the new guidelines to address the innovative architectural research and the Portuguese critics in the post CIAM debate (Duarte, 1957 b).

During the establishment of a new editorial policy, greater and new emphasis was given to foreign contributors in order to fuel the internal debate focused on internationally, shared ideas and issues. Starting from the issue number 62 of July 1958, the section *Das revistas estrangeiras* [From foreign magazines] was created aiming to provide a window to the international literature, critical texts or architectural projects. Among the journals published we mention: "The Architectural Review", "Architectural Record", "Architectural Design", "Architecture d'Aujurd'hui" and the Italians "Urbanistica", "Architettura. Cronache e storia", "Chiesa e Quartiere" and "Casabella".



Figure 1. Cover of "Arquitectura", 57/58, Jan./Feb 1957 and of "Casabella-Continuità", 214, Feb./March 1957.

In this background, "Casabella" played a fundamental role. Founded in 1928 with the name "La Casa Bella", this journal, together with "The Architectural Review", was the main protagonist of the European debate (Rogers, 1959 b, 2).

In the same way, thanks to the large quantity of architectural journals in Italy with whom to deal with, it built a solid editorial structure⁵.

Due to its favored condition, "Casabella" has had, among other journals, a decisive role in the definition of the new editorial structure of the "Arquitectura" journal. The similarities are already visible in the format: starting from the 1957 the Portuguese journal increased its size (23 x 31.5 cm) reaching almost the same as the Italian one; changes in the internal structure were made as well, and the new apparatus *Das revistas estrangeiras [From foreign magazines]* seems to be inspired by the section *Dai giornali e dalle riviste [From newspapers and magazines]* of the Italian journal. Finally, the editorial authored by Carlos Duarte or the papers by Nuno Portas fulfill an incisive role for the journal itself, by defining the typology of topics addressed in the issue in accordance to the national and international debate (almost recollecting the editorials of E.N. Rogers).

Overall, the policy adopted by the new editorial group reached a greater unity, promoting papers with monographic topic like architects or specific geographic areas, or related to morphological-type or schools of architecture, often using the Italian journal as a source from which select international contributions and graphics.

In addition to these general references, which suggest "Casabella" as a possible editorial model, the main affinity between the two journals can be found in the issues addressing the changes in the international debate: the conclusion of the

⁵ In the first half of the twentieth century, many architectural magazines were born in Italy, among which we remember: "Domus" (1928-), founded by Giò Ponti; "Urbanistica" (1932-); "Metron" (1945-1954), founded by A.P.A.O.; "Spazio" (1950-1953), founded by Luigi Moretti; "Chiesa e Quartiere" (1955-1968); "Architettura. Cronache e Storia" (1955-2005), founded by Bruno Zevi; "Zodiac" (1957-1963), founded by Adriano Olivetti.

CIAM required a reflection on the enlargement and deepening of the functionalist limits of the Modern Movement.

In Italy, these issues were mainly addressed in the editorials of "Casabella" by E. N. Rogers, editor of the magazine since 1953. Within his editorials, Rogers attempted to bring the problem of architecture, which had become a scientific and objective study of human relationships with the consequent disconnection from reality, back to the importance of the relationship with the place, tradition and history. This without forgetting the modern approach that freed the abstract geometries from the naturalistic stylistic features of classicism. In this consists that *continuity*, so much praised by Rogers, meant as *continuity* not only with the *courtly* history but also and especially the *vulgar* one, in its horizontality. This *continuity* represented the central theme of debate of the new generation of architects and encouraged the director of the journal to rename the journal as "Casabella – Continuità"⁶. According to this assumption, the Milanese architect will summarize the concept of *preesistenze ambientali*⁷ (Rogers, 1959 a).

During the direction of Rogers, "Casabella" began to publish the research project of architects who developed their architectures starting from the historical/cultural data, approach that attracted criticisms from the international environment (Banham, 1959).

This explains Rogers' criticism, in his famous *article L'evoluzione dell'architettura. Risposta al custode dei frigoriferi [The evolution of architecture. Reply to the custodian of the frigoriferi]*, to Reyner Banham's superficiality in judging the brave research of the Italian architecture of a transversal relationship with history

⁶ Rogers changes the name of the magazine from "Casabella" to "Casabella-Continuità" in 1954. The magazine will keep the name "Casabella-Continuità" for thirteen years, from 1954 to 1965, that is for the entire period in which Rogers was its director. Later it will be called "Casabella" again.

⁷ The concept of *preesistenze ambientali* was introduced by Rogers in his editorials on "Casabella" starting from 1955. The choice to keep the concept in Italian depends on how it was often erroneously translated with the English word *context*, a word that was introduced in Italy only in the seventies (Gregotti, V. (1982), *Le territoire de l'architecture suivi de Vingt-quatre projets et réalisations*, Paris, L'équerre). For Rogers, the concept of *preesistenze ambientali* refers to the need for architecture to dialogue with the surrounding physical environment, but above all to be part of a historical *continuum*.

(accused of being *Neoliberty*). Moreover, to Rogers, the major limit was the denial of a possible recovery of the history antecedent the machinist revolution, as if '*those architects who today refer to de Stijl are more acceptable than those who take Liberty because that "constitutes at least a return to forms created after the demarcation line "between our age and a past that now is finished"*' (Rogers, 1959, 3).

The position proclaimed by the new editors of the "Arquitectura" journal, within the post-CIAM Portuguese debate, was very similar to that proposed by E. N. Rogers.

As Carlos Duarte states in his first editorial published in the issue n. 60, October 1957, the new generation of Portuguese architects no longer identify itself in the language of an international style, based on the '*uniformity of human behavior*' (Duarte, 1957 b), but was rather looking for a *continuity*⁸ with the past and not a break.

The Italian influence on Portuguese post CIAM debate

In the editorial *Continuità o Crisi? [Continuity or Crisis?]* published in 1957 in the issue number 215 of "Casabella", Rogers stated:

The great misunderstanding arises when one looks at a *style* of the Modern movement with figurative appearances and not according to the expressions of a method which has attempted to establish new and clear relations between contents and forms in the phenomenology of a historical-pragmatic process, always open, which, as it excludes all apriorism in the

⁸ The term *continuity* was both used by Duarte, Sant'Ana, Santa-Rita and Scapinakis in the editorial published in "Arquitectura" n. 60 and from Duarte in the article *Três obras de Mário Ridolfi [Three works by Mario Ridolfi]* in "Arquitectura" n. 57/58. Also Nuno Portas refers to this *continuity* in *Progressos Recentes [Recent Developments]* "Jornal da Letras, Artes" e Ideas n. 70, Jan. 1963.

determination of those relationships, so cannot be judged by the schemes...⁹
(Rogers, 1957, 3)

This selected passage from Rogers' editorial shows how, beside the focus on the recovery of history meant as *preesistenze ambientali*, another important topic in the Italian debate of the 60s consisted of the need to translate and adapt the lesson of the modern to the new historical, social and political issues.

Italy was divided between Milan, headquarters of the industries and showroom of the wealthy investments that contributed to its Modern appearance, and Rome where 'a front of modern architects never existed' (De Giorgi, 1977, 23).

Side by side to the first Neoliberty experiments in the North there is strong Roman Neorealist culture that branches off to all art field, from the architecture to the literature, from the painting to the filmography, manifested in the sensitive work of Pier Paolo Pasolini. In this context the journal "Casabella - Continuità" was committed to publish and propagate a certain line of architects compliant with the socialist ideals that confronted the historical and cultural reality of a country emerging from a post-war reconstruction and ready to become a small industrial power. This at the expense of a high quality professionalism conveyed by other journals¹⁰.

It is there, in the new agenda of the journal "Casabella - Continuità" that was taking shape, that the editors of the "Arquitectura" journal select the Italian architectural production to be spread in Portugal.

The explanation can be found by taking a step back to the issue n. 57/58 of January/February 1957, the last of the second series of the journal. Within this issue, Carlos Duarte selected three projects by the Italian architect Mario Ridolfi,

⁹ 'Il grande equivoco sorge quando si persiste a considerare lo *stile* del Movimento Moderno dalle apparenze figurative e non secondo le espressioni di un metodo che ha tentato di stabilire nuove e più chiare relazioni tra i contenuti e le forme entro la fenomenologia di un processo storico-pragmatico, sempre aperto, che, come esclude ogni apriorismo nella determinazione di quelle relazioni, così non può essere giudicato per gli schemi...'. Translated by the author.

¹⁰ This refers to the architectural magazines "Domus" (1928-) founded by Giò Ponti and "Spazio" (1950-1953) founded by Luigi Moretti.

taking as a reference the article *Alcune recenti opere di Mario Ridolfi* [*Some recent works by Mario Ridolfi*] by Vittorio Gregotti published in "Casabella", 210 of 1956. Duarte introduces and identifies Ridolfi as one of those architects able to achieve that *continuity* with history, place and tradition he promotes, and by doing so he mentions the problems that afflict the international debate (Duarte, 1957 a).

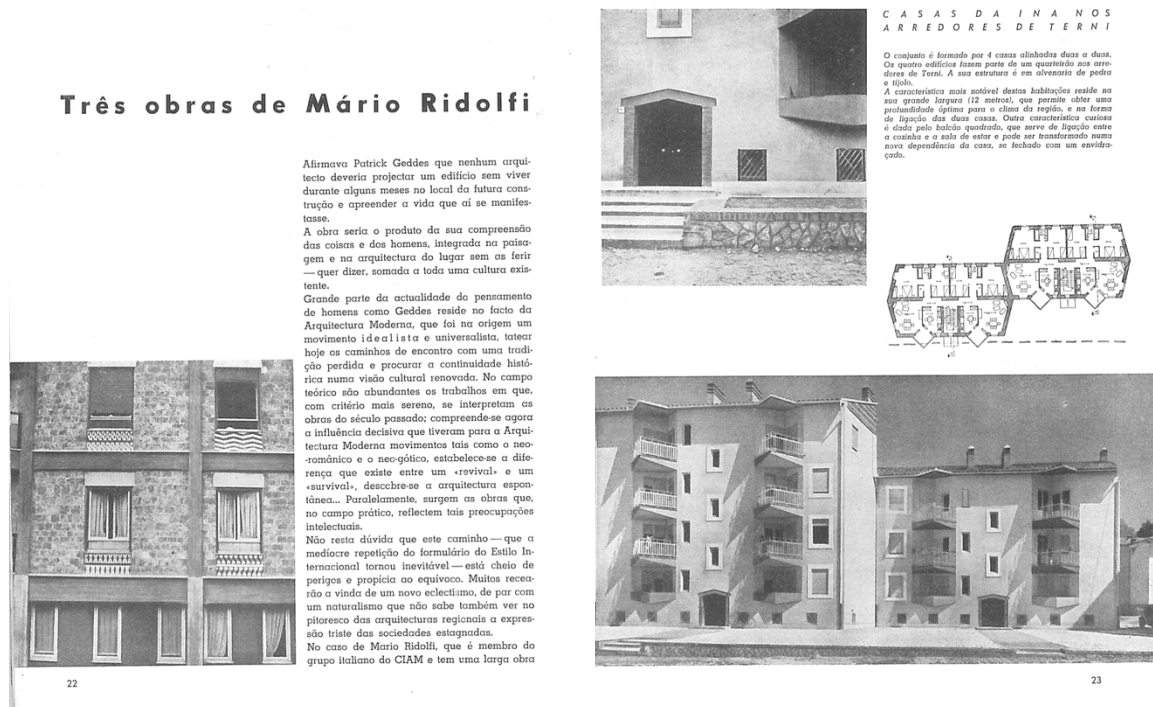


Figure 2. Excerpt of the paper *Três obras de Mário Ridolfi* [*Three Works by Mario Ridolfi*], "Arquitectura", 57/58. Jan./Feb. 1957, 22, 24.

Ridolfi was an architect with a socialist background engaged both in the political struggle and in the battle against architectural speculation. His architectural research was aimed at depict the values of the post-war society, by combining the styles and languages of the Modern Movement with the tradition of the Italian style of living and building; it was a patient research that was using the continuous reading and interpretation of the place and history to mediate between expressionism and rationalism. It is not by chance that the Roman architect Alessandro Anselmi, when named to describe Ridolfi, defines him as an a-

*novecentista*¹¹ architect and explains how 'Ridolfi's architecture is not "candid", it is not "pure", axiomatic [...], but "corrupted" by the place, "dirtied" by the material, full of the craftsmanship knowledge that always and inevitably accompanies the construction of architecture' (A. Anselmi, 2005, 196).

As well as many other Italian architects of the fifties, Ridolfi uses the exposed structure as one of the most expressive traits of his poetics, promoting the dialogue between the structural frame born of the modernity patents and the domestic dimension. On one side, the wish to *deform* this articulated frame in relation to the context; on the other, the ability to stimulate its dialogue with the *physical expressiveness* of materials derived from local tradition. Expressiveness achievable only thanks to his love and knowledge of craftsmanship. The projects described in Carlos Duarte's paper, located in Terni, are: the workers' houses (1949-51), the Casa Chitarrini (1949-51) and a single-family house (1949-52), and are all expression of that poetics. The "workers' houses" represents the union of technological poverty with a logical, typological and figurative complexity. The shape of these houses, by some defined '*pointy houses*¹²', which could be misunderstood as the result of an empirical gesture, is actually '*result of a great knowledge of the region and of his interest in the problems of spontaneous architecture in general*' (Duarte, 1957 a, 24).

Later on, in the manuscript, Duarte will define the Casa Chitarrini as '*a modern work conceived in the intimacy of a tradition of the everyday life*'. The Casa Chitarrini is an example, recurrent in other works by Ridolfi, of how the rigidity of a building with an exposed structure, where the frame mesh is brought to the surface, is tamed by the materials used: local stone or, in the first floor, red plaster. The proximity to the tradition is, here, so strong that Duarte himself compares this building to Palazzo Rucellai, as if it was the son of a formal tradition from the Renaissance. The analogy with the Florentine palace can be found in the

¹¹ It means an exception within the twentieth century architects.

¹² The term *case a punta* was used by the architectural historian Giorgio Muratore (1946-2017) (Muratore, G. (1974), *Gli anni della ricostruzione [The years of reconstruction]*, "Controspazio", 3, Nov. 1974, 6-25).

similarity between the frame and the pillars, and in the subdivision of the building in basement, central body and crowning element.

The selection of Ridolfi can be interpreted as a desire to convey that part of Italian architecture linked to the knowledge and tradition of craftsmanship, to the expressiveness of the material and of the building details. Exactly that craft so fought and criticized by CIAM¹³.

It is within this frame that Nuno Portas writes his paper on Carlo Scarpa in the issue n. 59 of July 1957 of the journal "Arquitectura". Scarpa won the Olivetti award in 1956 and Portas himself had met him on occasion of a recent trip to Italy. The article opens with a quote by Bruno Zevi, from the Italian newspaper "L' Espresso", in which Scarpa is defined as a poet of Italian Modernism, an 'architect who does not accept the mechanisms of the profession' (Portas, 1957 a, 23). Portas then describes the projects designed for the Venice Biennale including the ticket office (1952), the garden (1950) and the Venezuelan pavilion (1954), as well as an internal picture of Palazzo Abatellis (1953-54) in Palermo.

By doing so he almost composes a manifesto of the poetics of the Venetian architect, centered, according to Portas, on the topics of the *decoration*, of the construction of a *spatial complexity* that investigates the relationship between interior and exterior and of the need to relate to a *pre-existing* place. Scarpa is another atypical architect of Italian Modernism; his *decoration* is not an applied ornament, a simple representation of a *style*, but corresponds to the achievement of a consonance relationship with history. This happens thanks to the continuous investigation of the expressiveness of structural joint allowed, once again, by the continuous relationship with the craftsmanship. An attitude that, as Portas states, represents a '*fundamental contribution in this critical period of architecture*' (Portas, 1957 a, 28).

¹³ As they stated at General Economic System (points 4 and 5) of CIAM's *La Sarraz Declaration* in 1928.



Figure 3. Excerpt of the paper *Carlo Scarpa. Um arquitecto moderno em Veneza* [*Carlo Scarpa. A modern architect in Venice*] "Arquitettura", 59, July 1957, 23, 26.

To the reference to Ridolfi and Scarpa, can be added another manuscript by Nuno Portas that demonstrates the importance of Italian architectural production and the reading of "Casabella" for his generation. In the paper *Arquitettura Moderna Religiosa em Portugal* [Modern Religious Architecture in Portugal] (Portas, 1957 c) Portas resorts to the topic of the sacred architecture to highlight the challenges of the Modern style in representing a spiritual dimension, thus openly entering in the debate between Rogers, Argan and De Carlo on "Casabella"¹⁴. Later he presents two Portuguese churches and compares them with the church of the Village in La Martella (1952-53) by Ludovico Quaroni and the church of the INA-

¹⁴ This theme is treated in the articles *Il metodo di Le Corbusier e la forma nella "Chapelle de Ronchamp"*, "Casabella-Continuità", 207, Sept./Oct. 1955; *Discussione sulla valutazione storica dell'architettura e sulla misura umana*, "Casabella-Continuità", 210, April-May 1956. This discussion between Giancarlo De Carlo and E. N. Rogers, was born after the publication of a letter by G.C. Argan in "Casabella-Continuità", 209.

casa quarter in Baggio di Figini and Pollini, starting from an article published in n. 208 of "Casabella", November/December 1955.

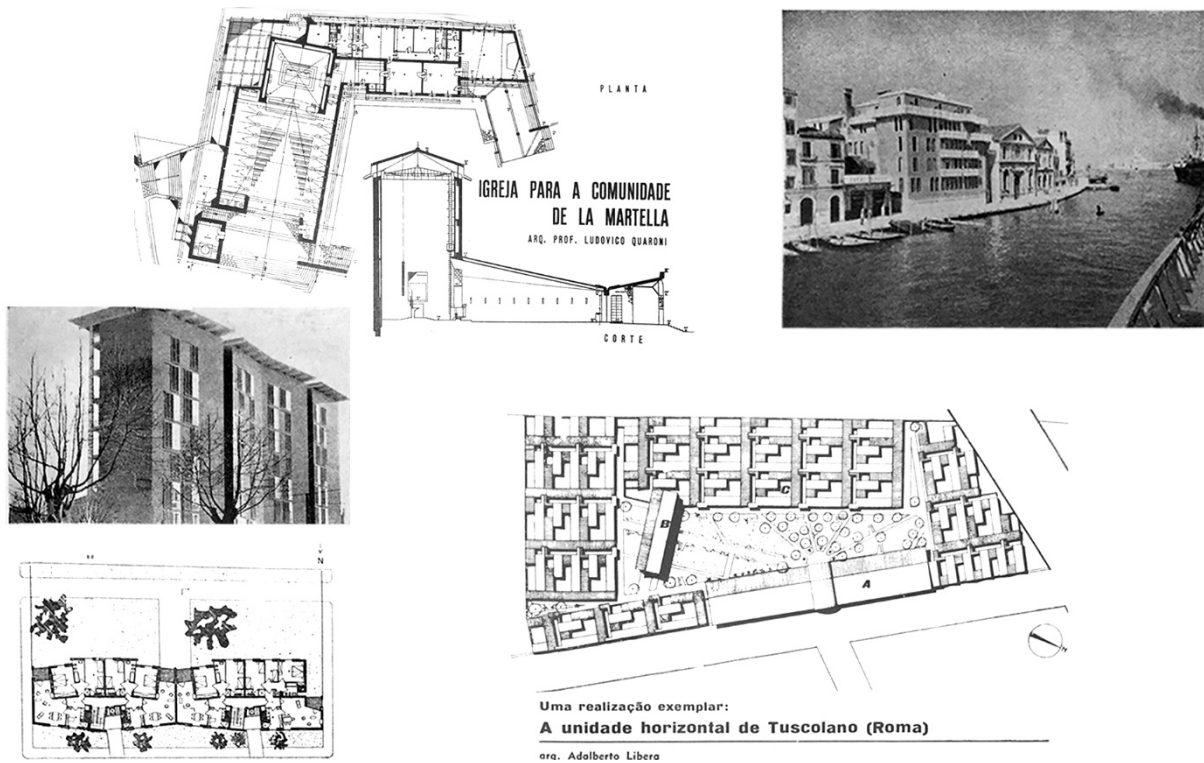


Figure 4. Excerpts of "Arquitectura" magazine. From left to right: Quaroni L., *Church of the Village in La Martella*, "Arquitectura", 60, Oct. 1957, 31; Gardella I., *Houses for Borsalino employees and House in Venice*, "Arquitectura", Dic. 63, 1958, 49; Libera A., *Horizontal Housing Unity in Tuscolano*, "Arquitectura", 64, Jan./Feb. 1959, 35.

The selection of projects described in the papers of these first issues of the third series of the "Arquitectura" journal, as well as the selection of Italian production published within papers or in the specific section *Das revistas estrangeiras* [From foreign magazines] (among which we remember the projects of Libera , Albin, Gardella, De Carlo, in addition to the aforementioned, Ridolfi and Scarpa), in the following decade, communicates the wish of the editorial board of the journal to divulge in Portugal that atypical Italian Modernism more similar to the Portuguese architectural approach and therefore useful to fuel the national debate.

At the same time, it is notable how the decision to following the editorial agenda of "Casabella" has completely excluded the diffusion of that line of Italian architects far from the socialist nature of the journal. This includes personalities such as Giò Ponti or Luigi Moretti, connected to the profession and to the entrepreneurial class, whose studies and projects on the *Mediterranean house* (Ponti) or on the value of *architectural space* (Moretti)¹⁵ would surely have been successful in the post-CIAM Portuguese debate contemporary to the issues of the "Arquitectura" journal analyzed (issues from 1957 to 1967).

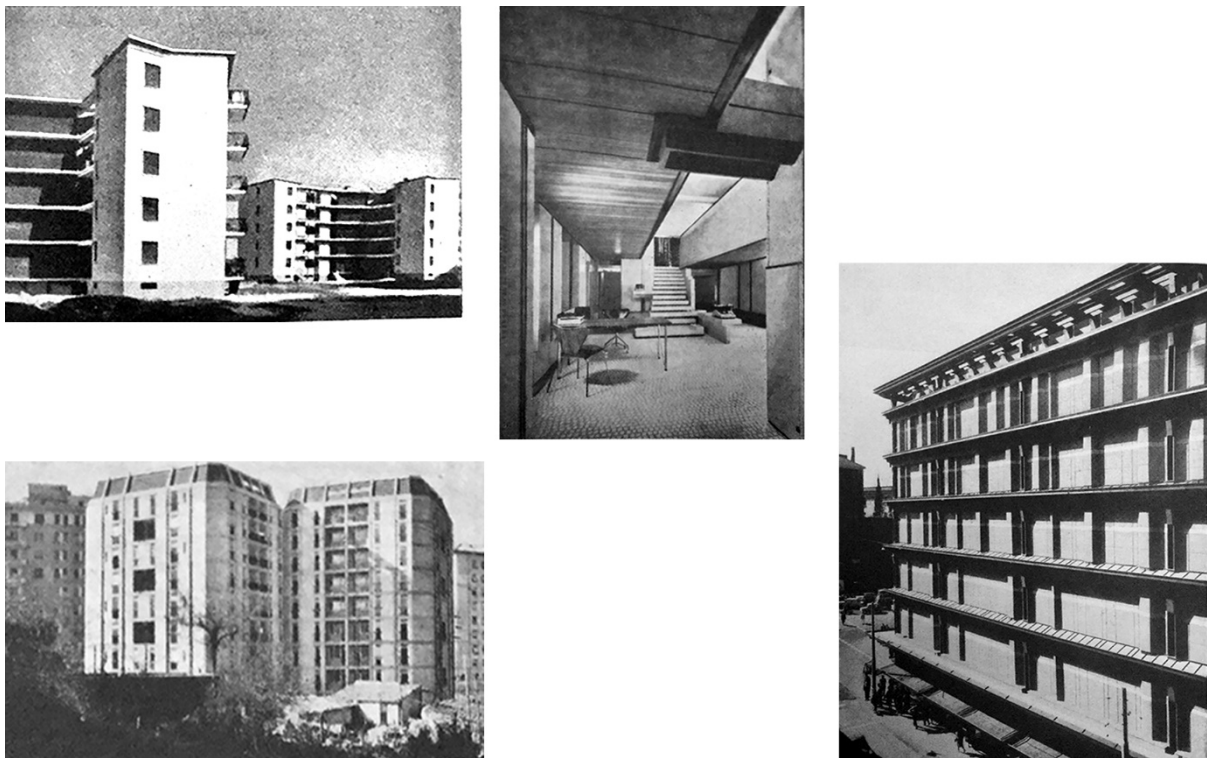


Figure 5. Excerpts of "Arquitectura" magazine. From left to right: Albin F., *Housing in Milan*, "Arquitectura", 64, Jan./Feb. 1959, 51; Scarpa C., *Olivetti shop in Venice*, "Arquitectura", 66, Nov. 1959, 58; Fiorentino M., Frankl W., Ridolfi M., *Towers in Viale Etiopia*, "Arquitectura", 66, Nov. 1959, 58; Albin F., *La Rinascente in Rome*, "Arquitectura", 76, Oct. 1962, 44.

¹⁵ Cf. footnote 10.

To conclude, if the influence of the magazine "Casabella" was important to set a cultural architectural line, another Italian actor played a decisive role in the definition of the Portuguese theoretical line post CIAM.

In 1955, Bruno Zevi founded the journal "L'Architettura. Cronache e Storia" willing to re-elaborate the functionalist rationalism through a new critical vision of history as a path aimed to F. L. Wright and the organic architecture. (Portas, 1957 b)

I think that [...] an influence, a very strong attraction was expressed for Frank Lloyd Wright, whose work, at that time, was spread by the magazine "Arquitectura" and the book "História da Arquitectura Moderna", by Bruno Zevi. We began our university studies with "Space, Time and Architecture" by Siegfried Giedion, our ABC, in which Wright's figure did not have the same meaning. Only later, the writings of Zevi came from Italy, which had a great impact for us [...] is the revision that Wright operates in the principles of CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture) which was of great importance.¹⁶ (A. Siza, 2008, 35)

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¹⁶ 'Creio que [...] uma atração muito forte tenha sido exercida por Frank Lloyd Wright, cuja obra, na época, era divulgada pela revista "Arquitectura" e pelo livro "História da Arquitectura Moderna", de Bruno Zevi. Tínhamos iniciado os estudos universitários com "Espaço, Tempo e Arquitectura" de Siegfried Giedion, o nosso silabário, em que a figura de Wright não tem o mesmo significado. Só depois disso chegaram de Itália os escritos de Zevi, que tiveram em nós um grande impacto. [...] é a revisão que Wright opera nos princípios do CIAM (Congressos Internacional de Arquitectura Moderna) que tem uma grande importância'. Translated by the author.

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Lavinia Ann Minciacchi, *From Casabella to Arquitectura. The Italian influence on Portuguese post CIAM debate.*

Távora, F. (1947). *O problema da casa portuguesa*, Porto, Cadernos de Arquitectura.

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EARLY YEARS. MANFREDO TAFURI AND REM KOOLHAAS'S FIRST REFLECTIONS ON THE METROPOLIS

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Abstract

The end of World War II and the cultural transformations of the 1960s define a disenchanted age marked by the awareness that architecture cannot meet the challenges of that time after the younger members of the CIAM rejected the doctrine of the Athens Charter.

This sense of 'crisis', also shared by other disciplines beyond architecture, is not new; it integrates modernity as a critical trend of resistance. However, the pessimism associated with the revelation of the Holocaust and the advent of the nuclear threat accelerates the criticism of the rationalist approaches of the Modern Movement that dominated the previous decades.

In these years, which in retrospect define the interregnum between modernism and postmodernism, it is urgent to rethink the theoretical foundations of modernity, seeking a more effective political, social and economic project capable of recovering the potential for the emancipation of humanity. In this context, it is argued that the discipline of architecture has to be reformulated from its base.

It is in this revisionist milieu that Manfredo Tafuri and Rem Koolhaas begin to act. Tafuri will resort to Adorno and Horkheimer's 'negative dialectics' to diagnose the 'crisis' of contemporary architecture and begin a critical reading of the ideological foundations of the discipline since the Enlightenment. Koolhaas, in the midst of the aftermath of the 1968 riots, finds in the city of New York the seeds of a new culture that promises to overcome the 'crisis' by using a 'superlative modernity' and is, therefore, more true in his view.

*Based on readings of Manfredo Tafuri's *Progetto e Utopia* and Rem Koolhaas's *Delirious New York*, this paper provides a comparative perspective of the thinking of two of the most influential authors of our time in the early years of their affirmation in the context of contemporary architectural culture.*

Keywords: Tafuri, Koolhaas, Metropolis, Modernity, Postmodernism

The 1960s are marked by protest movements in United States and European universities, most notably Berlin, Frankfurt, Milan, as well as the events of the Prague Spring and the May revolt in Paris. The new generations protest against the Cold War, the Vietnam War, colonial and imperial power, class, race and gender inequalities in a climate of nonconformity that extends to all areas of culture. In the United States, the hippie movement appeals to open communities without repression. In Europe, the critique of culture, known as 'new left', is structured from the theoretical works of authors related to the Frankfurt School: Theodor W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, among others.

In the disciplinary field of architecture and urbanism, protest and political action seek to dismantle the repressive character of architecture, denouncing relations of power with capitalism. Groups of architects and designers, trained in Italy and England, recover the critical spirit of the historical vanguards and scrutinize a discipline depleted by the heritage of Functionalism, laying the foundations of postmodernism of the 1970s and 1980s.

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994) and Rem Koolhaas (born 1944) live in different ways these times. In Amsterdam, Koolhaas begins a career as a journalist in 1963, working for the weekly *De Haagse Post* and studies film at the *Nederlandse Film en Televisie Academie*. Covering the excesses of the European counterculture of the 1960s leads him to write about cinema, literature, music, politics, sport, sexuality, art and architecture, about which he is increasingly interested. In 1968, he follows the protests and repression of students in Paris and Prague and moves to London, where he joins the Architectural Association of Architecture (AA), dominated, as he claims, by anti-conformism and counterculture movements like Flower Power. The events of May 1968 and the contact with the radical experiences of the neo-avant-gardes, observed with distance and realism, influence his career in architecture, which begins in the following decade, coinciding with the affirmation of postmodernism.

After receiving his degree in architecture from the University of Rome in 1960, Tafuri works in architectural and urban planning projects. Although this activity is in tune with his political action, the discipline of architectural history attracts

him ever more. In 1964, he begins a university career which in the following years affirms him as an academic in the fields of history and criticism. He starts to question the role of history in the 'crisis' of post-war architecture and warns against the dangers of an 'operative' use of history, defending historical discourse as a critical instrument. He radicalizes the Marxist dimension of his thinking and approaches personalities like Antonio (Toni) Negri and Mario Tronti. At the end of the decade, he delves into the problems that dominate the discourses of his contemporaries and deepens his reflections related to rationalism and the Enlightenment. Under the influence of Walter Benjamin and his 'tragic' vision of modernity, he deepens the critique of modernism, denouncing and clarifying the contours of the complicity of modern architecture with capitalism. He is concerned with the 'fate' of architecture in Italy and in Europe which, in his view, 'walks in the direction of emptiness,' alternating between the 'empty form' and the 'emptiness of form.'

These reflections are gathered in *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, published in 1968, in the year of the protests that shook universities and cities around the world. The immediate recognition of this work allows his appointment as a professor at the IUAV in Venice, where he founded the *Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* (ISA), dedicated to historical research, whose early years are marked by great ideological debates. In that year, Tafuri meets Massimo Cacciari, with whom he creates a deep friendship and takes the direction of the magazine *Contropiano: Materiali marxisti* (1968-1972). Published in Rome, it focuses on the reflection of the historical contradictions of the birth and development of capitalism, in line with the notion of 'negative dialectics' developed by the Frankfurt School.

Tafuri's essays published in *Contropiano*, in particular the analyses of the historical vanguards, are decisive for the changes that, at the end of the decade, alter the methods and practices of architecture historiography. This exerts a profound influence on the debates that, in the following years, unfold in both Europe and the United States, and in which Koolhaas has an active voice.

His four essays published between 1969 and 1971 - *Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica* (1969); *Lavoro intellettuale e sviluppo capitalistico* (1970); *Social-democrazia e città nella Repubblica di Weimer* (1971); *Austromarxismo e città. "Das rote Wien"* (1971) - depart, both in form and content, from *Teorie e storia*, introducing an original syncretism that crosses political, historiographical and architectural ideologies, extending the historical analysis to the systems of thought. Its focus becomes the theory of contemporary architecture, understood now as an ideological system built on a false historical consciousness.

The first two articles give rise to the book *Progetto e utopia. Architettura e sviluppo capitalistico* (Bari, Laterza), which arrives in bookstores in 1973 and is an immediate bestseller, determining the ideological and editorial agenda of the ISA, which at that moment begins to assert itself in the field of historical research. Tafuri and the group of historians and theorists who meet at ISA are now designated as the 'Venice School', claiming to be a Think Tank dedicated to the publication of critical-historical research. The most publicized result of his collaboration is the study *La Città americana dalla Guerra civile al New Deal* (Bari, Laterza, 1973), a work dedicated to the North American city. This work marks not only the beginning of the Venice-New York axis,¹ which in the following years makes an impression on the cultural exchanges between America and Europe, but above all the 'improbable' meeting of Tafuri and Koolhaas in the same territory. This meeting is symbolized by a passage from Nietzsche's *Aurora*, cited by both authors, in which New York is presented as an allegory of Venice of modern times and an image for the future:

But, in truth, New York is - at least from the 1890s onward - an allegory of the Venice of modern times. It may prove useful to recall the words of Nietzsche: 'One hundred profound solitudes form the whole of the city of Venice - this is its spell. An image for the man of the future'. (Tafuri, 1984, p. 291)

¹ Peter Eisenman sponsored the Venice-New York axis through the Institute for Architectural and Urban Studies (IAUS), one of the most important centres of American architectural culture created by him in 1967 in New York.

A hundred profound solitudes together constitute the city of Venice; that is its charm. A model for the men of the future. (Nietzsche in Koolhaas, 1994, p. 120) (...) Each skyscraper [of Manhattan] is an island of the 'very modernized Venice' - a system of 2028 solitudes. (p. 125)

The New Domestic Landscape

Koolhaas lives in fascination with the mythical power of New York and Manhattan. In the autumn of 1972, after completing *Exodus, or the voluntary prisoners of architecture*, his end-of-course thesis in AA, he moves to the United States and joins Cornell University in Ithaca to pursue his studies. There, he meets Oswald Mathias Ungers and Colin Rowe, professors who reject the 'traumatic authoritarianism' of modern planning and who are among the first to assume postmodern positions. Rowe, close to the contextualist currents, develops a pragmatic and anti-doctrinal urban design method, based on the collage technique and aimed at reconciling modern architecture with the traditional city. His ideas are synthesized in *Collage City*, a book that, like *Delirious New York*, is published in 1978. While agreeing with Rowe's diagnosis and accepting criticism of postmodernism, Ungers investigates an alternative to *Collage City*, based on the concepts of 'Cities within the City' and 'Green-Archipelago', also rejecting Aldo Rossi's 'analogical city' and the reconstruction of the European city matrix proposed by Léon Krier (Gorelik, 2008, p. 23).

In the search for a truly metropolitan architecture Koolhaas adopts Ungers' conceptions in order to define the doctrine of Manhatanism. In studying the case of New York, he notes that the imposition of a grid in Manhattan has not determined a cohesive urban structure, as in so many European cities, but has made each building, each skyscraper, in its singularity, become a form of urbanism itself, a miniature of the city itself.

Although the intellectual exchanges between Ungers and Koolhaas have not yet been sufficiently scrutinized, the analyzes of Peter Eisenmann (2004), Adrián Gorelik (2008) and Pier Vittorio Aureli (2011) show how this relation is the origin

of one of the most relevant lines of research on the city in the 1970s. This affinity is mainly based on their interest in the development of an alternative city project, capable of going beyond the impasse of modernist urban planning and the 'incipient' postmodernist proposals (Aureli, 2011, p. 180) advanced in these years.

The issue, which underlies the subject of disciplinary autonomy, which becomes dominant in the context of postmodernism and 1970s America (against which Koolhaas and Tafuri react), is part of a comprehensive ongoing discussion in the United States about the qualities of the American metropolis, in particular of New York.

In this context, the exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, dedicated to the 'radicals' of Italian architecture and design, was inaugurated at MoMA in May 1972. Koolhaas visits the exhibition, which brings together works of his choice from *Superstudio* and *Archizoom*.

The catalog of the exhibition contains two relevant texts. The first is Emilio Ambasz's² essay *Manhattan: Capital of the Twentieth Century*, in tune with Koolhaas's interests by emphasizing that 'Manhattan may reveal an unforeseen potential for conceiving of a quite different notion of city' (Ambasz, 1972, p. 147). The second, the 'powerful' and 'inconvenient' (Lang; Menking, 2003) *Design and Technological Utopia* (Tafuri, 1972, p. 388-404), is one of the first texts from Tafuri to be published in America.

Tafuri states that the orientation of the transdisciplinary image of the Superstudio project is an appeal to a 'Life Without Objects', a political critique of the practice of industrial design, since objects are status symbols, i.e. the expression of models proposed by the ruling classes. However, despite this apparent convergence with Superstudio's ideas, he disapproves of the neo-avant-garde strategies of Superstudio's and Archizoom's anti-utopias, by seeking

² Emilio Ambasz, curator of the exhibition and then director of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS).

liberation through irony that regains the same ground covered by the utopias of the early vanguards [of the twentieth century]. (p. 398)

In his view, the images produced by these groups are a 'monstrous marriage' between populist anarchism and libertarian events influenced by May 1968, which attempt to drag the proletariat to the stage of psychedelic action. At the center of the vanguard, Tafuri concluded, we find regressive nostalgia for a return to childhood. (p.388)

The 'private leap into the sublimated universe of "artificial paradises" does not prove to be foreseeable.' 'Superstudio's anti-utopian regression is doomed to give birth to new utopias.' 'They appeal to a world "without cities, buildings or roads" but this is only an anti-utopian critique of modernism in the spirit of historical counter-utopias.' (p.394)

Tafuri retakes these criticisms in *Progetto e utopia*, relating the 'futile appeals to self-destruction' launched by the 'negative' design, with the contradictions of the structures of the contemporary metropolis:

In the exhibition 'Italy-New Domestic Landscape' (...) there is a proliferation of underground design, of 'contestation'. Which, however, unlike the films of a Warhol or a Pascali, is made institutional and propagandized by international organizations and integrated into an elite circuit. Through the design of the microenvironment, the blatant contradictions of metropolitan structures, sublimated and subjected to cathartic irony, enter into the environment of private life, the Archizoom's 'games', which are also skillful, (...) propose (albeit contrary to verbal statements to the contrary) a 'self-liberation' through the private use of the imagination. The symbols, still threatening, of an Oldenburg or Fahlström thus find use in a pacified Domestic Landscape (...). (Tafuri, 1985, p. 95-96)

But is there really something new about the proposals of the historical avant-gardes? Apart from the ideological attitude, the margins of novelty

are extremely small. With respect to the coherence of historical vanguards there is, quite simply, anything less (p. 100).

Faced with these criticisms, members of Superstudio react with distance and reservation. The awareness that they are in a different ideological field leads Piero Frassinelli to exclaim 'oh yes, the enemy!' After, on one occasion, hearing the name of Tafuri (Lang; Menking, 2003, p. 56).

In addition to the Pop culture of the avant-garde of Italian design, Tafuri also refuses the surrealistic techniques with which Koolhaas begins to prepare the writing of *Delirious New York*, developing a series of theoretical works in collaboration with Elia Zenghelis, his professor in AA, and his wife Madelon Vriesendorp, with whom he had begun to analyze the metropolitan culture of New York. For the Italian historian, both are examples of the 'withdrawal of the object for itself,' symptoms of the 'crisis of the object' diagnosed by Walter Benjamin. (Tafuri, 1972, p. 388)

The City of the Captive Globe

The projects *The City of the Captive Globe* (1972), *The Egg of Columbus* (1973), *Hotel Sphinx* (1975-1976), *Welfare Palace Hotel* (1976) and *The Story of the Pool* (1977), presented as a 'fictional' conclusion in the last chapter of *Delirious New York*, are the first examples of a truly metropolitan architecture developed from the study of Manhattan's urbanism. From this group stand out *The City of The Captive Globe*, the first and decisive incursion into the 'essence of Manhattan', an anticipation of *Manhattanism* and of the *Culture of Congestion*. This project, influenced by Surrealist and Pop strategies, like *Exodus*, is rejected by Tafuri, who associates it with the 'regressive fugues' of the neovanguards of the late 1960s and early 1970s. (Tafuri, 1984, p. 445, 533)

However, this work would not be possible without the investigation of the relationship between architecture and ideology initiated by Tafuri. In fact, by exploring the tension between the generic city, the product of the use of a modular grid, and the extreme specificity of the structures that occupy the lots

defined by that grid, Koolhaas reiterates Tafuri's conclusions regarding the processes of development of the bourgeois metropolis.

In the essay *Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica*, published in *Contropiano*, the Italian historian already points out how, in the processes of development of the bourgeois metropolis, the 'awareness of the indissoluble dialectic between uniformity and diversity is transmuted into a tension between exception and rule' (Tafuri, 2000, cf. 1985, p. 57-58) and how chaos and order were sanctioned by the historical vanguards as the 'values' of the new capitalist city (Tafuri, 2000, cf. 1985, p. 66). In this sense, *The City of the Captive Globe* is no more than a metaphor for the plurality and heterogeneity of the liberal city.

La montagna disincantata

The 'discovery' of America by Tafuri and his ISA colleagues occurs in the late 1960s when they realize that the history of the American city 'was to be written,' and that it is urgent to fill that gap (Ciucci et al., 1973, p. IX). With this mission in mind they organize, during the academic year of 1969-70, a course focused on architecture and urbanism of the United States of America (p. XX-XXII). The course, taught in 1972-73, during the same period in which Koolhaas, Zenghelis and Vriesendorp developed the first works based in Manhattan, originated four long essays by Giorgio Ciucci, Francesco Dal Co, Mario Manieri Elia and Tafuri, collected in the book *La città americana dalla guerra civile al New Deal*, published in 1973.

The first three analyse the North American urban trends³, with emphasis on anti-urban positions that oppose the modern metropolis, and become current around 1900, whose history goes back to the naturalist ideologies that emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century (p. XX). The last chapter, by Tafuri,

³ Mario Manieri-Elia writes *Per una città 'imperiale'. Daniel H. Burnham and the City Beautiful movement* (For an 'imperial' city, Daniel H. Burnham and the City Beautiful Movement); Francesco Dal Co writes *Dai parchi alla regione. L'ideologia progressista e la riforma della città americana* (From the parks to the region, Progressive ideology and reform of the American city); Giorgio Ciucci writes *La città nell'ideologia agraria e Frank Lloyd Wright. Origini e sviluppo di Broadacre* (The city in agrarian ideology and Frank Lloyd Wright, origins and development of Broadacre).

entitled *La montagna disincantata. Il grattacielo e la City* addresses this phenomenon from the skyscraper and its privileged territory - the Manhattan of the 1920s and 30s.

With this essay and *Progetto e utopia*, published in the same year, Tafuri is 'suggestively' close to Koolhaas (Gorelik, 2008, p. 20). This happens not only because these works are published just as Koolhaas begins to investigate Manhattan's urbanism, but mainly because the critical itinerary established by Tafuri addresses the main themes that give shape to *Delirious New York* - the grid and, above all, the skyscraper.

Moreover, *La montagna disincantata* follows closely the itinerary of the book of Koolhaas, capturing - as Giorgio Ciucci writes in his introduction to *La città americana* - the 'city of disordered alphabets' in its historical development, in relation to which the skyscraper appears as an instrument of inadequate and contradictory formal control (Ciucci et al., 1973, p. XXI).

Tafuri portrays the skyscraper as an artificial or even anti-urban organism that attempts to dominate the 'artificial forest of the metropolis.' More than a contradictory attitude, it is a deeply desperate act. If the process of modernity has emptied architectural thought of all powers, any attempt to control anarchic and speculative forces in the context of the American metropolis is hopelessly doomed to failure.

In this sense, in trying to 'govern' the metropolitan space, architecture becomes the phantom of itself. It is as if an original sin has been atoned for, which is no more than its pretension to define the primary structures of the city only with its disciplinary instruments.

In Tafuri's view, this is one of the most coherent experiences of the 'crisis' established by modernity. Architecture is condemned to the 'dead silence of the sign' in this 'war' between architecture and metropolis. The skyscraper, when affirming itself as 'isolated and indifferent entity, on the edge of the city', reduces the exceptional typology to pure form, to pure sign, in a voluntary

mutism that witnesses the progressive annulment of the symbolic and communicative capacities of architecture.

OMA, Office for Metropolitan Architecture

In 1975, upon returning to Europe, Rem Koolhaas founds the *Office for Metropolitan Architecture* (OMA) in London, with the aim of continuing the work carried out in the early 1970s. He does so in tune with the trend towards the dissolution of the architectural object in the dimension of the metropolis, theorized by the radical groups of Italian architecture and design and by the members of the Venice School, especially Tafuri. He also returns to the AA - School of Architecture, as a visiting professor. Together with Zenghelis, he replaces León Krier in the direction of the *Diploma Unit 9*, the last year of studies in the architecture course. He starts a pedagogical program that, for more than a decade, will explore the density of population concentrations in the metropolis, reflecting the stated objectives of OMA. The 1974-1975 Academic Year Discipline Report explains the Culture of Congestion formula: 'a long-term worldview that runs counter to many of the precepts of contemporary history and criticism:'

The aim of Diploma Unit 9 has been to rediscover and develop a form of urbanism appropriate to the final part of the 20th century: new types of architectural scenarios that exploit the unique cultural possibilities of high densities and that will result in a critique and eventual rehabilitation of the Metropolitan lifestyle. Unit 9 is after an architecture that accommodates, provokes and supports the particular forms of social intercourse, which realize the full potential of urban density, an architecture that houses in the most positive way the 'Culture of Congestion' in formally sophisticated structures. (Gargiani, 2008, p. 48, 49)

While Koolhaas tests the Culture of Congestion, Krier proposes the recovery of the traditional urban morphology: 'Quarters or reconstruction of the European city' is the theme he develops with his students in Diploma Unit 2, based on

opposed principles (cities versus megalopolis) (Gargiani, p. 53). Thus, in the mid-1970s, there are two orientations relating to the theme of the city and the metropolis project, derived from the same critique of modernist urbanism, but proposing radically different solutions.

The choice of the New York skyscraper as a paradigm of the Culture of Congestion and the deepening of the creative process partly based on the Ungers' model of 'Cities within the City' and the radical proposals of *Superstudio* and *Archizoom*, confirms Koolhaas distance from the postmodernist critiques of CIAM urban planning.

In 1977, Koolhaas publishes in the magazine *Architectural Design* the essay *Life in the Metropolis or The Culture of Congestion* (*Architectural Design* 47, no. 5, August 1977) an exploratory summary of what becomes *Delirious New York's* 'retroactive manifesto,' announced just a few years earlier.

The intentionally controversial goal is to replace the CIAM doctrines with the playful, fantastic, and surreal qualities discovered in Manhattan. In addition to enunciating the founding principles of Manhattanism and the Culture of Congestion, *Life in the Metropolis* affirms Koolhaas's unique position in the context of the architectural culture of the late 1970s by reiterating his simultaneous detachment from post-functionalism and postmodernism.

Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan, edited in 1978, undoubtedly feeds on the topics of this essay, particularly the notion of Culture of Congestion, now assumed to be the fundamental value of contemporary architecture. The book makes Rem Koolhaas famous and immediately becomes the OMA's 'instruction manual', which opens a new headquarters in Rotterdam the same year. For the new generations of architects it is a book of 'worship', marking indelibly the architectural production of the next three decades.

Venice-New York

In the late 1970s, Tafuri's interest in America declines significantly. With the book *La sfera e il labirinto. Avanguardie e architettura da Piranesi agli anni '70* (Einaudi, 1980), published seven years after *La montagna disincantata*, he returns for the last time to the themes of the 1920s American city, in a darker, disenchanted tone, without hope.

In 1973, despite all the 'negativity' that marks his work, there is a certain enthusiasm for the American phenomenon, in tune with Koolhaas's research. In 1980 this fascination disappears. In the chapter *La Nuova Babilonia: il 'giganti giallo' e Il mito dell'americanismo*, his vision changes, not in the sense of a radicalization of the political dimension, but above all in emphasizing the 'negative' and 'un-American' character of the European proposals, with emphasis on Expressionists.

With *La Nuova Babilonia*, he stands at the opposite side of *Delirious New York*, whose reading, though never quoted, is detectable in certain passages of the book.

The entire metropolis calls for the ceaseless acceleration of movement, of velocity, of exchange. Within the metropolis, it must be made impossible 'to stop,' impossible to perceive the laws of its own productive order. Therefore, 'The New Babylon' must present itself as a variety theatre, through which eccentricity becomes an institution, a mode of collective behaviour. (Tafuri, 1984, p. 221)

In the 'New Venice' – an allegory of the human condition that echoes throughout *Le Ceneri di Jefferson*, the last chapter of *La Sfera e il labirinto*, and the culmination of the writing of Tafuri on America – 'it is necessary to wear a mask to save our own soul' (Tafuri, 1984, p. 232). The condensed energies in New York, 'signs' of a general malaise, are no more than a parable of this 'mutant form of human coexistence' which is, in the expression of Koolhaas, the Culture of Congestion.

In truth, New York is – at least from the 1890's onward – an allegory of the Venice of modern times. It may prove useful to recall the words of Nietzsche: 'One hundred profound solitudes form the whole of the city of Venice – this is its spell. An image for the man of the future.' It is not the history, not the images pregnant with meanings, not the peace of a refound 'community' – nor the slow decay of values – that constitute for Nietzsche the fascination of Venice. This resides instead in the prophecy that the city of lagoons launches to the future: the city as a system of solitudes, as a place wherein the loss of identity is made an institution, wherein the maximum formalism of its structures gives rise to a code of behaviour dominated by 'vanity' and 'comedy.' From such a viewpoint, New York is already a 'New Venice.' The fragments of the future contained in the *Serenissima* of Nietzsche have already exploded into metropolis of total indifference and therefore of the anguished consumption of multiplied signs. (Tafuri, 1984, 523)

In the same way, the last cycle of the American vanguard, which Tafuri repeatedly calls neo-avant-garde, reaches a dead end the bottom of its dissolution, of its objective weakness, of its estrangement from collective reality. Thus closing a process of fracture between the architectural production – increasingly developed as a private, solitary, and subjective act –, and the real world 'in which the facts are responsible for pointing out this detachment on a daily basis.'

In his view, there is no longer any hope of architecture influencing structures or relations of production (Tafuri, 1984, p. 525). The formalism that characterizes the vanguard production of these years is once again a futile effort to counter the fate of architecture as a 'negligible object,' evidence of 'a Worringerian fear of facing reality' (p. 534).

In order to remove this anguish, architecture surrenders itself to the 'exaltation of its own isolation', in a 'diffuse tendency to experiment with private languages, devoid of any function, paradoxically removed from the linguistic realm' (p.535).

The 'war is over' (p.535), and with its end emerges the 'fairy tale' of postmodernism:

Pirouetting on only one foot, the Post Modern tightrope walkers endeavour to play their game with a history whose meaning and limits they skilfully keep hidden from themselves. With respect to the tragedy experienced at Weimar, the multiplication of winks and high signs made by these manipulators of the imaginary appears as an attempt to make a text of impotence. (...) For them, the only preoccupation is to remain on the stage agitating themselves in an ever more grotesque manner, in an effort to entertain an audience in the pit both bored and in need of sedatives (Tafuri, 1980, p. 535).

Tafuri is extremely sarcastic in condemning postmodern architecture and its apologists (a term he rejected, preferring, instead, the term "hyper-modern", cf. *Storia dell'architettura italiana, 1944-1985*. Turin, 1986.), devaluing it as a reduction of architecture to fashion, a form of merchandising. This judgment is aimed at the work of the 'Whites' and the 'Grays', but also of the 'exiles' like Koolhaas, although he rarely refers to the work of the Dutch architect.

In the last pages of *La Sfera e il labirinto*, he leaves an epitaphic recommendation to all proponents of postmodernism: 'If we are resolved to eliminate anxiety then we would realize that history serves to dispel nostalgia, not inspire it' (Tafuri in Ackerman, 1995, p. 165). In the light of this conclusion, Joan Ockman writes:

It should not be surprising that the thematics of distancing, alienation, withdrawal, silence, and masquerade that figure so obsessively in Tafuri's reading of the American skyscraper, and also mark his interpretation of the compensatory evasions of the New York avant-gards, are the same as those that permeate his work as a whole. Like his reading of the European tradition, Tafuri's reading of American architecture is driven by a teleological view of history as a tragedy, by a global theory of the fate of the modern metropolis. Within this perspective, differences in context are variations on the theme. (Ockman, 1995, p. 63)

After *La Sfera e il labirinto* (and of *Storia dell'architettura italiana 1944-1985*), Tafuri closes his work on contemporaneity and returns to the hitherto less visible subjects of his research program, in particular to the studies on the early modern era. This return to the Renaissance is not, as he himself puts it, a 'hedonistic journey to the *piazze* and to the palaces of the past.' It is mainly linked to the judgment he makes of the present. The 'irrelevant', 'grotesque' or 'comic' character, which in his view marks much of contemporary architecture, encourages him to explore a period when architecture was an integral part of culture, his languages were public and vastly understood, capable of transmitting clear and complex messages simultaneously.

As Howard Burns states (1995, p. 117), his return to the Renaissance, a period of history in which he had many of his favorite interlocutors, is, above all, a research on 'what the present is not', and 'can no longer be'.

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DISPLACEMENT AND THE MAKING OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE – A SOUTH-SOUTH PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

*Displacement has been a central element in shaping Modern Architecture. This line of argument is particularly significant when looking at the case of Latin America. Suffering long periods of political instabilities, regime repressiveness, intellectual censorship, ruination of public institutions and social inequality, many Latin American countries have faced critical challenges that profoundly affected the ways in which history of modern architecture was made and re-made. In fact, there is an ample scholarship that has linked migration with the modern movement in Latin America. Although great efforts have been made to bring to light biographies of émigré architects who left Europe and contributed to shape modern architecture in the Americas -and therefore stressing both "North-North" and "North-South" perspectives- very little work has looked at this issue through a "South-South" dialogue. My point of departure of this proposed paper is a UNESCO call for experts to discuss the architectural and urban problems in Latin America. The assembly taken place in Buenos Aires in 1969 resulted in a seminal publication, whose English edition entitled *Latin America in Its Architecture* appeared twelve years later, this being a time when many countries of the Southern Cone of the Americas were governed under military regimes. While dealing with important topics such as the crisis of the professional and academic identity, the search for significance of tradition and the relevance of social participation in architecture, this pioneering collective work becomes one of the most influential books on Latin America in the international architectural debates of the postwar era. What makes this book unique is that it has been almost entirely produced by émigré architects such as CIAM member Max Cetto (based in Mexico), as well as architectural historians such as UIA member Roberto Segre (based in Cuba and later Brazil). Instead of memories of displacement and experiences elsewhere, the publication discusses the roots, traditions and meaning of Latin American architecture with a perspective to the future. It seems then inevitable to ask not only how this network of intellectuals that produced the book was created, but also and mostly how their experiences of "displacement" and "home" affected their discourse. The present proposal examines this collective discourse on Latin American architecture of the twentieth century by not only dealing with a North-South perspective, but also from a 'South-South' movement. It does not aim at mapping a network of émigré architects. Rather, it uses this collective work as a critical case to reflect upon the ambiguity, as well as ephemerality, of the meaning displacement in the process of making architectural history in Latin America in the postwar era. It focuses on displacement and network as central arguments and analysis tools. It challenges the very core of the traditional narratives on CIAM on the one hand; it enlarges the complex social context and network in which the CIAM debates were produced and reproduced on the other hand.*

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EKISTICS, OR THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, THROUGH THE PARADIGM OF THE MASTER PLAN OF ISLAMABAD

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Abstract

The Greek architect and urban planner Constantinos Doxiadis belonged to the group of professionals and thinkers who challenged the quality of urban environment and living, as it had been evolved up to the mid of the 20th century. Doxiadis identified the need for revisiting policies in modern urban planning and he mobilized any available means – theory, practice, education and communication- towards this end. Providing his services as a government’s consultant in several countries of the under-development world during the fifties and sixties, having established solid liaisons with distinguished Institutions in the U.S.A., having a remarkable portfolio of materialized projects with global impact and respectively a remarkable volume of written work, research and publications, having even created an Institute for postgraduate studies on the field, he went further beyond. He declared the necessity for a radical change in urban planning, by means of introducing a new scientific domain in the service of human settlements, that of Ekistics.

The proposed paper aims to explore the idea of Ekistics, through its implementation at the Master Plan of Islamabad, or otherwise the City of the Future. Doxiadis was assigned to design the new Federal Capital of Pakistan and he seized the opportunity to launch Ekistics with this project of global magnitude –both Islamabad and Ekistics could be benefited from such a gesture. Ekistics transcended the strict boundaries of urban planning, as social, political and economic factors were also involved. It constituted a holistic approach, which aimed towards the balance of the five primal elements of human settlements, namely Nature, Man, Society, Shells and Networks. And it is not the agenda pursued by means of the modernist functional city that is abandoned, it is rather that changes in the processes followed can be observed.

Keywords: Ekistics, Islamabad, Internationalism, Ecumenopolis

Challenging CIAM

“*Crisis or Evolution?*” (Mumford, 2002, p.248) The works of CIAM 10 in Dubrovnik have been commenced with this question. A question that was addressed by Le Corbusier and by means of a message that he sent, so as to be read in his absence.

A question that practically signified the advent of the Post-CIAM era. The ideals, regarding the Functional City that for a first time have been concretely expressed in Le Sarraz of Switzerland and through the works of CIAM 1, which found their most mature expression on the deck of Steam Ship Patris II and while sailing from Marseille to Athens, were now under questioning. This is to say that the Athens Charter –the epitome of modern urban planning-, or otherwise the outcomes of CIAM 4¹, were to be severely challenged by the CIAM 10 delegates, who have been already oriented in defining the Charter of Habitat². Le Corbusier was fully aware³ that a first circle of CIAM's contribution has been completed. Respectively, he was aware that the ends towards which CIAM has been aiming were still to be reached. Therefore, he could not do other than salute "*Long live the SECOND-CIAM!*" (Mumford, 2002, p.248)

Maybe the answer to the Corbusian question should be crisis due to evolution, as the inner criticism that terminated the idea of CIAM meetings signified the comprehension that intellectual circles had to take steps, in order to better respond to the emerging needs of a rapidly evolving society. If it is to be taken under consideration, either the phenomenological approach of Team X (Frampton, 1981), or its respective sensitivity concerning historical and vernacular settings (Goldhagen and Legault, 2000), both viewed in their wider context, it would seem more likely to realise that the actual distance between them and the functional city is not so immense. Anyhow, the functional city was not meant to be an end per se; it was rather the means towards a new socio-economic order and ultimately towards a new mode of living. Considering the initial threefold, namely dwelling, producing and relaxation, as well as its subsequent, which further included the function of circulation, an emerging portrait of life can be perceived.

The idea of challenging and revisiting the dogmatic rationality of the functional city, which has been more than adequately serviced through the CIAM activities,

¹ The Athens Charter might have been published ten years after the works of CIAM 4 took place, however it constitutes the absolute basis of the meeting's conclusions.

² "*Habitat*" is a word used by the French to describe not only the home but also its environment and everything appertaining to it." (Goldhagen and Legault, 2000, p.56)

³ Le Corbusier prior the last meeting of CIAM takes place insisted in transferring leadership to the younger members of the Congress. (Bullock, 2002, p.145)

should not be considered as an abandonment of the modernist ideals. On the contrary, this turn could be appraised as a turn towards more sophisticated and effective gestures, which could affect the very essentials of human beings either examined as individuals, or as members of the social strata. For instance, it should not be perceived as an abort of internationalism the fact that attention started to be paid in local features and values. The established dialectic relationship between localities and international modernism might have been originated in the fact that architecture transcended the boundaries of the European territory, leaving behind the familiarity of its own culture and roots. Modern architecture was destined to find a quite fruitful field of action in the countries of the developing world, suggesting Africa, Middle East, or South America, claiming its international character not only in theory but also in practice. In order to acquire roots and flourish at the most distant and diverse corners of earth, a kind of mingling with local features appeared to be inevitable. It is not a story of denying internationalism; instead, it is a story of propagating it.

Constantinos Doxiadis

The Greek architect and urban planner Constantinos Doxiadis belonged to the group of professionals and thinkers who severely challenged the quality of the urban environment, as it had been already evolved up to the mid of the 20th century. Characteristically, he talked about "*urban nightmares*" (Doxiadis, 1963, p.19), or otherwise "*dystopias*" (Doxiadis, 1968, p.4). Even though, he credited the revolutionary spirit of the Modern Movement's leading figures, such as Gropius or Le Corbusier, for breaking the bonds with academism, yet he considered the goal as a non-fully achieved. To some important extent, he identified as critical factor for the experienced failures the reluctance of his colleagues to transcend the conventional boundaries set by the role of a designer and instead to become master builders (Doxiadis, 1963). Doxiadis did not hesitate⁴ to make this leap, as per his own words; "*Personally I often feel like an itinerant master builder of the*

⁴ Doxiadis not only did not hesitate becoming a builder, but instead he considered it a duty and privilege, according to his own words; "*So as to be privileged of building even one step, instead of waiting for others to become builders and keep for myself the role of a well-dressed man climbing up the stair, which was built by others.*" (Filippidis, 2015, p.18-19)

past, travelling around the world and offering my services." (Doxiadis, 1963, p.21). Pakistan, one of the newly emerging countries of the 20th century decolonization period, has been a benchmark concerning Doxiadis' global activity⁵.

Pakistan constitutes a par excellence nation-state building paradigm of the preceding century's developing world. The withdrawal of the British imperial forces from the Indian subcontinent in 1947, led to the peninsula's segregation according to absolute religious criteria and therefore to the establishment of two independent nation-states; Pakistan, the land of Muslims' and respectively the Hindus' India. This story of nation-state building included, as expected, political legitimization agendas, developmental policies, social reformation procedures, international alliances making, collective consciousness moulding, as well as modernization opportunities. However, Doxiadis identified in this case, beyond the obvious opportunity for growing his reputation as a consultant of international esteem, a great opportunity for scientific research to take place. The case study for this research was meant to be Islamabad, the new federal capital of Pakistan, the master plan of which was assigned to "Doxiadis Associates", or more accurately was entrusted to Constantinos Doxiadis by President General Ayub Khan.

Islamabad can be considered to be mostly a political project. The idea of creating an ex-novo urban scheme bearing the magnitude of a country's capital city, which was developed according to the most modern trends and internationally accepted standards, acquired a highly symbolic meaning. In fact, it was heralded as the ultimate symbol of national consolidation and progress, or otherwise as a "*historical project on which the hopes and dreams of the Nation depend.*" (Doxiadis Associates, 1964, p.1) Doxiadis found himself in charge of a highly ambitious urban project, which was supposed to produce remarkable impact both at national and international level and which also enjoyed complete support from

⁵ As per the memoirs of an architect who was member of the Capital Development Authority and worked closely with Doxiadis, "*Dr. Doxiadis, on the other hand, went from strength to strength and never looked back from the time in 1954, when I first met him in New Delhi at the UN Conference on Low-Cost Housing as a Town-Planner whose reputation had not yet travelled beyond the shores of Greece. Within a space of ten to fifteen years however, he gathered around him a vast empire and had works extending from Vietnam to Iraq, Ghana, Saudi Arabia and various other countries of South America as well as works even in the USA including the role of adviser on the Washington master plan.*" (Khwaja, 1998, p.111-112)

the country's political leadership. All efforts and gazes were turned on the Islamabad project, which if taken under consideration along with the fact that it was implemented on a "tabula rasa" basis, or otherwise on a basis of minimizing undesired commitments, it seems reasonable to conclude that Doxiadis has been offered the perfect ground, in order to deploy and communicate his philosophy, regarding modern urban planning.

Introducing Ekistics

Doxiadis identified in the weaknesses of modern urban planning the source for a series of acute social problems and respectively he appraised as defining factors, in regards to any potential solutions the emergence of three basic phenomena, namely the unprecedented global population increase, the advent of machine's dominance, as well as the gradual shift of interest in masses (C.A.D.A., Pakistan v.16, DOX-PA 29, 1959). In other words, after interrelating the existing social malaises with poor urban planning, a reversed process seems to prevail, which suggests the pursuit of social reformation on the basis of sound planning practices, following a deep understanding both of current needs and future demands. Otherwise and according to the terminology introduced by Doxiadis, Ekistics –the science of human settlements- could drive humankind to a deserved prosperous future.

Ekistics (from oikos, the Greek word for a house or dwelling) is the science of human settlements. It coordinates economics, social sciences, political and administrative sciences, technology and aesthetics into a coherent whole and leads to the creation of a new type of human habitat. (Doxiadis, 1963, p.96)

In more detail, Ekistics constituted a holistic approach, which aimed towards the balance of the five primal elements⁶ of human settlements, namely Nature, Man,

⁶ The five ekistic elements can be defined as follows "Nature: the total natural environment which provides the basis for the creation of settlements and the context in which they function. Anthropos: the inhabitant, as an individual. Society: the systems of interactions between Anthropoi. Shells: the structures which shelter Anthropos, his functions and activities. Networks: the natural and man-made connective systems which serve and integrate settlements, such as roads, water supply and sewerage systems, electrical generating and distribution facilities,

Society, Shells and Networks. Practically, these five elements constitute the fragments of two broader divisions of human settlements – the content's and the container's (Doxiadis and Papaioannou, 1974). This is to say that human beings, either perceived as individuals or as social entities, shape the habitat's content, while all of the rest elements –both natural and man-made-, define the container. Nevertheless, "*The essential nature of settlements results from the fusion and interactive balance between their container –or physical structure- and their contents –or Anthropos.*" (Doxiadis and Papaioannou, 1974, p.7) As a key factor, in terms of defining the level and nature of achieved balance, can be highlighted the nexus of potential correlations that are being created among the diverse ekistic elements and the relevant scientific disciplines –economic, social, political, technological and cultural. As per Doxiadis, if all the potential combinations are to be calculated, then we come across with the amazing number of more than thirty-three million alternatives (Kyrtis, 2006). The ultra-dynamic character of human settlements is depicted by means of the "Ekistic Grid", which constitutes a valuable working tool both at the levels of analysis and planning.

In fact, the "Ekistic Grid" becomes a visual testimony of Doxiadis' perception, regarding human settlements. This is to say that the latter are interpreted as systems and more accurately as systems identical with that of life (Doxiadis and Papaioannou, 1974). This kind of radical interpretation is expected to offer a fresh insight and to open new paths in the field of urban planning, which after being systematized, it can be scientifically analysed, its main features easily captured and processed and ultimately controlled. Following Doxiadis' vocabulary, it can be read "*Human settlements are a great deal more than static, built up areas. Settlements are processes, systems in a continuous state of flux...*" (Doxiadis and Papaioannou, 1974, p.7). And at this point, it can be introduced the leading parameter, in terms of maintaining habitats' dynamic state, which is no other than the one of time. For the present analysis, regarding the urban planning methodology of Doxiadis, the factor of time possesses a paramount position.

communications facilities, and economic, legal, educational and political systems." (Doxiadis and Papaioannou, 1974, p.9)

According to him, *'the analysis of settlements cannot be separated from the fourth dimension, that of time.'* (Doxiadis and Papaioannou, 1974, p. 7)

Implementing Ekistics at Islamabad

Summarizing, Doxiadis had been offered the empty plains of Potwar Plateau in Northern Pakistan, neighbouring the existing city of Rawalpindi, so as to implement his ekistic theory and create Islamabad, the first fragment of the city of the future⁷, or otherwise the first fragment of a universal system of life. In other words, a capital city was about to be established, which would be consistent in terms of economic, social, political, technical and cultural factors, while it would maintain its functionality in the infinity⁸. Alternatively, Islamabad was about to emerge, following two of the Ekistics' principles, namely the *"Unity of Purpose"* and the *"Four Dimensions"*. Equally respected were supposed to be the other two principles, which complete the ekistic theory, suggesting the *"Hierarchy of Functions"*, as well as *"many Masters and many Scales"*⁹. Therefore, Islamabad was meant to be a coherent system of life, which could be perpetually growing and evolving, while maintaining its initial virtues and functional competence, through a series of hierarchically ordered and highly integrated sub-systems. The basis for materializing the above mentioned ideal has been the introduction of *"Dynapolis"*. Doxiadis again introduced this kind of urban development pattern, which presupposed a linear and simultaneously parabolic model of expansion both of the residential and the city's central functions. The existence of a modular human community, which could be perpetually reproduced, constituted the key parameter for the materialization of the Dynapolis model. For Islamabad the Class

⁷ Islamabad was considered to be the first materialized fragment of *"Ecumenopolis, the inevitable city of the future"*. Ecumenopolis, a term also introduced by Doxiadis, signified the unified global human settlement, the implementation of which has already been initiated, while its completion was estimated to take place in the year 2100. (Doxiadis, 1968)

⁸ *"The only way to envisage our goals in size is to relate size to time. Our goals, expressed in size, must be dynamic. Our new city must become the Federal Capital not for today, not for tomorrow, but from now on and as long as the government of Pakistan feels that it is the best place for a capital."* (Doxiadis Associates, 1960, p.416)

⁹ More information on the four principles of Ekistics –Unity of Purpose, Four Dimensions, Hierarchy of Functions, many Masters and many Scales- can be found in page 317 of *'The spirit of Islamabad'*, in Ekistics; Abstracts on the problems of science of human settlements, ed. by Doxiadis Associates (vol.12, No.73, 1961), p.p. 315-335.

V human community was defined as its modular and the southwest direction as its only possible way towards expansion.

In more detail, the creation of Pakistan's federal capital presupposed the formation of a metropolitan area, which included the area of Islamabad with distinguished national features, the area of Rawalpindi destined to maintain its regional character and the National Park, corresponding and serving both Islamabad and Rawalpindi, by means of retaining agricultural functions, as well as special functions with either cultural or educational orientation. For the development of Islamabad, a narrow triangular¹⁰ area had been reserved, strictly defined from the one side by the Margalla Hills and from the other side by Rawalpindi and the National Park, leaving only the southwest direction unbounded. Respectively Rawalpindi had absolute boundaries from all three sides –Islamabad, National Park and Soan river-, while again the southwest edge had been kept free to expansion. Both urban schemes, namely the existing Rawalpindi and the created ex-novo Islamabad, were designed so as to evolve in parallel and in a complementary manner, following the Dynapolis model. It worth to be noted that this kind of unlimited future development appears to be feasible, only by means of absolute limitations at the stage of planning. According to the inspirer of this urban model:

The proper name for the city of the future is Dynapolis, the dynamic polis or city, which in contrast to the static polis or city of the past will possess the characteristics of dynamic development built in it. Thus this city will be able to develop freely and naturally along a planned and predetermined course. (C.A.D.A., DOX-PA 77, 1960, p.134)

Since human settlements are identified as systems of life, then it seems perfectly reasonable the idea of human community to be the ideal of any urban planning process. Anyhow, it was towards social reformation that urban planning aimed, which was not irrelevant with architecture's socialization¹¹. One of the

¹⁰ Additionally, the selected triangular area secured the coherence of scale at all stages of urban development.

¹¹ *"This is because the architect must now build for the masses, creating architecture for everybody and not for a certain leading class alone. At the same time, he has to build much larger numbers of houses and buildings."* (C.A.D.A., DOX-PA 115, 1961, p.38)

fundamental principles, regarding the creation of the federal capital is highlighted here below.

Planning aims at creating integrated human communities and not just conglomeration of houses. People live in communities, where they must satisfy the great variety of their needs and desires. The community should therefore always be the unit of planning and include residences, places of work, residential facilities and all services necessary for healthy and pleasant living. (C.A.D.A., DOX-PA 29, 1959, p.3)

Therefore, if the community was meant to be the unit of planning¹², then it could be assumed that a predefined social tissue was intended to be materialized through a properly designed urban tissue. The master plan of Islamabad had been utterly based on a series of autonomous human communities of various scales, which were, nevertheless, in an absolute and hierarchical manner interrelated – as specified by the ekistic principle, concerning the hierarchy of functions. This sequence of hierarchically ordered communities resulted to the already mentioned Class V human community, which presented the higher level of complexity and constituted the most extended area under the dominance of the human scale. This is to say that Class V human community, which was defined in spatial terms by means of a 2x2km square terrain and which could be fully accessible on foot by its inhabitants, without any real dependence on the machine, constituted a static, however autonomous and of a highest order integrated system of life, which became the modular for the development of Islamabad, or otherwise the city's sector.

The classification of human communities in Islamabad took place according both to their size and functions. More precisely, class I constitutes the elementary community, which derives from the coexistence of 10-25 families. A community classified as Class II, consists of approximately 75 families, or in other words of 3-5 communities specified as class I. Following, community class III, numbering

¹² Further, on the interrelation between the new capital city's physical and social features, "*The basic principle that should be observed in the structure of a residential community is that its physical pattern should be in complete accord with the social organization of the human group that is expected to settle in them.*" (C.A.D.A., DOX-PAK-LH38, 1966, p.3)

600-700 families, is the outcome of several class II communities' coexistence. In its turn, class IV community, with an indicative population of 7.000-10.000 people, derives from the gathering of some class III communities. Finally, 3-4 class IV communities organized together create a community class V –numbering from 20.000 to 40.000 people- which, as already mentioned, constitutes the "*self-contained and self-supported with respect to everyday life*" (Doxiadis Associates, 1964, Bulletin 64) nucleus of the city. In complete analogy to size ordering, function ordering follows. More specifically, each distinct type of community shares a common functional element; for example, class II shares a playground for the children, class III an elementary school, for a class IV community the secondary school and a central market are the connecting elements, etc. The interdependence of diverse functional entities becomes evident, nevertheless, remains to be underlined the intention for "*their grouping and structure*", which "*should be rationally programmed and implemented*". (C.A.D.A., DOX-PA29, 1959, p.12)

The following notes of Doxiadis, which correspond to one of his visits in India, provide a clear aspect of his vision, regarding urban planning objectives and instruments.

For hours we wander into these housing schemes. They have been built during the last twelve years. They are all characteristic of the same spirit. I could say that their defects are the following: a) there is no creation of community spirit at all. There is no interconnection of the different buildings. On the contrary they look as being thrown on a vast land with no order. There is no formation of a social pyramid. No neighbourhoods, no communities. (C.A.D.A., India Notes, 1955, p.35)

The urge for implementing master plans with the idea of social pyramid being well kept in mind, signifies a lot. In fact, a strong commitment to social structuring is unveiled, which expectedly will take place on a basis of the proper spatial arrangements. Considering again the Islamabad case, as the ultimate criterion, in order that the social pyramid to be portrayed, had been defined the one of income –its objective features render it a highly efficient instrument. In more detail, all

human communities of Islamabad were organized, in accordance with a pattern of income status. To give an example and in reference to sector I9, four categories of income groups it was decided to coexist. The lower income group –classified as type A- corresponded to the 30% of the community's total population, while a percentage of 40% had been reserved for inhabitants belonging to income group type B. Respectively, 20% of the population would be originated from type C income group and the rest 10% would correspond to the financially stronger members of the community (Doxiadis Associates, 1962, p.354). The lower was the complexity of the community, the less was the intermixing of diverse income groups –social integration was absolutely predetermined.

From the functional city to the functioning system

The human settlement of Islamabad, or otherwise the system of life of the Pakistani capital city, was created on the basis of the Ekistic philosophy. The latter constituted a multidisciplinary approach, which included extensive and exhaustive layers of analyses and respectively a highly disciplined layer of synthesis. The methodological approach of the Islamabad master plan offers a kind of confirmation on that. Both its social and urban tissues have been fragmented to the maximum possible extent, in order to be afterwards unified into a coherent whole, providing an ultimate level of control. Pakistan needed at that time to acquire a strengthened middle social class, as it was passing from the agricultural era to that of intense industrialisation and Islamabad, by means of its shells and networks, became the proper field for the desired social strata to flourish.

The ideal of the functional city, which constituted the cornerstone of CIAM manifesto, should not be appraised as an element completely detached from any humanitarian context. On the contrary and despite any failures of modern urban planning, as expressed through the CIAM rhetoric, the aim of social reformation was on the top rank of the modernist agenda. The idea of social equality and humankind's well-being went along with the propagation of the functional city and more precisely it was considered that the viability of the former depended on the successful implementation of the latter. Both privileges and responsibilities

sourcing from the advent of the Machine Era concerned all members of the social strata, or otherwise everyone who *"have chanced to be touched by the sun"* (Le Corbusier, 1943, p.xix), as characteristically is referred in the introduction of the Athens Charter edition of 1943. This is to say that solely the shift in interest from spatial associations to human associations, as it was urged by the younger members of CIAM, did not actually signify a reorientation, in terms of pursued goals. Anyhow, the impact of the Machine Age could not be disregarded; mass production activities in order to be viable required a competent audience –both in terms of quantitative and qualitative features-, which at that moment did not exist, but needed to become existent. The creation of a shared culture at a global scale –where culture is comprehended as synonymous to mode of living- appeared to be the key factor. And the vehicle in order to create the required social content was considered to be the creation of the proper urban container both in the CIAM and post-CIAM period.

Accordingly, Doxiadis might have challenged the modernist functional city, however, he did not turn his back at the modernist ideals. On the contrary, he might be considered as one of the dedicated supporters both in theory and practice. His interpretation of the human settlement as a kind of system offered a fresh insight, in regards to the way of approaching urban planning. This is to say that it can be identified a shift in interest from the objective itself to the procedure that should be followed, so as the final end to be achieved. This kind of highly systematized and scientific approach, which included multidisciplinary research, analysis and synthesis at various levels, permitted the efficient management of complex and exceptionally changeable conditions. The idea of fragmenting all kind of involved parameters before their synthesis into a unified whole –which as per Doxiadis' perception was expected to reach the limits of a universal urban settlement-, implied the deep understanding and knowledge of these parameters and ultimately their control at the maximum possible extent. In a sense, Doxiadis' philosophy aimed to keep the path of dreaming wide open, or otherwise the path heading towards the ideal accessible, while by means of a reasoned methodology, protection against utopias was to be attained. Therefore, even though his gaze was focused on the path leading to humankind's future, equally and

simultaneously he was attentive with the very essentials that secured the system's function. That is why he urged that "Our primary duty is to understand that we must start preparing programs instead of plans" (C.A.D.A., DOX-PA29, 1959, p.2)

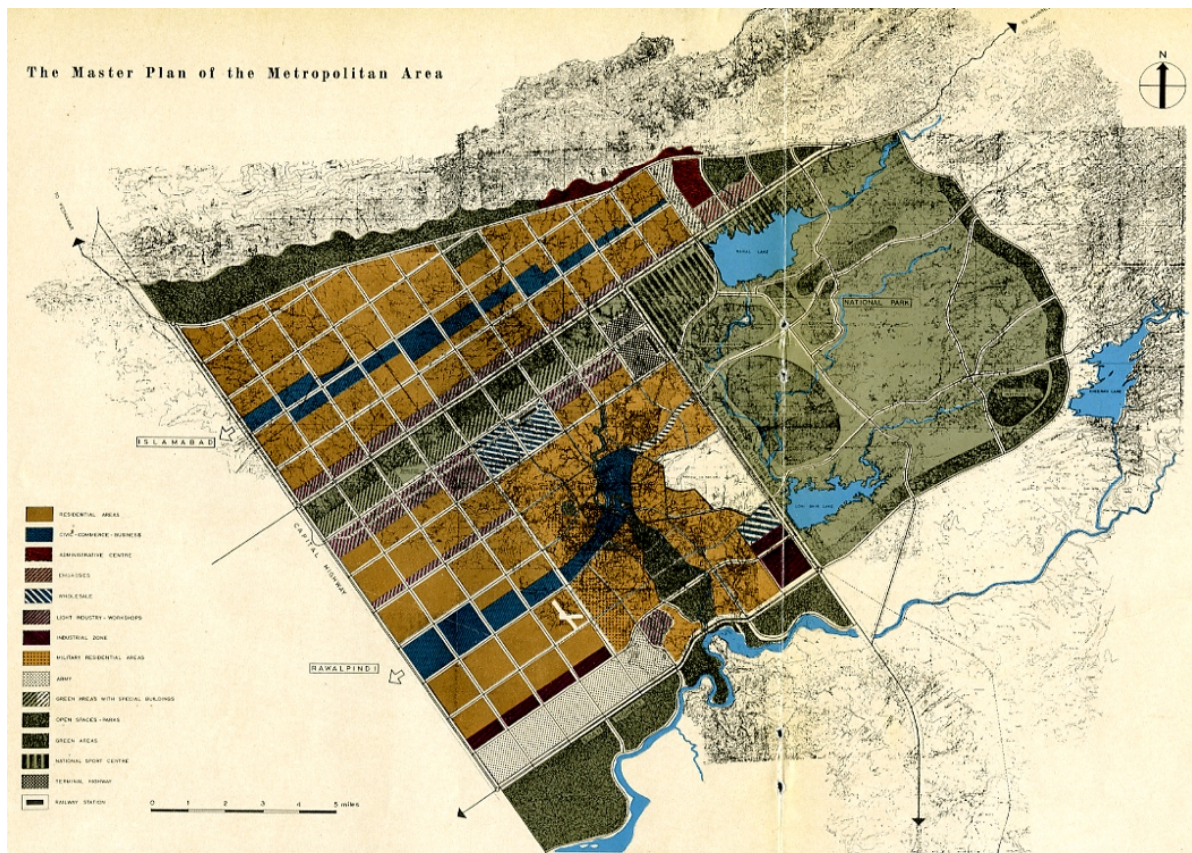


Figure 1. The Master Plan of the Metropolitan Area, including Islamabad, Rawalpindi and the National Park. In yellow colour the city's sector (Class V community) is indicated, while in blue colour the city's central functions (the so-called Blue Zone) can be seen. The southwest direction of future expansion is also portrayed.



Figure 2. Constantinos Doxiadis inspecting a model of Islamabad at his office premises in Athens. (Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation)



Figure 3. Aspect of a neighbourhood's centre in Islamabad. (Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation)



Figure 4. Aerial view of two sectors in Islamabad (G6-1 & G6-2). (Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation)

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AN AMERICAN THINK TANK WITH 'SOMETHING TOO EUROPEAN ABOUT IT'

Theory, Politics, and Feminism at the IAUS in New York

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Abstract

This paper assesses the influence of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) on Peter Eisenman's Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) in New York City. Founded in 1967, the Institute was a 'think tank,' a school, and a site for public discourse, criticized by Italian architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri for having 'something too European about it.' Tafuri's statement serves as a foundation to analyze the IAUS's complicated relationship to European modernism, by assessing some of the varied projects and groups associated with the Institute. Eisenman's Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment (CASE), for example, began in the mid-1960s as a series of meetings on contemporary architectural concerns – in some ways an American counterpart to the earlier CIAM (although Eisenman had actually envisioned CASE as more of a 'Team 10-like group'). Members of the IAUS were splintered in their positions on architecture's responsibility to political, social, and aesthetic issues, which prompted the founding of ReVisions, a group formed within the auspices of the IAUS in 1981 that focused on architecture's thorny relationship to political ideology. This paper addresses the neglected role of ReVisions and women members, topics which have been long neglected in the historiography of the IAUS. A study of the IAUS illustrates the complex influence of CIAM on the direction of architectural intellectualism in New York in the wake of 1968, which is instructive for engaged architects and intellectuals working in the United States today.

Keywords: IAUS, Peter Eisenman, CASE, Team 10, architectural theory

The now legendary, and somewhat infamous, Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) was truly a product of its time and place. It was New York City, 1966, a time of seismic change within the discipline of architecture, as the growing dissatisfaction with modernist planning ideals, the destruction of the city, and the perceived failure of social housing encouraged many architects to turn to theoretical activities as alternatives to building. The IAUS grew out of architect

Peter Eisenman's earlier, lesser-known project, Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment (CASE), which began in 1964 as a series of meetings on contemporary architectural concerns. CASE acted as a postmodern counterpart to the European modernist Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM). Reminiscent of CIAM in its acronymic name and discursive aims, Eisenman had actually envisioned CASE as more of a '*Team 10-like group*' (Colomina & Buckley, 2010, p. 264), a reference to the younger generation of architects and urban planners who splintered off from CIAM at their ninth meeting in 1953. CASE was also similar to CIAM in its international character; in Stanford Anderson's historical account of CASE, he emphasized how crucial the European participants were to the vitality of their early meetings on architectural education; Bruno Zevi of the University of Rome and Reyner Banham of the University of London were the most polemical, and helped set the tone for critical exchange that would define the IAUS (Anderson, 2013, p. 582). However similar, CASE and the IAUS were not mere vehicles to extend CIAM's reach – they were also part of the growing critique of the earlier generation's faith in top-down planning and blind idealism.

Modernism bore the brunt of the criticism but also stimulated new ideas, and contemporary Italian architectural theory is important for an understanding of the development of the IAUS along these lines. While Manfredo Tafuri claimed that the Institute's formal and institutional autonomy were signs of '*the organizational structure of intellectual work in America*,' he criticized the Institute for having '*something too European about it*' (Allais, 2010, p. 32). The European tinge that Tafuri identified was no doubt intentional; despite some staunch critiques of European modernism, members of the IAUS hardly rejected its tenets wholesale. CIAM's intellectual debates and more humanitarian efforts (epitomized by Le Corbusier's 1943 conception of the 'Modulor Man,' modeled after Cesariano's 'Vitruvian Man') resonated among members of the IAUS; not only was the image of Vitruvian Man emblazoned on IAUS apparel (Figure 1), the revolving door at the IAUS had an image of 'Modulor Man' on one side and 'Vitruvian Man' on the other.

The internationalism that CIAM was known for would also characterize the IAUS, whose members came from North America, South America, and Europe (just to name a few: Diana Agrest and her husband Mario Gandelsonas were Argentinian, Rem Koolhaas was Dutch, and Rafael Moneo came from Spain). The history of the Institute can further be broken down into two periods, both European in origins: the first was associated with British architectural historian Colin Rowe and his Cornell University circle; the second centered on an Italian influence. Rowe had famously compared Palladio to Le Corbusier in his 1947 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa,' a sign of a growing interest in reinterpreting Le Corbusier aesthetics and moving the spirit of CIAM into the postwar era. Rowe's influence was strong in the early years of the Institute, not only because he was Eisenman's mentor at Cambridge but also because of his presence at Cornell, one of the early sponsors of the Institute. Rowe also accompanied Eisenman on a trip to Italy in 1961-62, where Eisenman was first exposed to magazines such as *Casabella* and Giuseppe Terragni's Casa del Fascio in Como (Eisenman and Rowe, 2008, 131). The trip deeply affected him; after seeing Terragni's rationalist building for the first time, it caused him to have an 'epiphany' of sorts. As Eisenman put it: 'I was berserk' (Colomina & Buckley, 2010, p. 261).

Eisenman was the founder, director, and veritable mouthpiece and image of the Institute until he stepped down in 1982 (Anthony Vidler, Mario Gandelsonas, and Stephen Peterson were named director in 1982, 1983, and 1984, respectively, and the Institute officially closed in 1985). He was also one of the founding editors of *Oppositions*, their organization's chief publication. It is no surprise, then, that Eisenman remains the figure most closely associated with the IAUS. As Stanford Anderson wrote, 'Eisenman was the great entrepreneur of all' (2013, p. 633).

Crediting Eisenman alone, however, would be at odds with the collective nature of the Institute – in one promotional photo the members even presented themselves as a team, dressing in matching 'uniforms' (Figure 1). Although there were dozens of architects, teachers, artists, fellows, and interns involved, four names are primarily associated with the Institute – Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, Mario Gandelsonas, and Anthony Vidler, the foursome who jokingly referred to themselves as 'The Beatles' (Colomina & Buckley, 2010, p. 60)



Figure 1. IAUS members as a soccer team. Top row, from left: Joseph Rykwert, Duarte Cabral de Mello, Isaac Mario Gandelsonas, Kenneth Frampton, Jachim Mantel, Gregory Gale, Thomas Schumacher, Stanford Anderson; Bottom row, from left: Elizabeth Cromley, Robert Slutzky, William Ellis, Beth Spekter, Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman, Victor Caliendo, Suzanne Frank. Photo by Dick Frank. Published in *Casabella* 359/360, 1971, 'The City as an Artefact.' Image credit: Esther Choi, 'The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies IAUS and Princeton School of Architecture, Princeton NJ and New York NY, USA, 1965-1975, *Radical Pedagogies*, <<http://radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/a19-institute-architecture-urban-studies-princeton-school/>>.

This oversimplified narrative further ignores the women who were involved in official and unofficial capacities, as well as the ReVisions 'study group,' as contributing factors in the Institute's success. Often neglected in studies of the IAUS and virtually unknown today, ReVisions brought together a group of young architects and thinkers who met on a regular basis to discuss theoretical texts, share new projects, and organize public programs. Its members (who included Joan Ockman, Mary McLeod, Alan Colquhoun, and Bernard Tschumi, among several others) wanted to counter the perceived lack of attention to the political and ideological underpinnings of architecture at the IAUS and beyond. The need for a close study of ReVisions and the contributions of women at the Institute underscores the fact that the historiography of the IAUS, much like that of CIAM, is still in its infancy.

Beginnings

The history of the IAUS has already been well-documented by Kim Förster in his important archival research at The Canadian Centre for Architecture, resulting in his 2011 Ph.D. dissertation, 'The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, New York (1967-1985): ein kulturelles Projekt in der Architektur.' However, a brief synopsis is necessary to provide some context for the purposes of this paper. According to Eisenman, the self-proclaimed '*central activities of the Institute*' upon its founding were '*research and development*' (Eisenman, 1980, p. 58). It was a laboratory for ideas, an alternative school, an exhibition space, and a publishing house. They ran an evening lecture series for the public, held symposia, published *Oppositions* journal, translated and published books, operated four educational programs, and ran an exhibitions program. As a grant proposal of 1968 explained, the Institute would '*coordinate theoretical ideas with practical constraints,*' and act '*as an intermediary between public and private agencies to demonstrate the potential of such a realm for other studies,*' such as sociology (as quoted in Allais, 2010, p. 32).

In late 1960s New York it would have been difficult to ignore such potential; indeed, this context prompted the Institute's only built project, Marcus Garvey Park Village, constructed in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Brownsville had developed a notorious reputation in the postwar years as a poverty-stricken, crime-ridden neighbourhood, a situation which, like that of the South Bronx, was only exacerbated by discriminatory housing policies and the economic depression of the 1970s. Part of the 'Low-rise, High Density' housing project commissioned by the New York State Urban Development Corporation (UDC), drawings for Marcus Garvey Park Village were exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art's 'Another Chance for Housing' in 1973. Although anti-modernist sentiment was strong by the early 1970s, the roots of socially responsible and engaged architecture undeniably stemmed in part from the social housing projects of CIAM. The high-density plan for Marcus Garvey Park Village may even recall Ernst May's 'Existenzminimum' interwar housing, and the emphasis on incorporating nature through courtyard spaces evokes Siegfried Giedion's call for '*light, air, and openness*' in his manifesto of 1929.

However, as Kenneth Frampton explained in the catalogue for the MoMA show, Marcus Garvey Park Village was modeled more closely after Atelier 5's 1961 Siedlung Halen in Switzerland, which was itself inspired by Le Corbusier's 1948 unbuilt project for Roquebrune-Cap-Martin in the South of France (Museum of Modern Art, 1973, p. 11). This would be the Institute's only built project, as concrete humanitarian or sociological projects were discarded in favour of increasingly theoretical activities. Even though Marcus Garvey Park Village was promoted by the IAUS as '*not another theoretical exercise*' but rather a way to address '*real problems*,' the hallowed halls of the MoMA in Midtown Manhattan seemed light years away from the reality of Brooklyn's Brownsville neighbourhood and its residents' needs. (Allais, p. 30)

The IAUS moved away from such social projects early on, and quickly became known as a 'think tank,' a '*symptom of a broader intellectual turn in the American political scene*' (Allais, 2010, p. 32). That shift in architecture '*from doing to thinking*,' as Allais put it, occurred not only due to a dearth of commissions during the economic downturn of the 1970s, but also as the perceived failure of modern architecture led to a sense of disillusionment or even pessimism about the power of architecture to address social problems. This setting also provided alternative opportunities for women, who were too often denied positions and/or a voice in architectural firms, to help shape the contemporary architectural discourse.

ReVisions and the Women of the Institute

Unlike the women of CIAM, whose roles were limited and almost entirely undocumented at the time, there were many women involved in various capacities at the IAUS who made significant contributions to public programs, exhibitions, and publications. Laurie Hawkinson and Frederieke Taylor, for example, wrote grants and spearheaded the 'Open Plan' lecture series, and Hawkinson ran the exhibition program from 1979-1981. Lindsay Stamm Shapiro was then director of exhibitions from 1981 to 1983 (Frank, 2011, p. 243). Suzanne Stephens organized the relaunch of *Skyline*, a newspaper-style publication that began in 1981, published under Rizzoli Publications (Colomina & Buckley, 2010). Joan Ockman

was a Fellow from 1981-1983, wrote articles for *Oppositions*, and was a keen editor and often revised Eisenman's texts; she also was responsible for making some of the texts more comprehensible to a wider audience, according to Julia Bloomfield (Frank, p. 222). Bloomfield and Diana Agrest were also editors integral to the success of *Oppositions*. However, their impact has long been overshadowed or downplayed by their male counterparts and historians alike.

Only in recent years have the women involved at the IAUS made public statements on this topic, and even in this context their concerns seemed to fall on deaf ears. When Beatriz Colomina confronted Kenneth Frampton at a panel discussion on *Oppositions* in 2010 about why Agrest was not made part of the official editorial board, Frampton skirted the question, replying, '*Diana Agrest was an important part of the board. She was with us at the end*' (Colomina & Buckley, p. 63). And yet, as Colomina noted, Agrest was only listed as a board member for the very last issue. Eisenman, for his part, asked the panel to '*get over the implied male chauvinist critique,*' conceding that it is '*probably true,*' adding that '*there were more women in powerful positions at the Institute than there were men*' (Ibid.). Eisenman continued to state that Julia Bloomfield '*ran Oppositions, no matter what anybody wants to say,*' although Colomina then pointed out that, despite that fact, Bloomfield was excluded from the editorial board as well (Ibid.). In another interview, Eisenman allowed that '*there must have been some gender prejudice, even if the Institute was really very open*' (Ibid., p. 262).

These exchanges highlight two facts: one, that both sides agree that women had significant roles and influence at the Institute; two, contrary to Eisenman's and Frampton's remarks, women were rarely given official credit for their contributions. As Frederieke Taylor affirmed, women were seldom made full fellows at the Institute, and instead usually started as receptionists, only to move on '*to manage programs that were directed by men*' (Frank, 2011, p. 319). Taylor also recalls that there was a women's group that met at the Institute about once a month as a show of solidarity (Ibid.). This information is part of Taylor's account of her time at the IAUS, published in Suzanne Frank's own 2011 memoirs. Although Frank admitted that she '*may not have been a central player*' at the IAUS and the book '*is more of a personal memoir than a definitive, scholarly study*'

(Ibid., p. 5), her memoirs are nevertheless an important resource that includes accounts by twenty-seven other key members. This book had potential to address the chauvinism alluded to by Colomina above, but the issue was scarcely mentioned.

The ReVisions group, however, which formed in the spring of 1981 and continued until 1988, lent agency to women who had been excluded from official positions at the IAUS. Roughly half of the ReVisions members were women, and the production of their publications speaks to their crucial leadership: the first volume was edited by Joan Ockman, one of the founding coordinators, and co-edited by Deborah Berke and Mary McLeod; the second was edited by Beatriz Colomina and Ockman, co-edited by Berke and McLeod. Perhaps the most radical aspect of this seemingly humble 'study group,' besides the fact that it was largely driven by women, was that their discourse addressed pressing yet overlooked socio-political issues.

The idea was first proposed by Eisenman's assistant, Walter Chatham, who wanted to bring together younger architects and thinkers (Ockman, 2013). Christian Hubert and Joan Ockman were involved early on, although the group would eventually include a cross-section of members involved at the IAUS: Alan Colquhoun, Pe'era Goldman, Michael Kagan, Bernard Tschumi, Mary McLeod, Deborah Berke, Denis Hector, Beyhan Karahan, Laretta Vinciarelli, and Jon Michael Schwarting. Their initial focus was on producing public programs about the relationship between architecture and ideology and between architecture and art. As Ockman recalled, '*it was just the moment when people like Julian Schnabel and David Salle were kind of bursting on the scene – Laurie Simmons, people like that – and we invited them to speak*' (Ockman, 2013). ReVisions also provided a testing ground for new work – Tschumi, for example, first presented his project for the Parc de la Villette competition to the ReVisions group, and competitions were held – one for Columbus Circle was won by Elizabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio. (Frank, 2011, p. 296)

In addition to their regular meetings, the group held a symposium at the Institute in 1982, the papers from which were subsequently published in *Architecture*,

Criticism, Ideology (1985); this included the first published version of Frederic Jameson's influential text on postmodernism, 'Architecture and the Critique of Ideology.' After that symposium, ReVisions began detaching itself from the Institute, shifting its focus away from public programs and towards reading and discussing texts by Neo-Marxists such as Manfredo Tafuri and Galvano Della Volpe, as well as leading voices in postmodern debates: Jürgen Habermas, Benjamin Buchloh, Craig Owens, Frederic Jameson, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, and Michel Foucault (McLeod, 2016). In the process, they raised issues related to architecture and politics, education, and philosophy, resulting in a rich cross-pollination of ideas. The second volume of ReVisions texts, *Architectu(re)production*, was published in 1988 and included essays centered on modernist subjects such as Le Corbusier, Konstantin Melnikov, Mies van der Rohe and the relationship between architecture and design (and production and reproduction, as suggested by the multivalent title).

By taking a Neo-Marxist approach, in large part adopted from Italian thinkers like Tafuri, Antonio Gramsci, and others, ReVisions played a vital role in establishing a critical voice for the architectural discourse in New York. The political fervor that pervaded architecture culture in the late 1960s had dissipated by the early 1970s as architects found their discipline at an impasse. With the rise of semiotic, structuralist, phenomenological, and typological analyses in the 1970s, politics were increasingly expressed through theory or downplayed in favour of formal concerns. As Mary McLeod explained in the introduction to *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology*, the architectural discourse in America had for a long time fallen short of engaging the relationship to politics and ideology: '*The naive utopianism of the modern movement, the social criticism of the sixties, the semiological analyses of the seventies, and contemporary eclectic approaches – all fail to examine architecture's "real connection" to material processes*'. (in Ockman, 1985, p. 9).

ReVisions was conceived to fill that void, as a mode of examining, as McLeod stated, '*the relationship between culture and material conditions – in particular, the nature of architecture as ideology*' (in Ockman, 1985, p. 8). At issue was the role of architectural representation and its relationship to consumption. As the economy rebounded in the 1980s and architects began to gain more (and more

profitable) commissions to build, many of the dilemmas of public housing and urban blight remained while the connections between postmodernism and market forces became increasingly explicit. ReVisions members addressed these sets of problems in a manner similar to CIAM – meeting, discussing, debating, publishing – in order to interrogate a progressively dominant postmodernism.

The legacy of ReVisions extended far beyond the walls of the Institute and, like the IAUS itself, impacted architectural theory, education, and practice. Several members had long and ground-breaking careers at Columbia University, Princeton, The Cooper Union, Yale, and elsewhere; McLeod and Vinciarelli were in fact some of the first women hired to teach architecture studio courses at Columbia University. Ockman also taught at Columbia, and later served as director of the Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture at Columbia from 1994-2008. Tschumi was Dean of Columbia's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation from 1988-2003, and in 2016, Berke became the first woman to be Dean of the Yale School of Architecture. Several members also went on to found architecture firms or collaborate with others; Vinciarelli, for example, worked with Minimalist artist Donald Judd for roughly ten years on architectural projects for Marfa, Texas, Providence, Rhode Island, and Cleveland, Ohio.¹ Fittingly, one of the most enduring legacies of ReVisions is their scholarship on modern architecture: Colquhoun's critical survey of Modern Architecture (published by Oxford University Press), Ockman on mid-century architectural education and theory, and McLeod on Charlotte Perriand, the latter which inspired my own research on Vinciarelli.

The CIAM Effect, Then and Now

Just as the architects of CIAM reevaluated the role of the architect and historian in the wake of two world wars and members of the IAUS in the wake of 1968, so too must we consider our responsibility in this politically and socially volatile era.

¹ These collaborations had been omitted from the literature on Judd until very recently. For more, see: 'Lauretta Vinciarelli, Into the Light: Her Collaborations with Donald Judd,' *Women's Art Journal* 38, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2017): 20-27.

Familiar problems persist in a new context: affordable housing is an especially important and timely issue considering the exponential rate at which high-rise, luxury apartments have been constructed, consequently warping the real estate market and making it increasingly difficult to make the case for more affordable housing. In New York, the major concerns that gentrification continues to raise, especially regarding the complicity of artists and architects and the increasing need for low-income housing, make clear that the stakes are high especially in dense urban areas. In early 2018, New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio unveiled his plan to rehabilitate 125,000 public housing units under more sustainable means and build 200,000 new units of affordable housing (Zacks, 2017).

New questions have been raised in the process, in light of the tumult of the last few years: *'can public space and public housing be used as an antidote to practices of exclusion? What is the relationship between the size of an apartment and the rate of gentrification?'* (Cheah, 2017). It might be instructive to look back to projects such as Marcus Garvey Village in Brownsville (as the New York City AIA Center for Architecture did for their 2013 exhibition, *'Examining the 'Compromised Ideal': Marcus Garvey Park Village at 40'*), or to revisit some of the conversations about architecture and ideology that took place among members of ReVisions. The time is right to reevaluate the impact of CIAM and the IAUS, to reimagine the socio-political potential of experimentalism, 'real and theoretical' approaches to design, and measured utopianism. However, we must look back with a critical and cautious eye, recognizing the implicit biases of taking two overwhelmingly Eurocentric and male organizations as models for design problems in an era defined by the social reckonings of "Me Too" and Black Lives Matter. More than ninety years after the founding of CIAM and fifty years after the founding of the IAUS, there ought to be a new model, one grounded in a true sense of internationalism and humanitarianism that can keep pace with the needs of our diverse and rapidly transforming societies.

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HEREDITARY STRUCTURES OF INFLUENCE GENERATIONAL SUCCESSION AND INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF THE SWEDISH CIAM GROUP AND BEYOND

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Abstract

In 1952 the Swedish CIAM group hosted an interim meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden, in preparation for the ninth congress 1953 in Aix-en-Provence, France. The meeting has been identified as the first formal attempt to discuss what in the meeting agenda titled "The place of the younger generation in CIAM." The hosting Swedish CIAM group had gone through a deliberate rejuvenation with new younger members elected and added to the group. Although the new members were indeed younger and having new ideas, they seemed to have been strategically chosen among already identified pupils by the older members, securing a sort of hereditary power structure in the group. Swedish modernism had already in the 1940s gone through a reorientation of its avant-garde stages and many of the key protagonist had in fact rejected some of their own practices and ideas. The regeneration of the Swedish CIAM group was arguably related to the modifications of earlier practices and directions but possibly also linked to a larger degree of international exchange. The Swedish CIAM group accepted several distinguished foreign architects like Fred Forbat from Germany/Hungry, Ioannis Despotopolous from Greece, Emilio del Junco from Cuba, and Otto Danneskiold-Samsø from Denmark as full members. Such international exchanges were intensified in the post-CIAM years through more formal institutional and government cooperation and interchange. Despite the apparent reorientations of Swedish architecture in the 1940s, and for instance, obvious shifts in the 1960s, modernism is in the history of Swedish architecture conventionally described as one homogenous period from 1930 until the mid 1970s. This paper questions such simplified assumptions and analyzes continuities and changes in the actual content of discussions of Swedish CIAM and post-CIAM networks through the perspectives of generational and international exchange of architectural and planning knowledge and expertise.

Keywords: Regeneration, International Exchange, Transnational Knowledge, Organization, Historiography

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LEARNING FROM EVA.

A history of homes that were advertising gifts

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Abstract

*Displacement has been a central element in shaping Modern Architecture. This line of argument is particularly significant when looking at the case of Latin America. Suffering long periods of political instabilities, regime repressiveness, intellectual censorship, ruination of public institutions and social inequality, many Latin American countries have faced critical challenges that profoundly affected the ways in which history of modern architecture was made and re-made. In fact, there is an ample scholarship that has linked migration with the modern movement in Latin America. Although great efforts have been made to bring to light biographies of émigré architects who left Europe and contributed to shape modern architecture in the Americas -and therefore stressing both "North-North" and "North-South" perspectives- very little work has looked at this issue through a "South-South" dialogue. My point of departure of this proposed paper is a UNESCO call for experts to discuss the architectural and urban problems in Latin America. The assembly taken place in Buenos Aires in 1969 resulted in a seminal publication, whose English edition entitled *Latin America in Its Architecture* appeared twelve years later, this being a time when many countries of the Southern Cone of the Americas were governed under military regimes. While dealing with important topics such as the crisis of the professional and academic identity, the search for significance of tradition and the relevance of social participation in architecture, this pioneering collective work becomes one of the most influential books on Latin America in the international architectural debates of the postwar era. What makes this book unique is that it has been almost entirely produced by émigré architects such as CIAM member Max Cetto (based in Mexico), as well as architectural historians such as UIA member Roberto Segre (based in Cuba and later Brazil). Instead of memories of displacement and experiences elsewhere, the publication discusses the roots, traditions and meaning of Latin American architecture with a perspective to the future. It seems then inevitable to ask not only how this network of intellectuals that produced the book was created, but also and mostly how their experiences of "displacement" and "home" affected their discourse. The present proposal examines this collective discourse on Latin American architecture of the twentieth century by not only dealing with a North-South perspective, but also from a 'South-South' movement. It does not aim at mapping a network of émigré architects. Rather, it uses this collective work as a critical case to reflect upon the ambiguity, as well as ephemerality, of the meaning displacement in the process of making architectural history in Latin America in the postwar era. It focuses on displacement and network as central arguments and analysis tools. It challenges the very core of the traditional narratives on CIAM on the one hand; it enlarges the complex social context and network in which the CIAM debates were produced and reproduced on the other hand.*

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THE TYPOLOGY OF APARTMENTS IN THE NEW "RADIANT CITY" IN TAICHUNG, TAIWAN

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Abstract

Le Corbusier was eager for the modern city to get rid of the problems of chaos, crowding, disorder and inefficiency. Therefore, he strongly advocated the "Radiant City" and hoped to solve the urban problems, but it could not be favoured by the generations after him. Contradictorily the post CIAM generation of Taiwanese architects built up a number of high-rise residential buildings in the 7th Redevelopment Zone, Taichung. With super street blocks, wide avenues, decent public facilities and large-scale open spaces, these high-rise apartments outline a new living Utopia in Taiwan. A total of forty unit plans are collected from these apartments. By a graph-theoretical methodology which is based on shape grammar and space syntax, the typology of the floor plans of these apartments are analysed and discussed. By means of reading the floor plan and shape design, the floor spaces and functions are analysed. A tree-framework of the floor plans of these apartments can be built up by this topological method. This also records the contemporary history of high-rise residential buildings in the past thirty years in Taichung City, a new emerging and prosperous metropolitan. This residential area has also concentrated many chic stores and public spaces, such as Taichung Opera House by Toyo Ito. This area has actually become a new base for luxury homes in central Taiwan. These luxury features also show on the layout of the floor plans of these apartments. From the observation of the architectural plan, this research helps us to see how people live in the new "Radiant City" in Taichung, Taiwan.

Keywords: Apartment unit, radiant city, typology, space syntax, shape grammar

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Y EL MADRID, QUÉ, ¿OTRA VEZ CAMPEÓN DE EUROPA? ¿NO? AND REAL MADRID ONCE AGAIN EUROPEAN CHAMPION, RIGHT? Spanish Architecture and CIAM debates from 1953 to 1959

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Abstract

In August 11 1956 José Luis Sert opened the Dubrovnik CIAM 10 meeting with his speech on The Future of CIAM. Just two months earlier, June 13, the Real Madrid Football Club won the European Cup in Paris. It was the first European Cup as such and the first of the many trophies won by the Spanish club. This, of course, is an anecdote, but a fairly informative one. That a Spanish and exiled architect opened the CIAM 10 strongly contrasted with one of the few international events starred by Francoist Spain: winning the European cup.

This is an oblique way of saying that CIAM debates were far from being a concern in the Spanish theoretical and professional architecture milieu in the 1950s. Spanish architects were starting to incorporate the basic trends of post-war modernism to their designs at this time, and the American and European modern architecture slowly began to filter, but they were far from being involved in the heated 1956 CIAM debate. However, one Spanish architect, José Antonio Coderch entered CIAM, following Sert's suggestions, ready to participate as a Team 10 member in the 1959 Otterlo schwanengesang, and for sure some of the preoccupations that occupied CIAM also concerned the Spaniards.

This paper recounts how in this brief period, say between 1953 and 1959 with the key middle date of 1956, the contemporary CIAM debates obliquely entered the previously isolated Spain, and how Spanish architects caught up (if so) with post-war modernism and its criticism at the same time.

Keywords: Spanish Architecture, 1950s, CIAM, Modernism

This text is less about the post-CIAM period, than about how Modern architecture entered Spain after 1953. This is somewhat surprising. The thesis behind is that there were no real post-CIAM debates in Spain (or they came very late) because, in fact, there were no CIAM debates either. During the time when CIAM moved into TEAM X and beyond, modernism still was entering into the country. And when at least one significant encounter happened between the TEAM X group and one Spanish architect,

José Antonio Coderch, this was more on personal affinities than on intellectual bases. There was, of course, a post-CIAM period in Spain, at least in chronological terms. Some of the architectural operations that characterized the positions of, say, the Smithsons or Van Eyck were replicated in Spanish architecture, but without the intellectual and even philosophical acumen that went to define the emergent field of architectural theory. Let's say that we need to wait till the nineties seventies, when for example the journals *2C Construcción de la Ciudad* (1972) and *Arquitecturas bis* (1974) were founded in Barcelona. This is, then, the story of what happened before, the necessary counterpoint to understand that *almost nothing* happened after.

I. The ad

It was a very famous TV Ad in Spain. Launched in 1994, it helped to place the Mitsubishi Montero (named 'Pajero' in the rest of the world but changed because the involuntarily sexual connotations of the Spanish word) as one of the leading 4WD cars. The 30 minute ad happened mostly inside a dark shepherd's cabin. A young man eats from a bowl while the old shepherd, with his traditional cap (*boina*), repeats, in astonishment, some of the 'news' that the young guest seems to have told him. A famous businessman and a Spanish ex-minister are mentioned, critically, prompting the old man to ask himself: '*Y Franco, ¿qué opina de esto? Ah, leche, me dijo usted que Franco había muerto*' (And Franco, what does he think about it? Oh, damn, you told me Franco had died). And the he adds: '*Y el Madrid, qué, ¿otra vez campeón de Europa? ¿no?*' (And Real Madrid, once again European champion, right?). Cut and outside shot of a shiny red Mitsubishi parked by

the cabin. Moral: '*Donde te lleve tu Montero hace mucho que no ha llegado nadie*' (Where your Montero takes you, no one came long ago)¹.



Figure 1. Mitsubishi Montero Spanish TV Ad, 1994.

II. Spain in the 1950s

The ad was intelligent (and very funny), and still today many people remember it. In fact, the sentence '*Y el Madrid, qué, ¿otra vez campeón de Europa?*' entered the daily language long ago. Apart from that, it aptly summarizes Spanish life in the early 1950s: an isolated country, ruled authoritatively by the dictator Francisco Franco, its only point of contact with the reality of a bigger world being... football (not culture, not politics, not economy: just football). The stone shepherd's cabin lost in the countryside is an almost straightforward metaphor of the country itself, the shepherd of its inhabitants. The visitor, an alien from another planet

¹ Translation by the autor.

(America?), the modern car a sign of a time that has not arrived to this place yet. True? Mostly true. However, if the general picture is correct, this is not the whole story.

On the one hand, at the same time Real Madrid started winning its five consecutive European trophies (1955-56, 1956-57, 1957-58, 1958-59, 1959-60, what a set!) the country underwent an important series of transcendental changes that started in 1953 with the US-Spain Agreements (known as 'Pacto de Madrid') and culminated in the Plan de Estabilización in 1959. On the other, the isolation of the country during the decade of the 1940s, if real, did not prevent some continuities with pre-Civil War (Republican) state of affairs and the filtering, slow and partial but steady, of new/modern ideas in the cultural realm, including architecture and urbanism.

As said, 1953 was a key year. The signature of the 'Pacto de Madrid' opened the country to foreign influence. The agreements granted economic and military aid to Franco in exchange of the right to build an extensive set of military bases in Spain. And this meant not only the beginning of the return of the country to the Western community of nations, once the US superpower blessed the Franco regime, but also the beginning of a different economic policy and the slow but secure cultural Americanisation of the country. With the Americans entered into Spain a different tecno-economical rationality, and the country moved towards free-market or at least to a much more open and interconnected form of capitalism, which inevitable opened Spain to foreign influences, not only coming from America itself. The Agreements were signed September 23th, and this very same September, coincidentally, José Luis Sert began his tenure as Dean of the Graduate School of Design in Harvard. The by then liberal version of Sert could have been perfectly welcomed in Spain at the time, his role as an expert at the service of the economic system in which he lived and

practiced in this moment, and that helped to conform from the point of view of urban planning, was perfectly in tune with the needs of Spain in these years, although clearly not in political terms.

By the end of decade, if not directly enforced clearly suggested by the Americans, the Plan Nacional de Estabilización Económica was passed, an inevitable economic turn led by Opus Dei technocrats to prevent the bankruptcy of the country. At the same time, this Plan set the basis for the Spanish Economic Miracle of the 1960s (GDP growth over 7% of between 1960 and 1973) and for the transformation of the backward country in a quasi-modern one (but not a democratic one) in the following decades, till the oil crisis of 1973.

III. Post-war CIAM in Spain

The main dates framing this process, 1953 and 1959 coincide, curiously enough, with the important period of actualization, transformation and demise of CIAM itself, that started in Aix-en-Provence in 1953 (Charter of Habitat), crossed the midpoint of CIAM 10 in Dubrovnik in 1956 and ended in disarray in Otterlo in 1959. Or, what is the same, imploded forced by inner criticism of Team 10. In this brief period, the contemporary CIAM debates slowly entered the previously isolated Spain however obliquely, with the result that only in the last Otterlo meeting an Spanish (from Spain²) was present, José Antonio Coderch. In fact, it was the time when contemporary modern architecture, in its complex and varied forms, began to be practiced in Spain.

² I mean, of course, representing Spain. For sure, Jose Luis Sert was Spanish, as Antonio Bonet Castellana, who attended the Bergamo meeting, but in representation of Argentina together with Juan Kurchan (the two plus Jorge Ferrari Hardoy formed the Grupo Austral in 1938), where he exiled and was still living, although he eventually returned to Spain (definitively in 1963).

In that sense, José Antonio Coderch is a paradigmatic example. Coderch had been one of the founders of Grup R in 1951, a group of progressive Catalan architects which included Josep Maria Sostres, Antoni de Moragas, Josep Pratmarsó, Francisco Juan Barba Corsini, Joaquim Gili y Manuel Valls along with younger names as Oriol Bohigas, Josep Martorell or Manuel Ribas, although he quit by 1953. In a way they were inheritors of the pre-war GATCPAC³/GATEPAC group, the Catalan/Spanish section of CIAM at the time. But Grup R never entered CIAM as such, nor they were as connected with politics as their predecessors (in Cataluña) during Republican times. However they too were interested in popular architecture, especially Mediterranean-Catalan⁴, which for some like Coderch, and in the late 1940s-very early 1950s was a good way of justifying the practice of 'modern architecture' inside the predominant historicist and vernacular stylistic trends favoured by the Francoist regime (Ruiz Cabrero 2001, Cortés 2000). Coderch was invited by Sert, when still CIAM president, to join the organization; however no Spanish chapter was created. Following Coderch presence in Dubrovnik, he was asked by Bakema (secretary of the group) to join the Team 10 (Mumford 2002, 337; Rodríguez García 2014), which he finally did⁵. Coderch wasn't an intellectual, though, and modern and advanced as his architecture was in this years, he was personally more a right-wing traditionalist. Nevertheless, shortly after joining Team 10, he published his famous article 'No son genios lo que necesitamos ahora', along an English translation ('It is not geniuses that we need to-day') in *Domus* 384, in November 1961, as a kind of self-introduction to the group⁶.

³ Of which Sert was one of the more active members.

⁴ Like Sert (Pizza 1997) and his colleagues Torres-Clavé and Subirana were.

⁵ In a letter to Bakema, dated May 22, 1962 Coderch added this postscript: '*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-ten - if you think that my taking part in it would be useful*'. In Rodríguez García 2014.

⁶ Re-published by Alison Smithson as 'It's Not Geniuses We Need Now' in the *Team 10 Primer, Architectural Design*, December 1962.

And he kept attending Team 10 meetings till their end in the seventies, being a respected figure as a practitioner inside the much more experimental and intellectual group.



Figure 2. José Antonio Coderch and Manuel Valls, Casa Ugalde, Caldes d'Estrac, 1952.

IV. The long way towards modern architecture in the countryside and the city

It is significant, however, that, given the (mostly) anti-modern period of the 1940s in Spanish architecture, when Spanish architects started to introduce modern ideas and styles (and the plural is intentional) at the beginning of the 1950s, they were in need to catch up almost simultaneously with (post-war) modernism *and* its criticism, which can be clearly seen in the formation of the Team 10 group inside CIAM precisely at the moment that modern style started to be used in Spain. And even if some aspects of this criticism were already present in the previous Spanish

debates, the intellectual form they took was fairly different, since they came from a different tradition.

The Spanish Civil War ended April 1st 1939, with immediate consequences for Spanish architecture. Many architects, most of the modernist ones, were either forced to exile or disqualified to work by the fascist regime. Modern architecture was seen by many as foreign, associated with the loathed República, hence unfit for the new fascist Spain or even worse, directly communist. Architecture turns decidedly towards an historicist and neo-imperialist style, sometimes labelled 'Nationalcatolicism' or sank into regionalism. Germany and especially Italy, the friend fascists countries, were seen as models for many; for others it was the Imperial past of Spain, represented by El Escorial. In addition, the hard economic conditions after the war and the start of WWII, where Spain was technically neutral, forced the continuity of traditional techniques and designs, the possibility of full industrial development of building construction out of question.

The Francoist state opted for an economic policy based in autarky that lasted till the mid-fifties. From 1939 on, the priority of the Francoist state was the reconstruction of the agrarian and industrial tissue of the country; the material reconstruction of what had been destroyed in the cities was postponed. The two main aims were to transform a mostly traditional agriculture into an industrial one and to create a heavy industry sector of their own, both with self-sufficiency in mind (autarky). Two main state agencies were created to cope with the architectural demands, especially in the countryside, the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas y Reparaciones (DGRDR) and the Instituto Nacional de Colonización (INC), who built extensively. During the 1940s most of the architecture they produced followed traditional techniques and designs, only slowly entering more rational and modern approaches towards the end of the decade. But if not always in stylistic terms, and surely not in terms of political

responses, preoccupations on social housing and urbanism shared concerns with some of the contemporary European developments. For example, in Scandinavia, and especially in Sweden, which also remained neutral during the War. Spain definitively wasn't a social democracy, but concerns with the deleterious effects on the 'common man' by way of the pressures of modernization were similar, even coming from different ideological and cultural approaches. In England J.M. Richardson, from the *Architectural Review*, proposed the term 'New Empiricism' to refer to this Scandinavian approaches, which, through the MARS group entered the CIAM debates too. By early 1950s a new generation of Spanish architects, graduated after the war, started to emerge and to introduce this contemporary ideas and debates. They were also aware of these first criticisms of Modern orthodoxy, and sought a mixed esthetical approach, far both from 'Nationalcatolicism' and straightforward versions of modernism, unsuited for the Spanish conditions as has been said.

Particularly relevant were the debates inside the Instituto Nacional de Colonización, that showed bot continuities with pre-war Republican ideas and with contemporary modern architecture, which meant that they found themselves, in many cases, nearer the first revisionist approaches without ever being fully modern. The INC was the responsible for the planning of entire new agricultural villages, with which the Regime tried to revitalize the countryside, producing attractive environments for the peasants to come and develop strong agricultural production poles in new irrigation areas. The roots of this policy can be seen, among others, in the Italian developments in the Agro Pontino and in the Spanish República initiatives around the Guadalquivir and Guadalquivir riverbeds, in both cases Pre-war initiatives. At the beginning of the decade of the 1950s some of the best Spanish architects were designing new Poblados de Colonización for the INC, like José Luis Fernández del Amo (Cañada del Agra, Vegaviana), Alejandro de la Sota (Esquivel), Antonio Fernández Alba (El Priorato) or the

lesser known Jesús Ayuso Tejerizo. And they did it with the basic idea of creating a sense of community in this newly created villages. The villages limited their size to between 100 and 400 single-family houses (which means between 500 and 2000 inhabitants in INC calculations). Houses included a pen and other spaces for tools and machinery. Social facilities, including a church gave identity to a central plaza, while pedestrian paths, sometimes covered, reinforced the domestic landscape. The carefully designed core of the small villages will allow a new community life to start. In many cases contemporary artists were summoned to participate in the definition of this community cores, designing jointly with the architects different pieces of art, most prominently but not exclusively in the churches (stained glass, sculpture, liturgical objects). A new generation of avant-garde Spanish painters and sculptors collaborated, as Manolo Millares, Manuel Mompó or Pablo Serrano. Particularly significant were this collaborations in the designs of José Luis Fernández del Amo, who was deeply interested in a modern 'fusion of the arts' (Gutierrez Cabrero 2001; Cortés 2000). Maybe not surprisingly his preoccupations demonstrated to be very close to Giedion's as exemplified at the Bergamo CIAM meeting in his 'Report on the Plastic Art' (Mumford 2000, 192).



Figure 3. José Luis Fernández del Amo, Poblado de Colonización de Vegaviana para el INC, Cáceres, 1954.

When the agricultural policy failed, regardless the efforts of the government (and the INC) a new problem entered into the equation: unregulated immigration to the cities, especially Madrid and Barcelona. The shortage of houses in the main cities transformed into a priority by early fifties, and new solutions were demanded. And here it is where, again, rational and modern proposals emerged. Growing immigration led in Madrid to a kind of emergency, unending shanty-towns surrounding especially the southern area of the city. Apart from moral and hygienic concerns, there were also economic ones, since these informal settlements occupied valuable land for the projected bourgeois development of Madrid. Prompted by the City planning office, a set of different types of Poblados were designed starting in 1954, with the help of a group of young but very talented architects, and almost only using modern language (Sambricio 2000). Planned as self-sufficient neighbourhood units, they tried, even if not always successfully (mostly because economic restrictions which resulted in low-quality urbanization and few, if any, social services), to follow advanced contemporary planning ideas on neighbourhood units (Unidades Vecinales in Spanish use). One of the most successful was surely Caño Roto, designed by Antonio Vázquez de Castro and José Luis Íñiguez de Onzoño between 1956 and 1963. Debates about the need of community facilities, the link of this neighbourhood units with the rest of the city, the separation between pedestrian and motor traffic, the mixture of single family units (mostly patio houses) with low rise blocks of three to four floors and high rise towers... all this produced important results, some of them perfectly in tune with the examples shown in CIAM 9, particularly to the North-African groups. Similar pressure in Barcelona and in other smaller cities as Bilbao or Zaragoza led to the generalization of the modern debate on social neighbourhoods.



Figure 4. Antonio Vázquez de Castro and José Luis Íñiguez de Onzoño, Poblado de Caño Roto, Madrid, 1956-1963.

Spanish architects also started to travel around the world, to the US (Oíza, Chueca), to Scandinavia (Fisac, Cubillo, Romaní), to Germany, Italy... and to report what they saw there. In 1951 an official delegation from the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda was sent to the *Constructa Baustellung* in Hannover, and they returned deeply impressed. Industrial aspects of housing including prefabrication, the set of new standards for social housing, the planning of new social neighbourhoods... all them preoccupations present from before, now turned to be central in the architectural debate.

If some Spanish architects travelled abroad, also some important international figures started to come to Spain. Relevant was the attendance of Alberto Sartoris and Gio Ponti to the V Asamblea Nacional de Arquitectos held in Barcelona in 1949, but even more relevant was the presence of Bruno Zevi the following year, also in Barcelona. Alvar Aalto visited Barcelona and Madrid in 1951, Nikolaus Pevsner Barcelona in 1953 and Richard Neutra Madrid in 1954 and 1956. Zevi was an ardent promoter of

organic architecture, and produced a relevant critique of the 1949 CIAM Bergamo meeting. Many Spanish architects felt more than comfortable with the organic approach promoted by him, as can be seen in the work of Miguel Fisac or in the younger Antonio Fernández Alba. Surely the way architects of the Fisac generation, as he himself (born 1913), Francisco de Asís Cabrero (1912), Coderch (1913), Fernández del Amo (1914) or Alejandro de la Sota (1913), actualized popular architecture in the early 1950s, devoid of any formal-ideological prejudices, connected easily with Zevi's critique and the valorisation of organic architecture, or in general of a more human architecture, including New Empiricism, at least during the decade of 1950. In that sense, a kind of revisionism of modern dogma can be detected.

But what happens with urbanism and urban planning as such? In August 11 1956 José Luis Sert opened the Dubrovnik CIAM 10 meeting with his speech on The Future of CIAM (and just two months earlier, June 13, the Real Madrid Football Club won the European Cup in Paris). One of the few Spanish linked to CIAM (although not representing Spain), Sert had been closely involved with CIAM before the war(s), actively participating in the Barcelona CIRPAC meeting of 1932 and in the following Mediterranean sail to Athens in 1933. After emigrating to the US, he published in 1942 the book *Can our Cities Survive?*, his own version of the CIAM 4, the discussions on the functional city and the 'Constatations' that resulted from the conference (Mumford 2000; Loren 2014). Its relevance inside the US and in the general CIAM debate was important, and even attracted interest if not praise from Lewis Mumford, but it seems that his critique was not known inside Spain at the time. Contrary to Mumford's.

Gabriel Alomar Villalonga, architect and urban planner, graduated in 1934 in Barcelona, just before the start of the Civil War (1936-39). He visited Frankfurt and Paris in 1934, and in 1941 won a competition for the new

Plan de Reforma y Ordenación de Palma de Mallorca. During 1944-45 he enrolled in a postgraduate on City and Regional Planning at the M.I.T., where he became acquainted with the urban ideas of Howard, Geddes, Perry and, of course Lewis Mumford, with whom apparently established a personal connection after coming as visiting professor of Urban Sociology. Back in Spain, Alomar published the influential *Teoría de la ciudad. Ideas fundamentales para un Urbanismo humanista* (1947, published by the Instituto de Estudios de la Administración Local), a real landmark in Spanish intellectual milieu at the moment. Far from the strict functional ideas of CIAM, he proposed an organicist approach to urbanism, in which sociology has to have a major role. Alomar was a key figure not only because he was one of the few that brought modern (but not strictly functionalist) ideas to Spain, but also because his close acquaintance with Pedro Bidagor, with whom he collaborated. Bidagor, graduated in 1931, was the author of the Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid (1939-1946). The Master Plan he proposed for Madrid introduced some modern concepts coming from organic approaches to urbanism as well as the functional city. Its links with the Abercrombie Plan for London were relevant (Bidagor claimed that his plan came first, but he knew for sure Abercrombie's writings from the 1930s, see Monclús 2017), although it follows also at many points the pre-Civil War Plan for Madrid by Secundino Zuazo and Hermann Jansen. Initially the Plan showed a clear rejection of the strict functionalist division of the city and the criteria contained in the Charter of Athens even if it was clearly compatible with some of its fundamentals. When Bidagor started to work in it, in 1939, prevailing ideas came from a different mindset, namely Falange (the fascist Spanish party). Falange, through the words of one his main intellectuals, the architect Pedro Muguruza, Director General de Arquitectura and Jefe de los Servicios Técnicos de Falange, tried to implement a vision of the city in which segregation of the different classes and activities blurred. Those ideas

lasted till the moment in which Franco realized that the Axis was going to lose the war, and from then on were duly deactivated. Bidagor at the beginning struggled to incorporate these concepts in the Plan, but they were finally abandoned in favour of a more functionalist approach, tamed, by an organic sensibility.

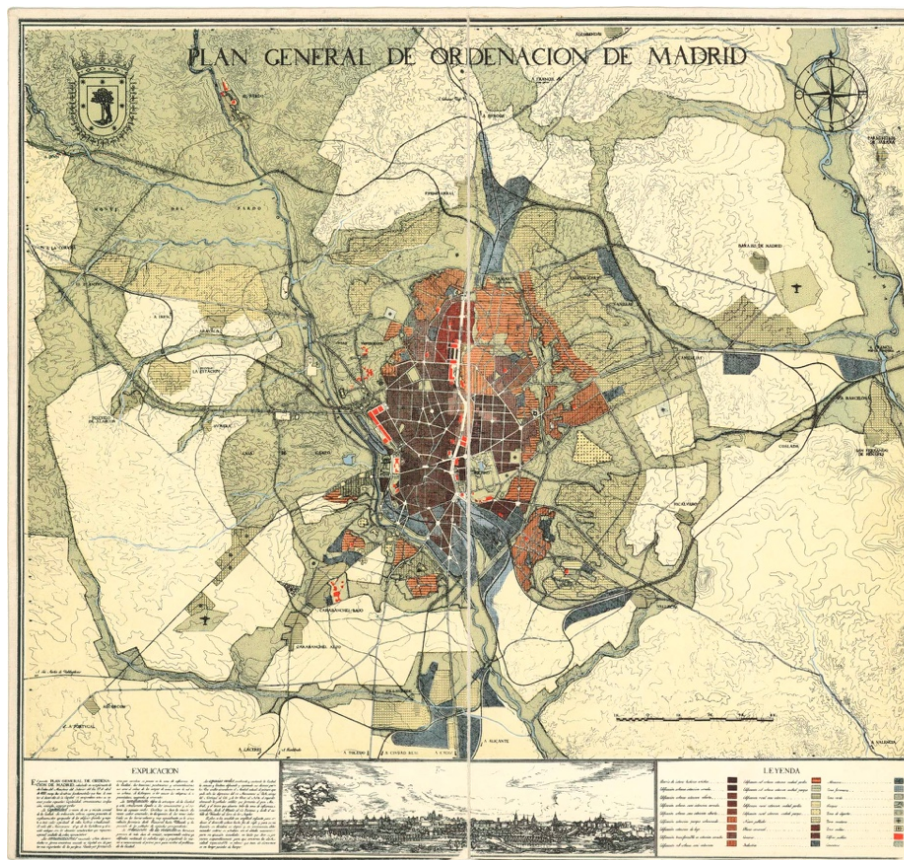


Figure 5. Pedro Bidagor. Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid (Plan Bidagor), 1943.

V. The end

The year 1959 marked the end of this tale, and the beginning of a new one. Social housing, that till that moment has been mostly planned and built by

the State, a corollary of the fascist political ideas of the *Nuevo Estado* was finally, in advantageous conditions, given to capitalist private initiative. The turn towards free market led also to an unprecedented growth in the country, and even if a new law that regulates real state (*Ley del Suelo*) was passed in 1956 and Planning was implemented in any major city, the tools showed the inadequacy to cope with the accelerated change of the 1960s. The result was a dull and overcrowded periphery mostly devoid of services and community cores. Team 10 formal findings also entered Spanish architecture, but for the intellectual debates with philosophical overtones it took a little bit more time to arrive. During the sixties Spanish architects mostly followed the tamed and very diverse modern vocabulary they discovered during the previous decade, from more strict International Style to overt organicism, brutalism and the beginning of contextualism. The architects that started to introduce modern ideas continue to develop them, and the new generations incorporated easily, following the opened path of their masters. And architecture, somehow, normalized.

Modernism came late to Spain, but this, paradoxically, allowed Spanish architects a much freer relation with the 'style', if we are to call it a style. The younger generation debates inside CIAM in the post-war time were not really significant in the Spanish context, basically because there wasn't an older modern generation to discuss with. This had been cut out with the Civil War. In that sense, they felt freer to adopt and adapt different approaches, and contribute with their own preoccupations to a debate that was, surely, held much more in the built than in the written form.

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