DOUBLING:
"ITALY, THE NEW DOMESTIC LANDSCAPE"
AS A HISTORICAL PROJECT

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ABSTRACT

DOUBLING: "ITALY, THE NEW DOMESTIC LANDSCAPE" AS A HISTORICAL PROJECT

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Italian architectural historian and critic, Manfredo Tafuri, with his seminal book *Theories and History of Architecture*, issued in 1968, started a new era in the architectural discourse. With his eminent theorization of "architecture as the critique of ideology," Tafuri had shifted the critique of architecture to a political and Marxist level and this revolutionary understanding had absolute impacts on the institutionalization of the American critical discourse after 1968. This study is a historical criticism of the said intellectual interaction that examines the related theoretical transformations in discourse through specific publications, exhibitions, and symposiums. The 1972 MoMA exhibition, entitled *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* (INDL) was a singular "case" in this examination since the first encounter of American intellectuals with the English translation of Tafuri's text, introducing a historical language, was through its catalog. Assigning the exhibition as a "moment of crisis" that had critical determining value for the comprehension of the entire sequence, this study attempts to reveal its significance, by analyzing the INDL catalog with a Tafurian methodology. In its entirety, the present study is a historical criticism of a sequence, which, however, does not refer to a linear flow of time. It is the "project of crises" in that particular sequence, a "historical project" in Tafurian sense. The project begins with the "doubling" of the INDL catalog. It recomposes the process into autonomous narratives, and then establishes an analytical relationship between those and Italophile inclinations in related texts, published in the periodical *Oppositions* between 1974 and 1984.

Keywords: doubling, Manfredo Tafuri, historical criticism, history and critical theory.

ÖZ

METİNSEL KOPYA ÜRETİMİ*: BİR TARİHSEL PROJE OLARAK "İTALYA: YENİ BİR YEREL PEYZAJ"

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İtalyan mimarlık tarihçisi ve eleştirmeni Manfredo Tafuri, 1968 yılında yayınlanan *Mimarlık Teorileri ve Tarihi* adlı kitabı ile dönemin mimarlık söyleminde yeni bir dönem başlatmıştır. Mimarlık disiplinini ideolojinin eleştirisi olarak yorumladığı kuramı ile mimarlık eleştirisini politik ve Marksist bir zemine oturtan devrimci anlayışla Amerikan eleştirel söyleminin 1968 sonrası kurumsallaşmasında mutlak etkisi olmuştur. Bu bağlamda çalışma, bahsedilen entelektüel etkileşimi ve mimarlık söyleminde meydana gelen ilişkili kuramsal dönüşümleri sürekli mimarlık yayınları, sergileri ve sempozyumlarını inceleyen bir tarihsel eleştiridir. Bu incelemede, New York'taki Modern Sanat Müzesi'nde 1972 yılında düzenlenen *İtalya: Yerel bir Peyzaj* adındaki sergi önemli bir eşiktir, çünkü Amerikan entelektüellerini Tafuri'nin tarihsel açılımları ile tanıştıran ilk İngilizce metin bu serginin katalogunda yayınlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda sergi, belirli zaman dilimi içindeki kavramsal ve eleştirel gelişmeleri bütünüyle anlamak için eleştirel bir belirleyici değeri olan bir "kriz anı" tayin edilmiştir. Tafuri'ye özgü bir yöntem ile sergi katalogu analiz edilerek, "İtalya: Yerel bir Peyzaj" sergisinin Amerikan mimarlık söyleminin gelişim sürecindeki etkisi açığa çıkarılmıştır. Çalışma bütününde, özgün bir zaman dilimin tarihsel eleştirisidir. Ancak, bu doğrusal bir zaman akışına işaret etmez. Aslında üretilen, başlangıcı ve bitişi

* "Doubling" kelimesinin sözlük anlamı "ikileme" olmasına rağmen, bu çalışmada analiz yöntemini ifade etmesi amacıyla "metinsel kopya üretme" olarak Türkçe'ye çevrilmiştir.

net olmayan sarmal bir zaman çizgisinde çok boyutlu yansımaları ile mimari paradigmayı değiştiren "Tafuriyen" krizlerin eleştirel bir taslağıdır, Tafuri'nin kuramsallaştırdığı tarihsel projesinin orijinal uygulamasıdır. Çalışmada, tarihsel proje, sergi katalogunun metinsel kopya üretimi ile eşzamanlı başlamakta, süreç özerk anlatılara parçalanarak dikine bağımsız okumalar yapılmaktadır. Sonucunda üretilen o özerk anlatımlar ile *Zıtlıklar* dergisinde 1974 ve 1984 arası yayınlanan İtalyan ve İtalyan-eğilimli Amerikan yazarlar tarafından yazılan kavramsal metinler arasında analitik bağ kurarak, söz konusu etkileşimin haritasını yeniden düzenlemektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: metinsel kopya üretimi, Manfredo Tafuri, tarihsel eleştiri, Modern mimarlık tarihi ve eleştirel kuram.

To My Mother and Father

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> There exist, in the history of architecture and art, in general, particular moments or singular "cases" that assume a critical determining value for the comprehension of the entire cultural cycles. We intend to speak of buildings or of productions that are stylistically unified, that seem to mark a point of passage, a moment of crisis in a culture that has arrived at a high degree of maturity and that precisely in its moment of maximum intensity, perceives in a confused way the need to go beyond itself, feels the need to verify its own historical coherence, thus giving rise to works that recapitulate in themselves, through their characteristics, the complementary horizon of diverse experiences, of cultures often distant despite their continuity.
> *Manfredo Tafuri, 1962*.[1]

In 1962, when he was still a passionate student, Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994), who would become the most preeminent and prosperous architectural historian and critic of the period after the 1970s, underscored the critical determining value of certain moments in the development of the entire cultural cycles meticulously. This understanding, which would later become the "watchword of Tafuri's analytical approach," as Anthony Vidler puts it, was the basis of Tafuri's oncoming "discovery" that ushered a new epoch in the architectural historiography. As also mentioned by Giorgio Cuicci, Tafuri discovered that a historical analysis is nothing other than a critical analysis of certain moments or singular cases in history. He discovered that, in a critical analysis, it is imperative to explore the differentiating values of various cases rather than their affinities. He discovered that it is productive to uncover the "ventures into other fields" rather than being limited in one's own discipline. He discovered that it is more rational to explore the "interstices" of dilemmas rather than speculating "fantasies" for their recuperation. He discovered that it is significant to probe the "moments of passage and crisis" in history

for understanding their pre and post stages, so that the causality beyond them can be contextualized analytically. Even a half a century later, there exists no historian who developed and an analytical approach for contemporary historiography. With ascending momentum, the discoveries of Manfredo Tafuri perpetuate even today and the preeminence of his theories and ideas remain constant.

Correspondingly, this study assigns an architectural exhibition, held at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1972, as a particular moment or a singular case in history. The title of the exhibition was *"Italy, the New Domestic Landscape."* Whole argument of this study is constructed on the mere postulation that the exhibition has a "critical determining value" for the comprehension of a sequence in history. The sequence under examination does not refer to a particular period in the linear flow of time. It does not have a definite beginning or an end. The case, however, was a definite "point of passage" within this sequence for several reasons. It was the first real-time affair that publicized the radical and anarchist thoughts of specific Italian critics on the other side of the ocean. Through its catalogue, a majority of selective individuals was acquainted with the ideological criticism of architecture. For this study, the exhibition instigated a "crisis in a culture" in Tafurian sense. The culture that we speak of is American architectural culture. The crisis that we speak of was a particular shift in discourse to a more provocative stance, which was motivated and shaped by the transplantation of the leftist and Marxist Italian critical discourse to that of American.

Parallel to Tafuri's remarks, the intellectual atmosphere in the United States during those years had arrived at an intense complexity than ever. In fact, the year 1972 falls within, as Louis Martin calls, the "years of penetration" for American architectural discourse. As critically historicized by Kenneth Frampton, theorized by Colin Rowe, and conceptualized by Alan Colquhoun, in those years, the search of American intellectuals for a new theory of architecture had reached to a maximum intensity and this search motivated the immediate penetration of various discursive and stylistic expressions into the American architectural discourse.[2] Indeed, the absolute need was to recover the ill-defined architecture and to surpass the "rigid and anti-humanistic" tenets of Functionalism with a counterblast, or on the contrary, to recuperate its doctrines with speculative fantasies. Above all, however, American intellectuals were in need of establishing an authoritative discursive platform in the United States for developing their own architectural theory and

history. In fact, they were in need of verifying their own, to use Tafurian terminology, "historical coherence." Specifically, all were for the need to improve the American architectural discourse that was a no-man's land before the end of 1960s and to turn it into a dominant treatise even in the international arena.

It is the assumption of this study that, besides academic institutions such as universities and research centers, American architectural discourse was shaped and motivated by the publications, symposiums, and exhibitions on architecture, held and published by private architectural organizations. The "quasi-academic organization," Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), founded by Peter Eisenman in 1967, was one of those private organizations, which had played a significant role for the development of architectural theory and criticism in the United States.[3] The Institution, from its foundation, set its primary scope as becoming the forerunner of the development of a broader critical and theoretical platform in the United States, and publicized its demand to establish an "international forum" in its foundation manifesto.[4] They were in search of an alternative architectural theory, criticizing the amplified condemnation of "the canons of Modern Architecture." Until its cessation, the Institute encouraged its fellows to examine different cultures and to unveil alternative means for comprehending architecture. Their research, in a way, conveyed the broad impact of cultural values on the formation of the immediate environment, and promoted several modes of architectural practice that was shaped by the economy, the politics, the ideologies, the history, and the philosophy of different cultures. For this venture, they established closed relations with their colleagues from other countries, especially from Europe, and signed several achievements in collaboration. They organized international exhibitions, they contributed to international symposiums, they issued various publications, and they somehow continued to be in contact with the preeminent figures of European state of mind. Due this international interaction, each event they participated, in some way, facilitated the institutionalization of American architectural theory and criticism, yet this was an institutionalization, endowed with imported paradigms.

It has been the assumption of this study that the MoMA exhibition "The New Domestic Landscape" was one of the said events. Although it was not directly organized under the title of the Institute, the exhibition was conceived and directed by a fellow of the Institute: the Argentinean architect, Emilio Ambasz. That is why, we believe that the exhibition

should be taken as an Institute-related production, and that is why this study proposes that its intellectual outcomes had impact on the professional development of the individuals in the Institute, and consequently had inferential effect on the development of theory and criticism in general.

Emilio Ambasz first conceived this exhibition in 1971. Due to financial and administrative problems, however, it was realized in 1972. The catalog that was issued in the same year was more than a documentation of that exhibition. It was composed of four main sections: "Objects," "Environments," "Historical Articles," and "Critical Articles." In addition to those major sections, there was an "introduction" at the beginning and a "summary" at the end of the catalog, written by Ambasz. As Ambasz indicated, the intention of the organization was to stress the significance of Italian design illustrated in "the high level of critical consciousness" of the designers and the critics in Italy. Therefore, other than the "formal productions" represented in the first two sections, namely "Objects" and "Environments;" the succeeding sections embody this critical consciousness.

Accordingly, the third section involves "historical articles." It was composed of four essays, written by Paolo Portoghesi, Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, Leonardo Benevolo, and Vittorio Gregotti respectively. Ambasz was aware that for the "American audience" at the beginning of the 1970s, it was crucial to provide "some background on the evolution of Italian design."[5] Those articles, therefore, were to construct the appropriate historical basis, both for the exhibition itself, and for the accompanying catalog. They evaluated the following themes: "the Italian version of Art Nouveau (Portoghesi), Futurist concepts of design (dell'Arco), the period between the two World Wars (Benevolo), and the postwar years during which Italy emerged as a major international force in design (Gregotti)."[6] The overall evaluation of historical analyses, at the first glance, revealed the mere intention to present "the story of continuing efforts of Italian architects to rid their profession of backwardness and renewal," to the American audience.[7] Yet, between the lines, a more direct message of a revolutionary stance, prerequisite to overcome the moments of crises in any and all discursive formation was concealed.

The fourth section, on the other hand, included "critical articles." It was composed of seven essays, written by influential figures of Italian academy and professional world, such as, Ruggero Comminotti, Italo Insolera, Guilio Carlo Argan, Alessandro Mendini, Germano Celant, Manfredo Tafuri, and Filiberto Menna.[8] The articles were written on the following themes respectively: "the role played by design in the country's economic development (Comminotti); the relation of urban planning and housing (Insolera); the external and internal influences on modes of thought that have affected the transformation of modern Italian design (Argan); the manipulation of design in the service of consumption (Mendini); the radical designers (Celant); the metamorphoses in the ideology of Italian design (Tafuri); and the aesthetic and political premises of the emerging counter design groups (Menna)."[9] The titles were significant as they spread the 'meaning' of design to a large area, which included the sole object, and extended to city planning. Ambasz indicated that the essays of those "distinguished Italian critics," in his words, formed "a frame of reference for the objects and environments in the exhibition."[10] Those articles collected in the body of the exhibition catalog, for Ambasz, engendered the possibility to assemble varying critical concerns in Italy. The catalog concluded with a summary of Ambasz. Therein, by stressing what he calls the "high-level critical consciousness" of Italian intellectuals, Ambasz suggested the possibility of evaluating "a better understanding of the reciprocal relationships that exist in general between design and society" in 1972 America. The probable consequences of this counter evaluation, as Ambasz suggested, I believe, yielded specific manipulations in the development of the critical architectural theory of the contemporary period.

In this context, this study bases its argument on following presumptions: The said exhibition was responsible for the introduction of an unfamiliar body of thought and imagery, namely Italian design and criticism, to American architectural culture, but particularly to the prolific fellows of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, New York. With this exhibition, MoMA honored the achievements of Italian designers and presented them as a dominant force in design and criticism. At the same time, the diverse approaches in Italian design practice that were determined by various political manifestations were uncovered. Highlighting the Marxist and leftist political expressions, the approaches of Italian designers were epitomized as the utile instances of a theoretical model for American architecture, recovering the problems caused by the tenets of Modern Movement. Raised as a counterblast against the "good design" of Modern Movement, the

"designs" and "counter-designs" of Italians were examined by Ambasz to unveil a new style. In this study, however, rather than those stylistic inputs, another "transplantation" that the exhibition mediated becomes important. As Louis Martin mentioned: "The 1972 exhibition was the first encounter of Manfredo Tafuri with American architectural milieu through the critical text he had contributed to its catalog."[11]

Although this study is not specifically on the *oeuvre* of Tafuri, he occupies the precedence of this study, as explicit in the title. The direct reference to Tafurian terminology in the title of this study has three major relevancies. The first, as explicit in the title, is related with the architectural reappreciation of Tafuri's "Historical Project", and its fundamental outcomes in the development of the contemporary architectural discourse in America. The second is to conduct Tafurian "historical project" as the method of this critical analysis, which I believe and he asserts, is establishing "a discourse about method of analysis" that ascertains the true origins of the process to interpret, understand, criticize and even to write about architecture. The third major purpose, which is a consequence of the two former objectives, is to demonstrate the exemplary transformation of Tafuri's method into the structure of the work that adjusts it to become the documentation of a similar methodological analysis. In other words, Tafuri's project constructs the subject, the method, and the structure of my work.[12]

The difference of this thesis from other critical endeavors, which had engaged in responding somehow to the Tafurian position, generates from its pragmatic approach. In other words, this study puts Tafuri's theorization of "historical project" into practice. The aim is not, however, to propose a model or program that would sooner or later verify the operative role of Tafurian criticism, nor to evoke a new critical theory of Modern or contemporary architecture. Rather, to produce a "historical criticism" of a sequence in history that analytically attempts to uncover its particular moments, or better to call in Tafuri's words, its "moments of crisis." It is not the criticism the exhibition, nor the criticism of its catalogue. It is rather a critical, thus an analytical approach for comprehending the entire cultural cycle in a particular sequence that utterly declared Tafuri's diacritical mark on the critical determining value of "moments" or "cases" as its aphorism. To be more specifically, it is an analytical survey into the origins of the international interaction, which decidedly influenced the development of architectural

theory in American and Anglo-Saxon society after 1968. It reconstructs the interface between the American avant-gardes and the influential figures of Venice school, initiated by the 1972 exhibition, by an “intellectual montage,” compiled of cinematographic flashbacks to its decisive moments in history.

The term “historical criticism” is derived from the complex list of terms, donated to the architectural theory by Tafuri. The very meaning of the terms “history” and “criticism”, however, had been complexified by Tafuri’s several derivations, reflecting a range of phenomena in different contexts. Nevertheless, it was important to fix the meanings of “criticism” and “history” for this study, because, we believe, it should be the prior stipulation of any study that devotes itself to understand Tafuri, and to respond in some way to his complex position. For a manual, we literarily referred to his mere descriptions about the terms. Two quotations appeared as the imperative tools of this study. The first one was Tafuri’s definition of “criticism,” and his characterization of the act behind it, in his seminal essay “L’Architecture dans le Boudoir.” This text was first published in *Oppositions* volume 3, in 1974 and then was published as a section his book “The Sphere and the Labyrinth,” published in 1987. Tafuri claims: The study, in its entirety, is a critical approach to a particular sequence in “history” that searches a path for itself with its “explosive” method, a “doubling” of Tafurian critical activity. The Tafurian “critical act,” in his words:

> At the origin of a critical act, there lies a process of destroying, of dissolving, of disintegrating a given structure. Without such a disintegration of the object under analysis, no further rewriting of the object is possible. And it is self evident that no criticism exists that does not retrace the process that has given birth to the work and that does not redistribute the elements of the work into a different order, if so no other purpose than to construct typological methods. But here, criticism begins what might be called its “doubling” of the object under analysis.[13]

As, for Tafuri, the act of criticism starts simultaneously with its “doubling” of the object, the process of “doubling” becomes determinative of our critical strategy. Consequently, my strategy becomes the application of “destruction,” “dissolution,” and “disintegration” process on the research object that at the end, “projects” an unconventional criticism of a certain progression. Indeed, the “explosive” terminology used for the doubling process, such as “dissolution”, “destruction”, “disintegration”, had direct links with the critical

acts of specific avant-gardes that Tafuri theorized in his "Historical Project" essay. Eisenstein's pragmatic application of montage on the Piranesi's etching *Carcere Obscura* was one instance of this operation. In the essay, montage was identified by Tafuri as a particular technique of critical analysis, founded on what Eisenstein called "explosion" or "ecstatic transfiguration." There, Tafuri mentioned how Eisenstein's explosion destroyed the basic elements of Piranesi's etching, how it forced them to be detached from their contexts, and how it put the etching and its basic elements into motion. For Tafuri, Eisenstein's technique forced the fragments of work "to loose their natural autonomy, to come out of their isolation, in order to become a part of an ideal series: to become in other words simple frames in a cinematic phrase."[14] To be more specific, Tafuri interpreted Eisenstein's decomposition as an attempt to the coherence of Piranesi's etching. By forcing its autonomous fragments into crisis, Eisenstein changed their nature and when he recomposed those differentiated frames, the final work went beyond its original phase. Thus due this technique, for Tafuri, "the criticism on work became an operation on work."

This was important since the act referred exactly to what he called "criticism", and the operation referred exactly to what he called "the recreation of the object under analysis." As our scope is identical, to recreate "The New Domestic Landscape" exhibition catalogue, or better to define, to "rewrite" the catalog, the technique of montage, pragmatized by Eisenstein and theorized by Tafuri, constructed the basic model of our critical operation. By the technique of ecstatic transfiguration, this study disintegrates the catalog into autonomous narratives that would, sooner or later, uncover the concatenation of events that it triggered in the said sequence. It is important to raise a question here: by this technique, the study will perform a Tafurian criticism, but what will make it to become a "historical criticism" in Tafurian sense. This meant that the meaning Tafuri attributed to the term "history" was equally important in this operation. However, as it has been frequently mentioned by the contemporary theoreticians, in Tafuri's writings, the meaning of the term "history" was complexified due to its "interrogatory" use in derivatives, such as "historical criticism," "historicity," "historicism," "historicization," and "dehistoricization."[15] As each derivation motivated a different, yet multifaceted reading of the subject under examination and as Tafuri had seldom given accurate definitions, to clarify the complex and ambiguous use of the term "history," we referred

to another quotation from Tafuri's essay entitled "The Historical Project." This text was first published in *Oppositions* volume 17 in 1979, and then was published as the introduction of his seminal book "The Sphere and the Labyrinth," published in 1987. The quotation is about how he interpreted "history," and what he meant when speaking of "the historical project":

> History is viewed as a "production," in all senses of the term: the production of meanings, beginning with the "signifying traces" of events; an analytical construction that is never definite and always provisional; an instrument of deconstruction of ascertainable realities. As such, history is both determined and determining: it is determined by its own traditions, by the objects it analyzes, by the methods that it adopts; it determines its own traditions and those of reality that it deconstructs. The language of history therefore implies the techniques that act and produce the real: it "contaminates" the languages and those techniques, in turn, "contaminated" by them. With fading away the dream of knowledge as a means to power, the constant struggle between the analysis and its objects – their irreducible tension remains. Precisely, this tension is "productive": the historical "project" is always the "project of crisis."[16]

Therefore, the technique to examine a sequence in "history" should provoke a tension. Definitely, this study seeks for a "productive tension." By "exploding" the 1972 exhibition catalog, it instigates the "deconstruction of ascertainable realities." It is developed further by the "signifying traces of event" so as to grasp the big picture and concluded by an analytical "recomposition" of a posteriori phenomena for an alternative reading of the theory of Contemporary Architecture in the United States during the sequence under examination. The anticipation is to construct an instrument of disintegration of "ascertainable realities" in the sequence between early 70s and late 80s, so as to assess whether it is determined by those realities or, on the contrary, it determines those realities. By this anticipation, the scope, in its brief sense, is to operate a decomposition, and then a recomposition of a past practice for an alternative perception of present practices in architecture, and to establish a critical "dialogue" from today with the practices of the early 70s until late 80s.[17] This is what we refer to as "doubling."

As this study is an attempt to produce a "historical criticism", every phase Tafuri described is adopted to its methodology. Accordingly, the outline is shaped in light of the critical phases that a historical project should involve for Tafuri. Indeed, this was nothing other than to address what to double. As he noted "history" as "production," that produces meanings by analyzing the "signifying traces" of events, this study starts its

own "historical project" by analyzing of the signifying traces of the 1972 exhibition. In this light, doubling starts with a concentration on The Museum of Modern Art from its foundation years. Identifying MoMA as the narrator of history, this study puts emphasis on its decisive role in the importation of various styles into the United States. Therefore, it explores the specific moments in its history and opens the critical determining value of the 1972 Italy exhibition to discussion. This discussion naturally entails the planning and installation of the exhibition, and the motives behind its conception.[18] In this examination, the biographical information of its curator, Emilio Ambasz, becomes determining. As his education, his Princeton experience, his relationship with fellows might reveal the links between significant individuals of his generation, all were examined in a sequential manner. Starting with the foundation of CASE, Conference of Architects for the Study of Environment, by Peter Eisenman and his colleagues, the exploits of this generation is traced until the foundation of IAUS, Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, in New York. The signifying traces include specialized examination on the individuals of the Institute, by which the attempt was to outline the traditions they were from, their different interests, and sources of influence. For example, through Rowe, the early American context, through Frampton, the British context, through Gandelsonas, the French structuralist contexts have been conveyed. Indeed, all might seem autonomous narratives, but at the end, they constructed what we call the American context of the period, or in other words the motivation behind the 1972 Italy exhibition. Leaving the elucidation of American context at the date of exhibition, the doubling process is directed to Italian context, which motivated the works and texts in the catalog. Regarding the catalog as Ambasz's provisional composition of "ascertainable realities," the catalog is deconstructed to understand the origins of the works, as determined in Tafuri's "historical project." It is significant to perform this analysis due to the fact that the formation process of the 1972 exhibition is strictly connected to the Italian context of architecture during the 1970s. The anticipation is to grasp the reason why the Italian context drew the attention of the members of IAUS. Accordingly, the "objects" are deconstructed to uncover the collapsing tendencies in Italy. The "environments" are deconstructed to reveal the hidden political agendas behind the "designs" and "counterdesigns" of Italians. The "history" is deconstructed to elucidate the place of "history" as a discipline in architectural education. Therein, especially the University of Rome is examined, because it hosted three significant generations of architectural historians, dealt with Modern

Architecture: Leonardo Benevolo, Bruno Zevi, and Manfredo Tafuri.[19] Then, the deconstruction process is extended to a newly emerged critical and ideological discourse, pioneered by Tafuri. Tafuri's own work, his education, his theories, and his sources of influence are examined. Through this examination, the intellectual agendas behind the current debate shaped by ideology in the 60s are revealed and how that alternative discourse developed via a scrutiny of Venice School is comprehended. And finally, the "critical articles" are deconstructed to comprehend what Americans understood from being critical. Indeed, the scope is to uncover the intellectual legacies of the exhibition through the elucidation of Tafuri's catalog text, which was his first text published in English: "Design and Technological Utopia." At the outset of those deconstructed narrations, there was the ambition to reveal the implied techniques and acts that produced the Italian reality, to speak in Tafuri's terms. It was to expose the traditions, the ideologies, the positions, or better to call, the context behind the encounter of the prolific figures of Venice school with that of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies in New York.

As Tafuri claimed that the traditions, the objects of analysis, and the adopted methods determine the historical production, this study pragmatically discloses its own determining factors by the Tafurian process. It maps out its own particular moments in a sequential manner. But, it is important to realize that all are formative agents for the oncoming events on the side of United States that facilitated the institution of critical theory more concrete than ever. The aim, in its broadest sense, is to disclose how the architectural theory after 1968 was contaminated by the "language" and "techniques" implied by Italians and at the same time how they were contaminated by those theory in turn. With such a purpose, in the fourth section, the main publishing body of Institute in New York, *Oppositions* is analyzed to demonstrate the "context" of consecutive debates with a desire to verify the mutual interaction. The significance of the periodical *Oppositions* is due to its indisputable connection with the architectural reappreciation of Tafuri's ideas in the United States.[20] As the periodical was first published in 1973, a year after INDL exhibition, its analysis might provide possible answers to specific queries: How did the Italian originated ideological critique of architecture dominate an epoch's discourse? What was the connection of IAUS's creation of the periodical *Oppositions* to their acquaintance with Manfredo Tafuri?

In 1968, the prominent architectural historian and critic, Manfredo Tafuri wrote his seminal book, entitled *Teorie e Storia dell'Architettura* (Theories and History of Architecture).[21] Five years later, in 1973, he wrote *Progetto e Utopia* (Architecture and Utopia). The publishing years of their English translations in the United States, on the other hand, were respectively 1980 and 1976. Besides many influential works that was published afterwards, a majority of current Anglo-American theoreticians still regard those two books as his best statements. With his eminent theorization of a self-critical and historical "ideology" and his interpretation of "architecture as the critique of ideology," Tafuri leads the architectural society beyond formal conceptions into a broader understanding of the relation of architecture with socio-cultural and political determinants and the demands of capitalist rationality. Besides those social issues, his critique of modernism, and his re-contextualization of theory and history had enormous impact on the transformation of the entire architectural discourse, yet it was in the discourse of the United States that the degree of related transformation had reached to a maximum intensity.[22] In its entirety, the present study is a "historical criticism" of this transformation. The goal is to explore the counter manipulation in the early 1970s that ushered dogmatic changes in the architectural theory of the United States and to uncover and interrogate related stylistic reflections in both theory and practice after the 1980s. What has been intended is to reiterate the beginnings of the formation of the critical theory in American architectural discourse, in connection to the intellectual developments in Europe, and to elucidate the contamination of a neo-Marxist discourse, which was developed in Italy and fertilized in the United States. The scope, in its broadest sense, is to anticipate the above-mentioned contamination, specifically of Tafuri's ideas on American intellectual world, then to present how the intellectuals of America consumed and promoted them back.

Ultimately, this study is a "project of crises" in a folded sequence, a "historical project" in Tafurian sense. The project begins with the "doubling" of the INDL catalog, the recomposition of the catalog into autonomous narratives.

Notes

[1] Manfredo Tafuri with Lydia sopriani, "Problemi di critica e problemi di datazione in due moment taorminesi: Il Palazzo dei Duchi di S.Stefano e la 'Badia Vecchia'," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architectura* 51 (1962): 1, quoted from Anthony Vidler, "Renaissance Modernism: Manfredo Tafuri," *Histories of Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism*, MIT Press, Cambridge, London, 2008, p.162, also cited in English in Ciucci, "Formative Years", 17.

[2] For more information, see Kenneth Frampton, 1992, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson); Alan Colquhoun, 2002, *Modern Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). In addition, see the following anthologies on architectural theory, K. Michael Hays, ed., 1998, *Architecture Theory Since 1968* (Cambridge: The MIT Press); Joan Ockman, ed., 1985, *Architecture culture 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York: Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture), Kate Nesbitt, ed., 1996, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An anthology of Architectural Theory* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press); Neil Leach, ed., 1997, *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge).

[3] Louis Martin, 2002, *The Search for a Theory in Architecture: The Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976* (Princeton: Unpublished Thesis), p. 13.

[4] This indication is from the previously mentioned dissertation of Louis Martin, dealing with the role of IAUS in the development of architectural theory in America. There, in addition to the aim to build up an international forum, he emphasizes another intention: that would integrate theoretical studies with empirical design problems and "bring the real world into the academic world." According to the sources Martin reached from the IAUS archives, he indicates from the declaration in IAUS Announcement 1967-1968 that Eisenman's scope while founding the institute was as such: "Eisenman's original intention was to create a half way house that would bridge the gap between the theoretical world of university and the pragmatic world of the planning agencies." For more information see, Louis Martin, 2002, *The Search for a Theory in Architecture: The Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Princeton University, p. 553. The second quotation is from the official catalogue of IAUS, and is referred to with an intention to verify Martin's proposal.

[5] Ibid., p.285.

[6] Emilio Ambasz, 1972, "Introduction: Historical Articles," in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di), p.285.

[7] Ibid., p.285.

[8] Ruggero Cominotti is an economist and the director of SORIS which was a company established by the Italian Institute for Furnishing (IMI) and Olivetti, undertook several economic research and marketing surveys in various companies, particularly in relation to industrial economics, distribution and marketing. Italo Insolera received his bachelor degree in architecture at Rome in 1953, had taught in the architectural schools of Rome, Florence, Venice, and lastly at the University of Geneva until that time. Guilio Carlo Argan (1909-1992) had been professor of History of Art at various universities, and at the university of Rome since 1959, and was one of the familiar characters for the American architectural milieu. He had been graduated from the University of Turin in 1932. Alessandro Mendini was a practicing architect especially concerned with theoretical and critical studies. He was the editor-in-chief of Casabella from 1965 to 1970, and a member of its editorial staff. Germano Celant was the "curator of the Experimental Museum of Contemporary Art in Turin, and lectured on radical architecture at several American colleges and universities including The University of Minnesota, The College of Art and Design in Minneapolis." Manfredo Tafuri who is the most crucial name for my study. Manfredo Tafuri, (1935-1994), who received his bachelor degree in architecture from the University of Rome in 1960, had been the professor of architectural history and director of historical section of Instituto Universitario d'Architettura di Venezia since 1968. Filiberto Menna was Professor of the History of Contemporary Art at the University of Salerno during 1972. He had delivered various lectures and conducted courses on industrial and visual design. Menna, as well, had written articles focusing on "historical and critical problems of art, architecture, town planning, and industrial design in relation to society.

[9] Emilio Ambasz. (1972), "Introduction: Critical Articles," *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di), p.343.

[10] Ibid., p.343.

[11] For more information see Louis Martin's dissertation *The search for a new theory in architecture: The Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976*.(see no 3).

[12] My master study was identically a critical analysis of Rem Koolhass' competition project *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* with a Tafurian methodology. The thesis was supervised by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşen Savaş. See, Gülru Mutlu, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: The Interpretation of Architectural Space as Void*, METU, May 2001, Unpublished Master Thesis.

[13] Manfredo Tafuri, 1987, "L'architecture dans le boudoir," *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans.by Pellegrino d'Acierno, Robert Connolly. (Massachusetts: MIT Press), p. 272. It is instrumental to state here that the terminology used by Tafuri has direct resemblances with all the so-called poststructuralist terminology, identified with "deconstructivist movement" in architecture in the late 1980s. These resemblances might provoke the search for the role of Tafuri in the formation of "Deconstructivism" in architecture, an issue that needs to be analyzed in depth.

[14] Manfredo Tafuri, 1987, "The Historical Project," *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans.by Pellegrino d'Acierno, Robert Connolly. (Massachusetts: MIT Press), p. 56. This conceptualization comes from my master thesis.

[15] See, Panayotis Tournikiotis, 1999, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press).

[16] Manfredo Tafuri, 1987, "Introduction: The Historical Project", *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, trans.by Pellegrino d'Acierno, Robert Connolly. (Massachusetts: MIT Press).

[17] The term "dialogue" is used in the same context Ayşen Savaş theorized in her PhD Thesis, submitted to MIT. Ayşen Savaş, *Between Document and Monument: Architectural Artifact in the Age of Specialized Institutions*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, MIT, 1994.

[18] Depending on the materials in the MoMA archives, this analysis would include both a comprehensive depiction of the planning and the installation of the exhibition and a brief description of the exhibition catalog. The intention to decompose the 1972 exhibition "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape" (INDL) covers, on one hand, a critical analysis of the MoMA catalog. This analysis includes a typological analysis of the "objects" and the "environments" submitted for the exhibition, the biographical knowledge of the significant people contributed either to the exhibition with visual presentation or to its catalog with textual representations. On the other hand, it comprises a brief interpretation of the contributions. Moreover, it portrays the backstage of the exhibition: its preparation process, the recordings of the staff who worked for the exhibition, administrative documents of MoMA, and the legal correspondence with contributors.
[19] The "Biographies" of the contributors by Ambasz in the exhibition catalogue, therefore, will be re-evaluated. For the reason that Manfredo Tafuri is a member of *Istituto Universitario d'Architettura di Venezia* and Ockman considers *Istituto Universitario d'Architettura di Venezia* as an alternative architectural institution since its foundation to Italy's main centers of architectural education such as University of Rome, Turin; this study's assumption is that the scrutiny will spontaneously intensify on this school, which will naturally open up a perspective for Tafuri's "oeuvre." The tools of this interpretation were shaped according to Joan Ockman's categorization of the centers of architectural education in Italy. It is not by chance, I believe, the people contributed to 1972 exhibition have shared a common educational background. The cross rereading of two different contexts will cover a time-period starting from the late 60s, until the 1972 MoMA exhibition took place.
[20] This argument has already been stated by various contemporary theoreticians such as Mıcheal Hays, Joan Ockman, etc. The seeds of this belief was even fertilized from their shool years. See, unpublished lecture notes taken from Ayşen Savaş, during her MIT years.
[21] Manfredo Tafuri, 1967, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* (Bari: Laterza). Its English translation, Manfredo Tafuri, 1980, *Theories and History of Modern Architecture* (New York: Harper & Row).
[22] This is a statement that has been accepted by various theoreticians and historians, among which the most influential ones are Alan Colquhoun, Michael Hays, and Joan Ockman.

CHAPTER 2

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART:
THE NARRATOR OF HISTORIES

> Of all disciplines that study our cultural patrimony, only the study of visual art announces itself as an historical study: art *history*. "Standartly," as Richard Wollheim has put it, "we do not call the objective study of an art, the history of that art. We call it criticism." He adds that the idea that the visual arts uniquely require historical study is something that actually requires historical explanation. Part of that explanation—for modern art history, certainly—is the history of, and the history told by The Museum of Modern Art.[1]

Eight years ago, The Museum of Modern Art welcomed the millennium with three cycles of exhibitions, entitled respectively as "Modern*Starts*," "*Making Choices*," and "*Open Ends*." Modern*Starts,* held from October 7, 1999 until March 14, 2000 was the first of the three. The most famous and illustrative artworks of Modern painting were selected from the entire MoMA collection to be represented to the public once again in an unconventional manner. Their aim was obviously neither to evoke a historical or chronological account that concentrated on styles, movements and individual achievements of an epoch, nor to emphasize once again the Museum's history as an institution. They, on the contrary, strived "to explore the issues and themes in Modern art through the filter of Museum's holdings," with an intention to "provide new responses and new ideas of modern art" for today's context.[2] As the current director of MoMA, Glenn D. Lowry, wrote in the foreword of the exhibition catalog, "[t]aken together Modern *Starts*, *Making Choices*, and *Open Ends* are meant to provoke new responses and new ideas about modern art. They are not meant to be overarching or definitive statements about modern art or even about the nature of The Museum of Modern Art's collection, but rather interrogatory ones that can help shape future issues and concerns to

be dealt with the next century unfolds."[3] Museums, by their nature, had always been the institutions that created the styles and the movements in history all over the world. They had had the power to declare, promote, and provoke fabricated narratives, as if they were the actual specifics of a cultural patrimony. During the 1920s, when modernism had the respective status in Europe, there was a lack of any venue, except some institutions, to introduce this phenomenon in the United States, especially in New York. MoMA was first set to fulfill this gap in New York, and became the forerunner to introduce American public with the selective art works of the period. The previous paragraph in the foreword, therefore, meant a lot if one was in search of certain actors in history, responsible for the development of the styles or the "–ism"s in a certain historical sequence. If the style being talked about was Modernism, and the issue was its initial introduction and unique development in the United States, then MoMA was definitely the one and the foremost of its custodians.[4]

As declared in the exhibition catalog of Modern*Starts*, an illustriousness of the Museum of Modern Art emanated from its promoting of "small narratives" about historical styles, movements, and individual achievements as "a single, larger narrative that is part chronological, part historical."[5] The Museum's founding director, Alfred J. Barr's well-known "evolutionary chart," diagrammed on the jacket of the exhibition catalog "Cubism and Abstract Art," was an illustration of the most "famous narratives" of the Museum.[6] Alfred J. Barr was a vital figure for the Museum. When Abby Aldrich Rockefeller first offered Barr to be the first director of MoMA, he was twenty-four, a young art historian, but a warm advocate of modern aesthetic. Years later, his colleague Philip Johnson spoke of Barr in the following words: "Now, he had a passion that was very narrow, very clear in his own mind. It went to the learning, the diversifying, and the spreading of modern art. … Art was his master/mistress, and … it was his gift of being able to mix the knowledge of what he was talking about with the enthusiasm of telling you what it was all about that made it so incredible. … He had a way of showing what the artist intended as nobody else could. No scholarly books you read would help you to understand that art, but Alfred was able to do the impossible — translate artist's intent into beautiful English words. … And, with that gift he persuaded an entire generation…about modern art. … It was all due Alfred Barr."[7]

To know Alfred J. Barr, it is important to realize that his education years corresponded to the 1920s, the years when the context in the United States was pregnant with "innovation and change." The schools Princeton and Harvard were the leading academic centers, which especially concentrated on graduate studies in the field of art history. They had even established a sort of cooperation, named "Harvard-Princeton Fine Arts Club," so as to enable the exchange of graduate students and instructors to improve the quality of education and to promote further means for research, cultivated by related fields. It was in this context, Barr received his BA and MA degree from Princeton University in 1922 and 1923. It seems that his ambition was to continue his graduate education and receive a PhD degree. Whereas, though he passed the oral examination of Harvard for doctoral degree in 1925, he put on an unrelated plan of work with a pretense to support the financial needs of his doctoral studies. As if a "journeyman," he went to a different place every year. Between 1925 and 1926, he was at Harvard; between 1926 and 1927, he was at Wellesley College; in 1928, he spent a year in Europe for his doctoral research, and then returned to Wellesley in September. In 1929, he was offered a fellowship from New York University to study in the field of modern art, but a serious job proposal came from the Museum of Modern Art for its directorship, and after that period, Barr's professional life changed course from academy into the selective lobbies of the art world. In 1946, seventeen years later, he finally decided to fulfill the requirements for a PhD degree from Harvard. Though seventeen years seems a long period of gestation, it obviously provided Barr the time to improve his own intellectual origins, further enabling him to develop a highly "modernist aesthetic" which was in style at that period and to intensely contribute to the innovative establishment of Modernism in the United States.[8]

As Sybil Gordon Kuntor asserted, the author of the book "Alfred J Barr: The Intellectual Origins of the Museum of Modern Art," at the basis of Barr's "modernist aesthetic," there lied the "new architecture," that was being practiced by European architects during that period. This interest led him to "establish the first department of architecture in a museum," which he later admitted that of all other departments, the Department of Architecture had, in his words, "exerted a more active, tangible and solitary influence in its work."[9] The first exhibition that he organized in cooperation with Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson was illustrious: "The International Style." The number of departments in the Museum's body increased by time, according to Barr's wide area of interests. Museum collections run into substantial amounts. The addition of film and

media, photography, drawings, prints, and illustrated books into the collections distinguished MoMA from its akin. Though MoMA was first conceived as a setting for loan exhibitions of contemporary paintings and drawings, the expansion of this perspective with the addition of each department provided the opportunity to cover the arts of "today," and include the contemporary works of young European and American artists to its collections during their lifetime. With its multi-departmental body, MoMA became a forerunner of the very mission to make modern art and the art of "today" accessible and intelligible to American public.

The Museum of Modern Art, since the days of Barr's directorship, continued to contribute the establishment of art and architectural thinking. With the exhibitions they held, MoMA promoted the establishment of certain styles into the American discourse with full priority. With each exhibition, they opened the former narration into debate and had a leading role at the development of the criticism and the history of Modern art and architecture in the United States. If even today, with Modern *Starts* exhibition, a scene in history is being opened to discussion once again, it would not be superfluous to interpret the 1972 "Italy: the New Domestic Landscape" exhibition of Ambasz within this perspective. Could a similar interpretation be made for that ambitious project? Could the major motive behind be its mere search for an alternative understanding of design and architecture for Americans? Could one interpret their mission as the utilization of a shift in thinking to fulfill a gap in context or may be, as the creation of a "style" for the time, it was held? Yet, in the chronicle of the Museum, edited by Harriet S. Bee and Michelle Elligot, selective exhibitions in the museum's history were presented under specific themes covering specific time-sections. INDL exhibition, within this categorization, was signified as the last exhibition of the period between 1965-1972, categorized under the theme "Word and Image." The period contended with "new changing trends in American art in the political turbulence of 1960s, and with changes in Museum's leadership."[10] "Transformations" was the theme that denominated the next sequence, covering the years between 1973 and 1984. Is the juxtaposition of MoMA's years of "Transformation" with the very "sequence" of our historical criticism a coincidence? If not, one should keep the clash of the 1972 exhibition with the above-mentioned shift from "Word and Image" to the "Transformations" in mind, before starting to double the amazing project of Emilio Ambasz.

2. 1 - THE PLANNING AND THE INSTALLATION OF THE EXHIBITION

“Italy: The New Domestic Landscape” (INDL) was the first exhibition Emilio Ambasz directed at MoMA after his assignment as the Curator of Design. The preparation of this exhibition took two-years of altruistic endeavor from its first inception until the exhibition opening. It was May 1970 when Emilio Ambasz first developed the INDL exhibition idea. Since it took a year to resolve the financial and administrative problems, the intensive work on the exhibition could barely have been instigated by January 1971, and finalized in a year. When the exhibition was opened to the public in May 1972, the common assertion was that it was one of the biggest shows held at MoMA until that period. The long span of its preparation was due its size. This “long period of gestation,” as in Ambasz’s terms, was an advantage for the improvement of the final product. His promise was certainly because of the opportunities that long period evoked, such as the chance of constant reexamination and reconsideration of the material, requestioning the initial premises to keep the concept “vital and fresh.”[11] Actually, when Ambasz first conceived of preparing the Italian show, he had not known that it would be this complicated and would become such a large-scaled project. In Ambasz’s words:

> If, at the beginning of research for the exhibition, Italian design seemed so dazzling that it was momentarily possible to assume that transplanting its most outstanding examples would be sufficient to recall the luminosity of their original breeding ground, deeper examination made it increasingly evident that the problem was far from simple.[12]

As one can understand from Ambasz's prologue for the catalog, to prepare an exhibition that would present Italian design had several complications due to the inconsistent body of ideas presented in the area. The lack of an overall criterion at first aggravated Ambasz to pry out a unique style from such an inconsistent bulk. If it were expected to realize the dream of an exhibition, the representation of that inconsistent body should have required an alternative formation. The reason of delay, therefore, might be due to his initial preoccupation with the search for coherent criteria. Later, with a creative strategy, he decided to approach the subject vice versa. While producing their objects and reify the genuine causes of inconsistency, therefore, the progress, necessitated a technique that would aid to reveal “the contradictions and conflicts generated by the designers”. [13] In

fact, the contradictory and conflicting nature of creation was the major cause of the doubt for Ambasz that obstructed "the ultimate significance of their activity."[14] Consequently, Ambasz was convinced of the impossibility of making a dissection for the subject of Italian design. According to him, the "alive" and "contradictory" nature of the Italian design elements prohibited any categorization; and it was impossible by nature to "fit into any single scheme of classification."[15] Therefore, proposing a categorization could only be regarded as a careless act of ignorance. To draw out *a* stylistic implication from this chaotic body was even ambiguous. Therefore, Ambasz's use of a "provocative" technique, rather than an analytical method of classification, for the representation of such a complex totality, involving both positive and negative frontiers of design act, was to surpass Italian design's final inconsistency and draw the attention to the origins of their intellectual activity at the background. At the core of that provocation, there was the mere intention to guide the visitors to understand this complex and contradictory body. Thus, to put the subsequent question in mind: "what actually is the living process of Italian design."[16]

"Part 1" in exhibition was devoted to the "objects." Ambasz contacted with significant manufacturers of selected product designs and requested from them to lend or donate the products for the "objects" section of the show.[17] The means of communication was sometimes via official correspondence and sometimes via face-to-face engagements that Ambasz made during his visits to Italy. The "objects" that Ambasz selected were more than a number of 160 significant product designs of the most outstanding designers in Italy, therefore the manufacturers that mass-produced those designs, including well-known companies such as Artemide, Olivetti, and Flexform, constituted a complex list for Ambasz.[18] The amount of objects continued to increase until the end insomuch as that their display became a problem for the Museum due to the lack of suitable interior space. The decision to use the open spaces at the garden wing, the upper garden terrace, and the lower garden terrace as display areas was due to that congestion. Ambasz designed special display cases for objects, and placed them on the terrace in a modular system, to create an atmosphere that represented a minimized replica of New York, with its skyscrapers, and the roads huddled in-between.[19]

EXHIBITION STRUCTURE

CONTENTS

A. 1. Orientation Gallery: Description of Show's physical organization and layout.
technique: a. 3-D model
b. color-keyed plans
c. folded leaflet (1-page.)

B. 2. Introduction to Objects:
a. Presentation of Intentions and premises underlying Exhibition.
b. Explanation of criteria guiding the selection of objects displayed.
(technique: audio-visual presentation.)

3. Exhibition of Objects: (179 objects produced by over 100 Italian designers grouped into three categories)
i. Objects chosen for formal, technical, or typological reasons.
ii. Objects chosen because their formal characteristics are derived from or motivated by semantic operations upon established socio-cultural meanings, such as 'back to nature,' pop art, anthropomorphism, etc.
iii. Objects chosen because they represent multiple modes of use of single objects, or systems of objects adaptable of multiple modes of use.
(Each category is further subdivided into subcategories according to specific objects; exhibition layout reflects these divisions.)

C. 4. Introduction to Environments: Description of specific and general considerations for the design of the commissioned environments.
(technique: audio-visual presentation) p.1

5. Exhibition of Environments: (two categories)
Fixed : a. "Archeological Environment"
Gaetano Pesce 20'x20'
*b. "Design as Postulation"**
Joe Colombo 16'x16'
Gae Aulenti 16'x16'
Ettore Sotsass 16'x16'
Achille Castiglioni 16'x16'
Ugo La Pietra 20'x16'
*c. "Counter design as Postulation" ***
Superstudio 14'x14'
Archizoom 7'x14'
DeRossi- Ceretti- DeRosso 7'x14'
Mobile Environments: (trailer houses)
Richard Sapper- Mario Zanuso
20' x 7' (closed)
20' x 14' (open)
Alberto Roselli
8' x 17' (closed)
17' x 34' (open)
Mario Bellini
7' x 16' x (5' height closed)
7' x 16' x (8' height open)

D. 6. Commentary Gallery: Critical questions raised by the subject of the Exhibition will be presented via a specially designed audiovisual technique which involves and encourages audience participation.

** The ceremonies and its rituals and their modes of use which are contemplated for each of these environments, will be shown by means of color television screens that will present four- to five- minute films prepared by the environments' respective designers.*

*** The viewpoints of designers who have adopted a counter-design approach will be presented by means of three dimensional and audio-visual display techniques. (contents p.2)*

Figure 1 Exhibition structure, copied by hand. Format is accurate but not original.[20]

“Part 2” in exhibition was devoted to the “environments.” Ambasz contacted a number of famous designers to design their conception of an “environment” within certain specifications.[21] As mentioned before, each displayed “environment” was particularly designed for this exhibition. The extensive work on design proposals started immediately after the initial negotiations were made in May 1970 and it took nearly a year for them to prepare and finalize them. The final negotiations with the designers of environments, such as Gianni Colombo, Studio Zanuso, Gae Aulenti, Ugo La Pietra, and Alberto Roselli were made in May 1971, when Ambasz was in Milan. As it was understood from the notes of Ambasz, the tentative schedule that MoMA assigned for the submission of designs was approximately as such: Final designs due were decided to be June 30, 1971, and the last date for the arrival of design proposals to New York for the last check were to be in a week. After that, there was a two-week time for Ambasz and MoMA to make initial checks. Then, Ambasz made an additional trip to Italy for further discussions with the designers of the environments in July 15.[22] The environments displayed at the exhibition were the prototypes of the final products. For their construction, the designers were requested to finalize the operational drawings of the prototypes and set up the final budget estimates until Ambasz’s arrival to Italy. After his arrival, it took one and a half months for Ambasz to work over the proposals and prepare the construction details, in collaboration with the designers. Actually, the construction process of the designs were planned to be started on September 1, 1971 and to be finalized by November 1, according to the chart that summarized the work plan of MoMA. An one-month period from November 1 to December 1 was reserved for photography and filming of the design proposals in that chart. December 1, 1971 was the last date for the shipment of environments to New York.[23] The process, however, slightly ran behind schedule and a-month delay occurred.

While the preparation for the design proposals of environments and the collection of objects for the exhibition were continuing, the preparation of the exhibition catalog was in progress simultaneously. As it was stated before, it was planned to be constituted of four main parts: Objects, environments, historical articles, and critical articles. While the first two parts would be a collection of visual materials displayed in the exhibition, the following sections were to be composed of research papers on Italian design and practice, written by the most significant theoreticians, historians and critics who had a great name in the field of architecture and design in Italy.

Virtually all the work done for the catalog was completed in Italy. It was Centro Di, which underwrote the expenses of the catalog with MoMA. The essays were written by authors who resided in Milan, Turin, and Rome, but each author kept in contact with MoMA during their writing process. The main custodians dealing with the publication of the catalog was Richard Oldenburg, who was the Director of Publications at MoMA during that period and Tom Czarnowski. In accordance with the agreement between the sides, the authors of the essays received a certain amount of honorarium from MoMA, which varied considering the prominence of the author in the United States.[24] The essays were written in Italian, and later translated into English under the careful control of the author and Ambasz. An additional grant was offered to each by MoMA for the expenses to obtain the services of a professional translator.[25] The catalog was planned to be published concurrently with the exhibition opening. While it was being offered for sale to the visitors during the exhibition, Centro Di distributed it all over Europe. As the objective was to compile it simultaneously with the exhibition, its schedule was quite similar with that of designs in terms of dates. As indicated in the contractual documents between parties, the authors agreed to deliver MoMA "two double-spaced, typewritten copies of a complete and satisfactory text in English not later than December 1, 1971, together with (1) a double spaced, typewritten copy of the text in Italian; (2) prints suitable for reproduction of 20 to 25 photographs; and (3) a list of the names and addresses of persons from whom the Museum may obtain permission to reproduce these photographs."[26] As under contract, the copyrights of the texts were dissolved as such: The authors were acknowledged that they were regarded as "an employee-for-hire" of MoMA as under contract. As the employer, MoMA owned "all rights in and to [the] texts, including the copyright, and renewals and extensions of copyright." In case of any change, MoMA assured to return the manuscripts to their authors for their approval. To quote from the agreement, the authors were obliged to "warrant and represent that [their] contribution would be original." The authors gave MoMA the right to use their name, portrait, and picture together with their biographical material to be used in the book "including the sale, promotion, and advertising." In case of any inconvenience about the due dates of submission, MoMA reserved the rights to revoke the contract.

	Critical Articles	Historical Articles	Objects	Environments	Publicity
May 1, 1971	Discussions with the author's begin	Discussions with the author's begin			
June 1, 1971	Contracts with the author's signed	Contracts with the author's signed			
June 1- July 15, 1971	Period of preparation of first draft	Period of preparation of first draft			
July 15, 1971	First draft due	First draft due			
July 15- Aug 1, 1971	period of review	period of review			
August 1, 1971	First draft returned to authors	First draft returned to authors			
Aug 1- Sep 1, 1971	period of preparation of second draft	period of preparation of second draft			
September 1, 1971	Second draft due	Second draft due		Sep 1- Statement by designers due	Design Commissioned
September 10, 1971	Weekend meeting of all contributing authors to discuss positions			Sep 1 - Sep 15 Period of review	
September 20, 1971	Transcription of meetings, Review sent to Authors			Sep 15- Reviewed statements returned to authors	
Sep 20- Oct 15, 1971	period of preparation of third draft	period of preparation of third draft	Oct 1- Essay writings begin	Sep 15- Oct 15 period of preparation of 2nd draft	
October 15, 1971	Third draft due	Third draft due	Oct 1- Nov 15 Preparation of first draft	Second draft due	Design due
Oct 15- Nov 1, 1971	period of Review	period of Review			
November 1, 1971	Submission of text to translator	Submission of text to translator		Nov 1- Second draft returned to authors	
Nov 1- Dec 1, 1971	Period of translation	Period of translation	Nov 15- First draft due	Nov 1- Dec 1 - period of preparation of 3rd draft	Nov 15- Printing Commences
December 1, 1971	Due date for translation	Due date for translation	Nov 15-Jan 1 preparation of 2nd draft - color photos revised	Dec 1- Third draft due + Photographs of Environments due	
Dec 1, 71- Jan 1, 72	Review of text by authors and editors	Review of text by authors and editors		period of editorial preparation	Dec 15- First Check
January 1, 1972	Final texts and photographs submitted for publication production	Final texts and photographs submitted for publication production	Jan 1 - Second Draft due	Jan 1- Section V Submitted for publication	
Jan 1- Feb 1, 1972			Jan 1- Feb 1 preparation of 3rd draft - color photos revised		Jan 15- Second Check
February 1, 1972			Feb 1-Third draft due- submitted to publication production		Feb 15 - Publicity ready March- distribution
April 1 1972	The exhibition opens - This date is from the tentative schedule of MoMA				

Figure 2 The chart of the tentative schedule for publication.[27]

Ambasz did not imagine at the beginning that his project would augment to such proportions, which encompassed a vast amount of objects and environments that were large in scale. Because of the Museum's lack of adequate space, even the installation and mounting became a matter of concern. As a result, the INDL exhibition was a very complex project. The preparation process embodied the intensive work of many people. In Ambasz's words, it had "engaged the imagination and resources of virtually hundreds of people in Italy and the United States."[28] He expressed his gratitude to each in the acknowledgment he wrote for the exhibition catalog. Among those people, there were the designers and architects who contributed with a proposal; the companies and manufacturers who lent or donated the "objects"; the members of "high-finance" who sponsored the construction of "environment" designs, and supported their shipment to the United States; the fellows who worked on audiovisual materials for an introduction of each section in the exhibition; and others who voluntarily shared the responsibility of bureaucratic and administrative procedures until the actualization of the show. Nevertheless, Ambasz significantly emphasized the generous support of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Institute of Foreign Trade (ICE), and of Gruppo ENI. According to Ambasz, the administration of those firms well comprehended what this show meant for Italian design and industry and did not hesitate to provide financial support to MoMA. By the courtesy of their financial and spiritual support, the exhibition of this size could not have been able to be materialized.[29]

The exhibition catalog, entitled identically as the exhibition, "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape," was published by the Museum of Modern Art, in collaboration with the publishing house, Centro Di in Florence. This publishing house, from its foundation in 1968 until today, has been specialized in the publication of scholarly books on art, including monographs, museum and exhibition catalogs, convention proceedings, journals on the subjects ranging from architecture, to painting, to the decorative arts, and photography. The catalog was first printed by Centro Di in Italy in April 1972, and was ready to be distributed in both the United States and in non-English-speaking countries with the opening of the exhibition. The book was handed out at the premiere of the exhibition and continued to be sold by MoMA during the time of exposition. They introduced the book to the American public with the following press release, as quoted below:

The Museum of Modern Art No 61
For release:
April 26, 1972

ITALY: THE NEW DOMESTIC LANDSCAPE edited by Emilio Ambasz, the first book to survey recent design developments in Italy, will be published by the Museum of Modern Art in conjunction with a major exhibition opening at the Museum on May 26. This publication will provide a historical and critical context to the exhibition as well as extensive illustrations of the objects and environments on view.

During the last decade, the emergence of Italy as the dominant force in design has had a profound influence in Europe and the Americas. This phenomenon is important not only because of the high quality and diversity of the forms produced, but also because it has generated a lively critical debate on the sociocultural implications of product design, raising questions of vital concern to designers throughout the world.

For many designers, the aesthetic quality of the individual objects intended for private consumption has become irrelevant in the face of such pressing problems as poverty, urban decay, and the pollution of the environment now encountered in all industrialized countries. Consequently they are increasingly shifting the focus of their attention from the well-designed object to man's total environment, seeing the designer's function as one that can mold patterns of behavior by creating new settings for freer, more adaptable life styles. Some, however, despairing of effecting social chance through design, regard their task as essentially a political one. They therefore abstain from the physical designing of either objects or environments and channel their energies into the staging of events and the issuing of polemical statements. Their approach thus parallels that of many artists in other mediums who view art in primarily conceptual terms.

ITALY: THE NEW DOMESTIC LANDSCAPE is the first publication to deal comprehensively with these challenging developments. The over 150 objects of Italian design of the past 10 years are all reproduced in color or black-and-white, as are a dozen environments by well-known Italian designers specifically commissioned for the occasion, and the two awarded prizes in a concurrent competition for young designers under 35 sponsored by the Museum. Each environment is accompanied by a statement in which the individual or group responsible for the project clarifies his position regarding the present and future role of design.

In addition to essays by Emilio Ambasz, Curator of Design at the Museum of Modern Art and director of the exhibition, the book contains contributions by a number of outstanding Italian critics and art historians. Taken together, these articles comprise the first historical survey of contemporary Italian design and a critical analysis of its various intellectual and formal positions within the context of international design today

A native of Argentina, Emilio Ambasz received his M.F.A degree in architecture from Princeton University and taught at its School of Architecture, the Carnegie Institute of Technology, and the Hochscűle fűr Gestaltung in Ulm, Germany, before being appointed Curator of Design at the Museum of Modern Art in 1969. He is a fellow of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies and recently directed the research program "Institutions for a Post-Technological Society: The Universitas Project", sponsored jointly by the Museum and the Institute. Active himself as designer, Mr. Ambasz designed the cover of this book; and has also directed and installed a number of exhibitions and contributed articles to various journals in the United States and abroad. .

Figure 3 An animated copy of Press Release[30]

The 1972 MoMA Exhibition “Italy: The New Domestic Landscape” is considered among the most prestigious and assertive exhibitions that MoMA held during the 1970s. It drew phenomenal attention of both architectural and design world of that day and was signified as one of the masterpieces of Emilio Ambasz as the Design Curator of MoMA. However, its significance had not been revealed until recently. Therefore, the goal of this study is not only to reveal the said significance but also to show the role played by an intellectual “transplantation” and seek for its “original breeding ground.”

Ambasz, the Curator of the show, first conceived this exhibition as an international project, which would provide the interaction of two different design operations of two different geographies, developing varied ideologies, histories, and traditions. As a consequence of this show, significant circles in the United States recognized the political influence on artistic and architectural creation. Yet, the influences of its catalog were broader. It was through this catalog; the American intellectual world first read a comprehended anthology on the history of Italian architecture from the times of Art Nouveau movement until that day. It was through this catalog that they recognized the European intellectual debate concerning Modern architecture as a political stance. It was through this catalog that they recognized how the critique of Modern architecture was crystallized into the critique of architecture as ideology. It was through this book they recognized the essence of Italian avant-gardism and the ample realm of counterdesign activity in Italy. Finally, it was through this book significant circles in the United States discovered Manfredo Tafuri and first read an essay of Tafuri in English. All these triggered a web of correlation promoting the critique of architecture as ideology as a novel and authoritative posture in the United States, and Tafuri’s forthcoming reputation as a basic source of influence on the discursive developments.

Before concentrating on the meaning of the exhibition and its catalog, it is crucial to introduce Emilio Ambasz, so as to assert from which context the exhibition was bred. Emilio Ambasz is a well-known architect and designer, who was born in 1943 in Argentina. He received his Bachelor of Architecture and the Master of Fine Arts degrees from Princeton University in New York, between 1967 and 1968. He had a very successful career both as an architect and as an industrial designer. He signed up a large number of prestigious architectural projects and created a large number of unique product designs. His extensive work was granted with numerous prizes and awards for their

contribution to the discipline and had been the subject of international publications. Several exhibitions were dedicated to his work in the reputable museums and art galleries all over the world. At the beginning of his career, he taught at Princeton University School of Architecture, and later decided to pursue his profession outside the academy. Yet, after his departure from academy, he continued to give lectures at the significant American and European universities.[31]

From his school years, it could be understood that he was a prosperous figure. With high success, he completed the undergraduate program of Princeton's School of Architecture in one year; and earned the Master's degree from the same institution the next year.[32] In 1969, his third year at Princeton, he was assigned as an instructor by Jean Labatut, who was the director of the School of Architecture in those years. By the end of 1969, he was promoted with the Philip Franeau Bicentennial Professorship of Architecture. Meanwhile, Ambasz chose a different way for his career with an offer he received the same week he became a professor and decided to leave academy. The offer came from Arthur Drexler who was the director of the Museum of Modern Art, MoMA at that time. His wish was to convince Ambasz to become the Curator of Design at MoMA.

Ambasz accepted Drexler's offer in 1969; and served as the Curator of Design at MoMA for six years. During that period, he organized three important exhibitions, each of which had enormous impacts on artistic circles. Ambasz, who had a wide-range of intellectual activity, continued to give lectures at the academy, taught at IAUS school as a part time instructor, and contributed to any intellectual activity that was led by the cultural realm.

To contextualize INDL exhibition and its contribution to American architectural design world after 1972, it is crucial to re-examine the intellectual milieu of the earlier period, which covers Ambasz and his generation's education and primary profession years. An overview of the curriculums at the architectural schools in the United States, the influence of altering styles in these schools, the transformation of conventional teaching methods at the beginnings of the 1940s, the primary focus of the architectural programs and the disciplinary specialization within the field of architecture, might reveal the intellectual influences hidden beyond the formation of significant actors of the late 60s and early 70s.

As it was stated in the essay "Architectural History in Schools of Architecture," written by Stanford Anderson, the architectural education in the United States did not have a long-established tradition, and its origins dated back to late nineteenth century. The first school of architecture in the United States was opened at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1865. The first head of the school was William Robert Ware who was one of the designers of Harvard's Ruskinian Gothic Memorial Hall (1868-1880). The primary tutor team he gathered was constituted from the graduates of Paris school. With this team, the pragmatism of Ecole des Beaux-Arts and its standards were first transplanted to the academic world of the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.[33]

After the 1930s, with the inauguration of two leading modernists from Europe, to direct schools of architecture in the United States, Walter Gropius, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, the hegemony of Ecole des Beaux-Arts pragmatism started to lose its momentum. Walter Gropius was invited to Harvard in 1937, and became the chairperson in 1938. The same year, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe was assigned as the director of Armour Institute in Chicago, which later became Illinois Institute of Technology.[34] These two figures were prominent advocators of Modern architecture and their reputations at the beginnings of the twentieth century triggered a change of mood in architecture. They were among the directors of Bauhaus. The transfer of the important figures of Bauhaus to prestigious universities of the United States marked an important turning point. With the education model that they adopted and the reputations that they established in institutional architectural practice, Modern architecture became the preeminent and dominant approach for decades in schools. Anderson, in his article, overrated Mies and Gropius's education model, which, he believed, was a replica of the architectural program Peter Behrens established at the School of Arts and Crafts (*kunstgezuerberchule)* in Düsseldorf (1903), while he was its director.[35] Besides its promotion of Modernism, the significance of Behrens's "innovative architectural program" was due to the self-determining and self-governing position given to history, in contrast to its role in Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In Ecole des Beaux-Arts, history had never been regarded as an "independent discipline," but deeply infiltrated to architectural work as an inextricable component of design. By hiring "a highly trained, academic art historian," Wilhelm Niemeyer, to play "a programmatic role in an innovative architectural program," Behrens designated a

prototype in which history took the form of an independent discipline in architecture. What Behrens did in terms of history in Düsseldorf School was significant for Anderson due to two major reasons: first, the autonomy of history as a new discipline within the curriculum was declared. Second, Behrens' prototype revealed the significance of history as a scientific field, which provided a vision beyond stylistic approaches. This was the initiative that later motivated history to achieve autonomy within the graduate programs of architectural education.

Consequently, via the adaptation of Behrens's innovative architectural program, Walter Gropius promoted a "new architecture" at Harvard, which challenged the existing education practice. As stated by Anderson: "the new architecture espoused by Gropius had to make its way in confrontation with ingrained conventional practice—a consequence of which was the tendency to distance the new from historical roots and thus to inhibit the study of architectural history by impressionable young student architects."[36] At Chicago, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe manifested "the need for cultural and historical education," as echoed consecutively in his 1939 description of the school.[37] Moreover, their emphasis to history, as a "scientific" discipline yielded the first changes in the standards of architectural education in the United States. A controversy to achieve the "prominent" place for history was introduced. This situation was later spread over to other well-known architectural schools around the country, such as Princeton, MIT, Cornell, Berkeley, and Columbia. The graduates of these schools assumed the controversy as a legacy, and the "young generation" of 1960s took "leading roles in the change of architectural education in schools across the country, history was largely treated as bunk."[38]

Regarding the specialization in history as a field of architecture in schools, there lied various reservations related to its professional outcomes concerning architectural practice. Actually, the years between 1955 and 1959 constituted the time-period that the climate of American architectural discourse started to change remarkably, as indicated by Louis Martin, since the major activity embraced the critical reexamination of the recent history enfolded around the achievements of Modern architecture's predecessors.[39] There were two factors leading him to make such an interpretation. One factor was the absolute rise of a new generation of architects who dealt with "an alternative vocabulary of forms

evolved between the wars," and who actually altered the course of events with the innovative context they established. Another certain factor was the boredom bred due to the amplified condemnation of "the canons of Modern Architecture", in Martin's terms, "whether formulated as Functionalism or as International Style."[40] To identify this change of mood in American architecture, Martin deciphered the writings of Philip Johnson, who was an architectural historian and one of the key-figures of postwar American architecture. In fact, the major reason of Martin's critique of Johnson was the perceptible modification in his intellectual approach as time passed, which could be deciphered as an indication of the very transformation under examination. Philip Johnson was one of the curators of the seminal architectural event, "The International Style" exhibition, held in 1932 by the Museum of Modern Art, New York. His collaborators were Alfred Barr, who was the director of MoMA at that time, and Henry Russell Hitchcock, who was an architectural historian at Yale. "Mounting an exhibition devoted to the new architecture" pervasive in Europe was an outcome of a buddy conversation during their Europe tour by car, but it turned out to be a *"succès d'estime"* at the end for New York lobby.[41] The minor motive lying behind this success was due to the fact that it was the first exhibition on "the new European architecture of the 1920s," presented at MoMA. Yet, the major motive was the "propagandistic" and strict terminology adopted by the three curators of exhibition in its catalog, which was synchronously published in 1932, under the title, "The International Style: Architecture since 1922."[42] The mere significance that issued from its impact, resulted in the extensive dissemination of the rigid, universalizing, and normative canons of "The International Style" throughout America. What Johnson, Barr, and Hitchcock achieved was an alternative depiction of this new architecture as a stylistic phenomenon that defended the idea of architecture as art. Through this art-priority thematization, The International Style was cleverly situated as "a counterblast to functionalism," a reactionary formation against the ones who considered building "to be a strict science and an instrument of social transformation" in American architectural debates.[43]

However, Martin recorded that it was again Johnson who complained about the exaggerated propagation of the International Style even at present, irrespective of its being the product of 1920s intellectual world, in a speech he gave at Bernard College in April 1955. For Martin, when he confessed that "we got rather bored with the simplicity

of International Style, and a breakaway came through the influence of Buckminister Fuller," he was giving the possible signs of the end of a journey, which rose from the simplicity of International Style, ended in the chaotic configuration of shell structures.[44] To rephrase Johnson, "this breakaway was a sign that architecture was going through a period of transition that refuses the restrictive simplicity of International Style."[45] In other words, he was prefacing a crisis in architectural thought, once provocating simplicity, was now proposing complexity. An indication of this change in thought could well be followed through the 1995 edition of the "International Style" book, which in itself embraced their different prefaces for the event, written one after another, in ten-year spans. The first one was that of Alfred Barr, written when it was first published in 1932. The second one was the text written by Henry Russell Hitchcock for the 1966 edition, thirty-four years after the event. The last one, finally, was that of Philip Johnson's scripted 1995 edition, which might well be considered as a testimony for the past six decades. Despite his credence on the phenomenal value of the book, he confessed that the boredom in the 1950s and 1960s was the absolutely fatal result of exaggerated anchoring of "International Style" as a phenomenon within the rituals of architectural discourse. Yet, the truth was, in his words, "the Style lasted clearly through the 1950s."[46] Therefore, in Johnson's terms, by the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, every significant actor, including himself, became an "anti-father one," "Anti-Mies," or "Anti-Modern." And, the years witnessed the "transition" of the traditional activity into a complex entity, reinforced by the residues of history, a period in which history was honored as "something that could be learned from," as if an autonomous input to architectural practice.[47]

The foundation of doctoral programs on particularly, history, in various American universities corresponded to the 1960s. MIT, University of Pennsylvania, University of California Berkeley, Princeton University, Virginia, Harvard University Graduate School of Design, and the latest Columbia University started to offer PhD Degrees on history in the body of the Architecture Departments with an aim to bring "credentialed, and hopefully respected, historians and architect/historians" into the society of architectural education.[48] Among them MIT singles out with its "History, Theory and Criticism in Art, Architecture, and Environmental Form (HTC)" program due to its being the precursor of accumulating theory, history and criticism jointly with an aim to insert the "conceptual, physical, technical, social, urban, and environmental factors" into the realm of history.[49]

With this program authorized in 1974, MIT led the shift of the historical studies to a critical level formally. The founding actors of specialization on history as a field of interest in architecture in the academies of United States were as follows: James Ackerman, Norma Evenson and Spiro Kostof at Berkeley, Vincent Scully at Yale, Henry Millon and Stanford Anderson at MIT, Stephen W. Jacobs, Christian E Otto and Colin Rowe at Cornell, initiated by Jean Labatut and Donald Drew Egbert (1950s), and relieved by Kenneth Frampton, Anthony Vidler, Robert Maxwell, Alan Colquhoun, and George Teyssot at Princeton.

Each scholar had enormous impact on the development of architectural discourse in the United States, but Colin Rowe singles out for the fact that as a British scholar he had the cultural distance to both parties, European and American. Moreover, he was aware of different approaches developed in Britain via such as Smithsons, and their brutalist tendency. He was among the first promoters of “form without ideology.”[50] He was among the pioneers, whose early approach “appeared as a radical alternative to Modern architecture’s postwar institutionalization.”[51] To introduce him in Reyner Banham’s words:

> *Who is Colin Rowe?* you will ask. He is in fact the most in-group of all the groupy people represented here; the only living British critic or architecture pundit to become not only the object of a secret type cult, but also an anti-cult. Rowe’s writings of the forties and fifties affected most of the in-group deeply and permanently (and, myself as well, I freely admit).[52]

2. 2 - SIGNIFYING TRACES 1: COLIN ROWE, "RECONTEXTUALIZING A MODERN ARCHITECTURE GRADUATE"

Colin Rowe is a British architectural historian who has influenced a large group of people with his writings and is regarded by a majority as an international architecture authority. He received his undergraduate education in architecture at the University of Liverpool between the years 1938-1942 and 1944-1945, and continued his graduate education in the Warburg Institute at the University of London.[53] Rowe's education years, which had covered nearly a decade, oversaw a transition in the architectural "episteme" of the period in England.[54] During his academical training, the architectural schools at Liverpool sheltered two groups of tutors, who guarded different receptions towards architecture in the early forties: the "old guards" who still believed in "anti-modern architecture propositions," and the "middle guards" who were highly indebted to the teachings of a Modern architecture. Yet, the architectural education was performed by a "liberal and tolerant" attitude, having "a pro-American bias."[55] However, by the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, this situation showed discrepancy and this period became the scene of a divergence, triggered by the critical attitudes of a new and vastly controversial group towards the notion of architecture and architectural thinking guarded by former circles. The emergence of this group, in Ockman's words "a species of vanguard," by 1949-1951 had highly transformed the ongoing discourse to an innovative state afterward. Their focal objective was to recover "the vacuity of content which modern architecture was beginning to reveal," by opening the content of Modern architecture into discussion.[56]

In this provocative and tense, but at the same time fertile, atmosphere, Rowe was graduated and the effect of those days on Rowe both socially and politically was an emphatic fact. It was the time of cold war and in such a condition, Rowe's initial allusions of "Modern architecture's polemical contradictions" emerged. [57] With such distrust, he encountered a double opportunity after finalizing his studies at Warbung Institute. One option was to go to Harvard and work with Siegfried Gideon. The other option was to go to Yale to work with Henry Russell Hitchcock. The choice of Harvard and Gideon was the advice of his supervisor, Rudolph Wittkower. Nevertheless, Rowe was not of Wittkower's mind, since he had doubts about the revolutionary role of Modern

architecture for an idealized future. At the same time, he was not a proponent of "an affirmative modernism deadening in its pragmatism and failure of imagination," which was the common acceptance of Harvard's scholastic body.[58] Therefore, Rowe did not hesitate to make a decision between the two choices and went to Yale, in his words, "to sit at Henry Russell Hitchcock's feet," adding "needless to say, at Yale, I was never to hear anything good about either Walter Gropius or Siegfried Gideon."[59] One can easily state that Henry Russell Hitchcock and the influence of Hitchcock's charisma affected "Rowe's formalism" at the beginning of his career.[60]

In fact, both Gideon and Hitchcock were prestigious architectural historians of that time who were specialized on the history of Modern architecture. Siegfried Gideon's book entitled as "Space, Time and Architecture" which was published in 1942 had achieved "a major popular success" for the time it was published. However, Henry Russell Hitchcock's book, which was published twelve years ago, under the title "Modern architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration" was, for Rowe, "the superior judgment" on the issue which deserved the success, Gideon had achieved, years ago. Rowe's thought on Hitchcock was that he was a prominent specialist of Modern architectural history whose value was appreciated in delay. The major reason for delay was due to the immaturity of the English-speaking world to accept "a new architecture," thematized as Modern.

Henry Russell Hitchcock was also a member of the early Harvard tradition, prior to Gropius's delegation of power. He was the pupil of the art historian Kinsley Porter and by his supervision, Hitchcock's motivation was circumscribed in the Romanesque architecture and "even more improbably, in the Merovingian and Carolingian minutiae."[61] Actually, the education at Harvard until Hitchcock's enrollment was most commonly weaved around the messages of "German idealism" and "Ruskinianism." By 1920, the tone in the teachings, however, took a critical appearance against those "in full retreat" and a critical tone influenced by "a French orbit"—to quote Rowe "the orbit of positivism and Auguste Choisy"—had amended the direction of the discussions thereafter. Rowe classified Hitchcock's supervisor Kingsley Porter and his conformist conception within this French orbit, which he found rather "unexcited."[62]

The major reason of mentioning Porter was due to Rowe's statement: "It must have been Kingsley Porter who had been responsible for the ultimate and mental formation of Russell Hitchcock whom I knew at Yale."[63] As a matter of fact, Porter had no impact on Hitchcock's seizure in the domain of Modern architecture. The real influence was from Peter van der Meulen Smith, whom he was acquainted with in Paris in the fall of 1926, when he went to continue his Merovingian researches following Porter's recommendation.[64] Thereafter, Hitchcock's life and thinking changed course in tandem with Meulon Smith.

Peter van der Meulen Smith was "a young American of his own generation."[65] Regardless of his young age, Smith was a perfect interpreter of Le Corbusier, and had a prominent skill to perform the messages in Corbusier's architecture in his own professional practice. The collective project of Hitchcock and Smith dated 1929, which Rowe affirmed as "the most intimate acquaintance with the early Le Corbusier proposals for the villa Les Terrasses at Garches," was an appropriate exemplary of Smith's genius for Rowe, since it might lead one to ask the question, to quote Rowe: "just how well did Smith know the Steins and Le Corbusier?"[66] Despite Smith's ephemeral existence, one could easily understand the unique place he acquired in Hitchcock's formation, and his cherished impact on Hitchcock from his special dedication of his first book, "Modern architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration," to Smith's memory.[67]

As a consequence of his Paris experience, Hitchcock, for Rowe, abandoned the writing of a thesis on medieval architecture that would guarantee him "a probable career as an early medievalist at Harvard."[68] Instead, he preferred to write his book of 1929 on Modern architecture that covered the narration of his European experiences with an aim to generate a promising "climate of opinion," which might be regarded as an intellectual platform based on the transplantation of European intellectual debate concerning Modern architecture to the use of the architectural circles in the United States.[69] It was through this book, Rowe recognized Hitchcock. It was through this book that Rowe did not hesitate to come to Yale to work with Hitchcock. Finally, it was through this book that Hitchcock was recognized by significant circles in New York, having similar intentions. All these formed a web of correlation provoking modern intimations as a new and universal style in the United States, which later was crowned by the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition of 1932, "Modern architecture."[70]

As mentioned before, the curators of the exhibition were Philip Johnson, Henry Russell Hitchcock and Alfred Barr. The catalog of this exhibition, entitled as "The international Style," gained extra significance for the time it was published, since it addressed an "architectural manifestation" which later turned out to be a phenomenon of an era. The catalog was presumed to be a collection of the visual material displayed at the exhibition under the title "Modern Architecture," with an inclusion of articles by three curators declaring their specific conceptions on the theme. However, those articles put emphasis on "an architectural manifestation," which was thematized by Hitchcock and Johnson as "*an* international style," and by Alfred Barr as "*the* International Style."[71] The significant terminology they used repeatedly to introduce Modern architecture to the United States, at last, substituted the initial point of departure and even caused the official title of the exhibition to change.[72] To quote Rowe:

> All the same, what was intended was very far removed from what was thought to be intended. It was no recommendation or directive for an internationalization of architecture; rather it was a statement that an internationalization of architecture already existed. In fact it was a title derived from previous art historical formulations, like the term international Gothic, which had lately been introduced as a designation for certain late medieval manifestations. [73]

The primary significance of this exhibition for Rowe was the means of its mere disposition towards the messages of Modern architecture in 1930s' United States. The absolute conviction was that the "persuasions and contentions" of the exhibition had marked significant changes in American architectural society at the time it was held.[74] However, one can easily regard its contentions as the three curators' promotion of the whole movement by a conscious codification of a selective spectrum for the buildings of certain architects, according to their aesthetic relevancies, omitting their political expression. In other words, the emphasis was on ensuing motives of the selected architects, such as the idea of "internationalism" and the idea of a "new style." While the particular manifestations of the triumvirate provoked extraordinary reaction of the conservative American elite, who were distinctly intolerable "for any idea of internationalism," at the same time it created "a state of mind" in a few years and became "fashionable, rather than acceptable," at least in the "popular consciousness."[75] The selection of the title and its persuasions certainly had caused polemics, but, for Rowe, this obstacle did not prevent to pervade the "state of mind" which was later yielded intensely by the "1937 appointment of Walter Gropius as chairman … of the Graduate School of

Design at Harvard."[76] Colin Rowe reinterpreted that exhibition, later at an essay he wrote about Henry Russell Hitchcock in the book "As I was Saying," which was a kind of retrospective, in the following words:

> The inadequacies of the concept of an International Style, as promoted by Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, should not require extended notice. Briefly, Hitchcock and Johnson conceived of a modern architecture without irrational motivations. They did not labor to explore the not-so-unconscious mind of the modern architect in continental Europe. They were not anxious to expose all that mishmash of millennialistic illusions, chiliastic excitements, and quasi-Marxist fantasies.[77]

Thus, he continued with a quotation from the introduction he wrote for the book "Five Architects":

> It was thus, and either by inadvertence or design, that when in the Nineteen Thirties, European modern architecture came to infiltrate the United States, it was introduced by a simply new approach to building—and not much more. That is, it was introduced, largely purged of its ideological or societal content; and it became available, not as an evident manifestation or cause of socialism, but rather as a *décor de la vie* for Greenwich, Connecticut or as a suitable veneer for the cooperate activities of enlightened capitalism.[78]

Nevertheless, it was an accepted fact that Rowe's intellectual formation, or as Ockman termed "Rowe's formalism"—a definition that implied more than his intellectual formation, but included his impact on the alternative look to postwar institutionalization of Modern architecture—was a product of his study with Hitchcock at Yale, in addition to his endeavor at Warbung Institute, and he acquired life-long benefit from his Yale experience in his latter residual professional life. However, Rowe owned his reputation to his intellectual activity in the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Texas, where he joined in January of 1954. The University of Texas experience took a significant place in Rowe's academic career, since he wrote most of his seminal texts there, and always commemorated as a member of "Texas Rangers," which was a nickname, affixed by the students of Cornell to the important and eminent figures of Texas University years later.[79]

When Rowe first entered the University of Texas as an instructor, the director of the school was Californian Harwell Harris, who was among the severe advocates of "a Wrightian discipline." Before Harris, the education in Texas was employed through three diverse tendencies. As identified by Alexander Caragonne, in a book he wrote on Texas

Rangers, one tendency was emphasizing "tradition and precedents" as the source of the obsessive dictation of Beaux-Arts principles, which Caragonne called "Americanized Beaux-Arts principles."[80] The other was a tendency based on Bauhaus teachings "transplanted to Harvard graduate school of design under Gropius."[81] The third, on the other hand, was that of "pragmatic regionalism" defended by those who believed in the necessity to develop a sense of locality conveying the dogma of Americanism. With the assignment of Harris as the director of the school in 1951, revolutionary changes began that frustrated the majority in the faculty, and the "political infighting" between old and new continued until the demobilization of the latter.[82]

Harwell Harris, who was an extreme fanatic of Frank Lloyd Wright and his architecture, invited a group of young and intellectual teachers, having similar intentions. Those vanguards showed extraordinary differentiation from the "old guards" with a prevailing contemplation of the courses by avant-gardist methods of teaching. The young staff's enthusiasm about Wright and his teachings covered the corridors and changed the atmosphere of the faculty.

As stated in Rowe's book, Colin Rowe was in direct contradiction. He was aware of Wright from Hitchcock's "outstanding" lectures at Yale, but could have not quite understood the persuasive reason for Hitchcock's excitement about the subject.[83] He, therefore, devoted some time to "endorse" Hitchcock's remarks about Wright. One might think that his commitment perfectly collided with the loyalty in Texas. Adversely, since Rowe's participation in the tutor team of Harris ensued a period in which he had just completed a tour to "an awful lot of Wright houses," it corresponded to a fatigued mood that the "mystique" of the issue had already started to disappear.

The tone in Texas, however, was intolerable to any discussion that did not imply any "conspicuous Wrightian component."[84] Thus, to desire such a liberal discussion platform seemed a futile delusion. Merely, Bernard Hoesli, whom Rowe later shared the same office, was not showing extreme advocacy to the Wrightian sway. He was distinguishingly perceptible among others through his desperate will to find a discussion platform in which he could, in Rowe's words, "shed the Corbusian influences which he had privileged to acquire at first hand."[85] Inevitably, Rowe chose Hoesli as his partner to

develop a rather revolutionary attempt for that time. Their ephemeral, yet prolific companionship resulted in numerous masterpieces of the time, which pioneered new horizons in the American architectural debates and made them achieve a prominent reputation worldwide.

Bernhard Hoesli was a Swiss-born architect, three years younger than Rowe. He graduated from Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zurich and went to Paris to work for Le Corbusier immediately after graduation. It was the year 1951, when he came to the University of Texas, respectively with Harwell Harris.[86] Hoesli was of the same mind with most of the account, which Rowe had given, and with his generous support, Rowe provided the appropriate platform to propagate Miesian and Corbusian tendencies against the Wrightian dominancy.[87] Rowe later narrated his initial upheaval against that boring dominancy in the essay "Texas and Mrs. Harris," that he wrote in 1988. To quote Rowe:

> It was evident that there was no hope of proposing anything unless it involved a conspicuous Wrightian component. So, with this conceded, I then moved off into casuistry. I proposed that Theo van Doesburg was not so much affiliated with Analytical Cubism as he was an abstraction of Wright, and further I proposed that the Maison Domino of Le C. was, itself, no more than an abstraction of the structure of all those Chicago buildings in the Loop.[88]

Two months after his arrival at Texas, Rowe, in cooperation with Hoesli, sent a memorandum embodying similar proposals to the director Harris that caused enormous changes in the faculty. Their endeavor was "plausible, but highly specious," which drew attention to Mies, Corbu and Wright triangle, and the hidden connotations beyond their achievements.[89] Then, the debate attained a substantial dimension and, with Rowe and Hoesli's persuasions, there occurred a restructuring in the faculty with new recruitments in September of 1954. With the new partakers, the faculty became a Yale-trained community practically, who had significant interest in the triumvirate, and had the intellectual capacity to extend the boundaries of the dispute by their achievements. Among them, there were significant names, such as Robert Slutzky, Lee Hirsche, Irwin Rubin, thus obviously John Hedjuk. Their arrival was the beginning of "the great brilliance of a very brief Texas performance," for Rowe.[90]

All of the teachers were from European origins; as a result, the performances were predictably European oriented. Yet, Rowe distinguished Slutzky from others, when he was rendering their mere performance in following words: "A performance in which the students were excessively stimulated and in which, I suspect, they particularly responded to passionately cool teachings of Robert Slutzky."[91] Robert Slutzky was a painter, and he breathed the savor of Bauhaus at Yale, where "the Bauhaus émigré Josef Albers was propagating his influential theory of color relativity and visual perception in the art school."[92] The succeeding years passed with diligent study, crowned by the partnership of Rowe and Slutzky. Even though Rowe was an innovative figure who had proved his authority, the intellect of the team was obviously Slutzky. Their partnership became the source of several seminal works, which had enormous relevance within architectural discourse and achieved exceptional celebrity. The essay they wrote in 1955-1956, entitled "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal" might be considered as the most determining writing that their reputation in those years was indebted. It was a two-part essay.[93] The first part was about the elaboration of certain meanings attached to the term "transparency" through a discussion of Cubist and Post-Cubist paintings. The argument was implemented upon a comparison between two modernist works: Le Corbusier's Palace of the League of Nations, Gropius' Bauhaus, and Le Corbusier's Garches. Through an analysis of the architectural references, Rowe and Slutzky proposed two kinds of transparency, distinguished as "literal and phenomenal." Rowe defined their work as a "dangerous and explosive little essay" which for that period attacked the "priority" of certain circles, because of its anti-Gropius tone. In the second part written a year later, the primary focus of Rowe and Slutzky's examination was to display the captivated mannerism among modern architecture's penchants through an experimentation derived from the theory of visual perception, and to operate an alternative rejustification of the works under examination via the significant terminology of Gestalt psychology. Even though the words were mostly Rowe's, the leading ideas behind the article had been predominantly Robert Slutzky's. The "assertive contributions of frontality" and "the supremacy of picture plane" were added by Slutzky as a "very big proviso" for Rowe's "naïve arguments about Theo van Doesburg and De Stijl as interactive with Le Corbusier's Maison Domino."[94] In Rowe's words: "He insisted upon statements of flatness as being provocative arguments about depth; and as I see it now, it was in this way that "Transparency" became an important private statement for what the

Texas experiment was all about."[95] The significance of Rowe and Slutzky's "Transparency" essay has been expressed by many theoreticians, including Joan Ockman. In her 1998 essay entitled "Contextualizing Colin Rowe," she stated that:

> The ongoing relevance of "Transparency" within architectural discourse has been something of a phenomenon in itself, as it has continued to be republished over the years and its categories applied to design teaching.[96]

Texas experiment, I believe, was a celebration of a new methodology derived from the concepts of Gestalt psychology with an objective to redefine Modern architecture. Rowe and Slutzky's pragmatic application of this methodology, especially the works of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, was to verify the expressive capability of "form" without any" ideology." Clearly, the emphasis was on the built form's aesthetic relevancy, by the support of other related art movements and related concepts explored in synchronization. Rowe and Slutzky's pragmatic use of the theory of visual perception in architecture might be regarded as experimentation among many alternative approaches, and showed the possibility of further articulations that could be transplanted from other alternative fields into architecture. The teachings of this young group, on the other hand, were overnuanced by the provocation of Miesian and Corbusian expressions in this purpose. The said superiority of Miesian and Corbusian expressions to that of Wrightian aggravated severe polemics among the intellectual aura of the faculty by time. Such an emphasis on German state of thought, for the conservatists in the faculty, was a "disloyalty to America"—it was a reasonable criticism for Rowe.[97] In fact, Rowe admitted years after that his activity might have been considered a blunder for yielding such a racist attitude, that their activity excluded consciously the American reigned values of the period by highly propagating the European state of intellect. However, he reminded that it was plausibly justifiable at the current condition of those days because of the reputation of the "International Style" exhibition, which was still a dominant force on the discourse. The state of "nausea" in the intellectual atmosphere of the Texas faculty continued up to the annulment of the contracts of Rowe and others with the exception of Hoesli in the summer of 1956, which was defined by several theoreticians as the victory of old guard. Even though Hoesli tried to repeat their prolific companionship with a new group, composed of Lee Hodgden, Werner Seligmann, and John Shaw – a group he desired to be the continuation of the "School of Texas," – this second version with strong references to the first did not last for long.[98]

"The collapse of Texas experiment" conduced John Hedjuk, Robert Slutzky, and Rowe himself to undergo a period of disorientation and to circuit around the architectural faculties of different universities such as Cooper Union, University of Houston, for short periods. Colin Rowe, during this short period spent some time at Cooper Union, via the reference of John Hedjuk, and at the University of Houston via the reference of Howard Barnstone.

During the semester of '57 and '58, Rowe received an invitation from Cornell University and acted as a visiting critic for a year.[99] With Werner Seligmann and Lee Hirsch's arrivals in '61, followed by John Hedjuk's arrival in '62, Cornell became the place of "a celebration of Texas a few years back," with the obvious exception of Bernhard Hoesli.[100] The reassembly of the significant names of Texas experiment at Cornell years after might be considered a coincidence. On the contrary, as Rowe expressed, it was through the agency of Werner Seligmann, who was a Cornell graduate of the period of Richard Meier and Peter Eisenman.[101] Called by the students of Cornell as "Texas Rangers," the eminent figures of Texas experience proceeded on their way at Cornell.

Nevertheless, Rowe preferred to return to his homeland instead of staying at Cornell and went to the School of Architecture at Cambridge. The period when he made his first negotiations corresponded to Sir Leslie Martin's appointment as the head of the architecture school. According to Rowe's reminder, there were rumors among the academic circles about the assignment of Sir Leslie Martin that "this was going to lead a *great* reform," which Rowe counted on with full confidence.[102] However, the sequence of events at Cambridge for Rowe did not show the innovative progress he expected, due to the resembling policies of Leslie Martin with that of Harwell Harris, whom Rowe introduced as "liberals both but intellectual neither."[103]

Despite any apathy, Colin Rowe stayed four years at the University of Cambridge in England. Mentioning those days as "mildly rewarding, but also highly frustrating," Rowe spent his first year by only writing, avoiding any social interaction, and isolating himself from any controversy. To quote him: "[those years] were profitable-unprofitable. I was mildly stimulated but, for a year, I must have written in a vacancy. But still wrote quite a lot, private scribbling in default of any public animation."[104] His chief concentration was on the "the avant-garde aura of Le Corbusier's architecture" and to demonstrate "how

ingeniously and eclectically one of the most polemical modernists had appropriated and recontextualized the Classical tradition."[105] The essay he wrote on “Le Corbusier as the utopian architect” in 1959 was the product of this endeavor in which he proposed, “Le Corbusier’s architecture is a product of dialectic between the Mediterranean classical tradition and certain technological achievements of the early twentieth century which are conceived of as being preeminently modern.”[106] His main concern in that article was as follows, to quote Rowe:

> The earlier decades of this century did indeed witness a great invention of art and the authority of this “invention” is made beautifully clear by Le Corbusier’s achievement. Was it perhaps a foregone conclusion that society could not resist the rebellious simplicity of the program which informs all his activity, so that, after a show of resistance, it was accepted and a revolution was thus completed? For the success of any revolution is also its failure. Initial demands are never perfectly satisfied; while, in terms of specific objectives, concrete results will always appear as a corruption of original principals; and thus today Modern architecture may be felt to have become all that it was never intended to become. For it was an architecture which was sustained by the faith that it was to change the world, to regenerate society and, in short, to redeem mankind. And except for provincial pockets of resistance it is now as successful as any architecture is ever likely to be. It is patronized by governments and endorsed by great corporations. It is orthodox. It is official art. And thus, rather than the continuing *symbol* of something new, Modern Architecture had recently become the *decoration* of everything existing.[107]

According to Rowe, Modern architecture’s revolutionary role surpassed by “capitalist hegemony” was dissolved due to its lingering value. However, Le Corbusier’s “utopianism” was beyond that revolutionary role. Bearing Le Corbusier’s motto of “[g]eometry is the language of man” in mind, Rowe drew particular attention to the ultimate relationship Corbusier established between the “unchanging principle” of aesthetic theory and “the facts of a changing technology,” which was, for Rowe, a result of “a rigorous debate between past and present.”[108] It was this dialog between the past and the present appropriated by Le Corbusier, that Rowe deciphered his “utopianism,” and his achievements as “a powerful agent of change in the 1920s and thirties.” [109] The following query Rowe raised at the end of his essay might be regarded as his primary query: “If Le Corbusier’s Utopianism does seem to have been such a powerful agent of change in the 1920s and thirties, is it not also reasonable to suppose that if change is required, then another Utopian attitude might well again provide the stimulus.”[110]

Here, one can discuss whether stimulus existed among the middlebrow atmosphere of Cambridge, but it could be said that in 1960, a significant occasion reversed the run of events and highly transformed Rowe's secluded Cambridge days into a generous companionship acquiring a fruitful intellectual platform for the exchange of ideas. Rowe commemorated this occasion in the following words: "in 1960, this was changed by the arrival of Peter Eisenman from Cornell-Columbia, Jacquelin Robertson from Yale-Oxford-Yale; and thenceforward, with exception of a piece on La Tourette, it was a conversation that usurped the role of writing.[111] Following Eisenman and Robertson's arrival, Cambridge was converted into a unique establishment, due to the extensive production of highly critical debates on contemporary architectural condition by the courtesy of Rowe, Eisenman and Robertson.

Peter Eisenman and Jaquelin Robertson were conducting the first year design studio. Peter Eisenman was a passionate and intelligent young American architect, who graduated from Cornell University in 1955, and received his Master of Architecture degree from Columbia University in 1960. For Leslie Martin, Eisenman started to study his PhD at Cambridge in 1961. His thesis topic was "Formal Basis of Architecture" and his thesis advisor was obviously Colin Rowe. As previously mentioned, Eisenman was affected by Rowe's writings and personality and it might be proposed that Eisenman's arrival at Cambridge was closely related with Rowe's academic position in the faculty. Their intellectual communion was an enviable association as a tutor, as a workfellow, as a discussion partner, and mostly as a friend. Even that, they arranged a journey in the summer of 1961. It was a ninety-day trip, whose itinerary was prepared by Eisenman according to Alberto Sartori's "Encylopedie de l'architecture nouvelle" given by Colin St. John Wilson in 1961 before he left Yale University.[112] From Sartori's work Eisenman discovered Italian Rationalists, such as Guiseppe Terragni, Cesare Cattaneo, Luigi Moretti. In the summer of 1962, they rearranged a second journey to Europe. The initial breeds of Eisenman's interest in Italy and the Italian rationalists, such as Guiseppe Terragni, Cesare Cattaneo, Luigi Moretti were tied back to these days. Besides, his collection of old *Casabella*s of 1930s showed how deeply involved he was in the architectural debates of those days particularly in Italy. His PhD study was a critical approach based on the "form without ideology" of Rowe, which he at last managed to push to an extreme conclusion. His study was regarded by Ockman as an "apolitical and autonomous" reading of Terragni's Casa del Fascio. As indicated by Martin, "Eisenman's

thesis was intended to both extend and systematize Rowe's approach."[113] Eisenman completed his thesis in August of 1963. The thesis constructs, in Martin's words, "the basis for the theory of Conceptual Architecture that Eisenman would formulate between 1969- 1973."[114]

In the academic year 1963-1964, Colin Rowe returned back to Cornell, Ithaca and there, he created a studio dedicated to the issue of urban design; Peter Eisenman went to Princeton’s School of Architecture in New York and instructed the second year design students. At first sight, Cornell seemed to be providing the proper ground for Colin Rowe with the existing intellectual debate, maintained by the significant members of Texas University. This was a debate Rowe was accustomed to from his Texas days, despite a slight problem: Rowe realized that he was not a part of that company anymore.[115] The minor motive beyond his alienation was the actuality that “the Texas privilege” Lee, John and Wegner belonged to was not that of Rowe’s; he was belonging to an earlier “dispensation.”[116] Yet, the major motive was, I believe, the superiority of Rowe’s experiences in Cambridge to that of Texas and the ultimate change in his ideas as a consequence of his close company with Peter Eisenman and Jacquelin Robertson. For the case of Eisenman, on the other hand, Princeton turned out to be both a nausea, and at the same time a plea. Obviously, once the melancholy of being away from his mentor had been set aside, Eisenman met his life-long friends: Michael Graves and Emilio Ambasz.

Yet, it is crucial to be reminded once more that our analysis of the 1972 exhibition catalog is following the critical strategy outlined in Tafuri’s definition of “history.” As history was defined as a production of meanings that began primarily with the signifying traces of the event, the previous and forthcoming readings on significant events, experiences, relationships is to unveil the context of the period. Indeed, the intention lying beneath the analysis of such a wide-range of “realities,” that might be seen as irrelevant at first glance, was to determine the “traditions,” the “objects” of analysis, and the adopted “methods” by which our “historical project” was determined, and to map the complex web of “ascertainable realities” for deconstruction.

2. 3 - SIGNIFYING TRACES 2: PRINCETON EXPERIENCE

When Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves were first assigned as instructors to Princeton University, Emilio Ambasz was a young student who was "five times as propagandistic and enthusiastic as" they were. Obviously, he was not the only one. Both in terms of instructors and of the students, the young generation at Princeton was a selected party who were highly idealist and talented. It was a common dictum that the years corresponding to the late 60s and early 70s, was important and those were the innovative years for Princeton University, thus for its staff and students, who later took place among the selective figures of the "third generation" as termed by Louis Martin, which marked an era in the American architectural society. A consistent feature was the incontestable influence at Princeton on the students. The constructive impact of Princeton on Ambasz, nevertheless, was double-sided. On one side, there was the influence of effective historicist approach of Jean Labatut (1899-1986), which was the current methodology derived from the teachings of Ecole des Beaux Arts. On the other, there was the growing tendency towards experimentation in architecture, led by the young members of the faculty, particularly Eisenman and Graves.

Princeton's School of Architecture, from its foundation until late 60s, was directed by Jean Labatut, who was a French architect and academician coming from "Beaux-Arts" tradition.[117] Labatut was the advocate of "the teaching of monumental formalism or the rote application of historical forms."[118] His teaching method was based on the atelier tradition, which was instructed by a master critic. The major interest in the ateliers was on the theme of "typology." Another significant feature of his system was the intrinsic stipulation of the "reapplication" of the architectural elements from the history to present practice. This was the common approach accepted by the majority of faculty members; but the stress was on the "meaningfulness" of the historical forms. The operative character of the education was definitely coercing for the contemporary design solutions.[119]

At the catalog of 1977 IAUS exhibition which treated "Princeton's Beaux Arts and its new academicism: from Labatut to Geddes," the director Jean Labatut was mentioned as "the major influence in the school" from 1927 until 1967. Thus, it was affirmed that the

chief factor, which differentiated Princeton from other architectural schools, was Labatut's "manifestly unique, modern, and open-minded qualities."[120] Wurmfeld, in the essay he wrote for the catalog, defined Labatut's unique system as drastically different due to his sentimental coercion for the search of the "programmatic subject matter which encouraged speculation" in the matter itself.[121] The meaning of this for Wurmfeld was the fact that Labatut's undertaking of contemporary design problems was beyond drawing the direct quotations from historical elements. They were rather achieved by a process he called "creative forgetfulness": "retranslating" them into "a contemporary context" concerning their potential for meaning, which was still a prevailing approach in 1980s postmodernism.[122]

As stated in the catalog, Labatut, although he was an advocate of the French academic tradition, was also aware of the rise of the "modern movement" in Europe and he was keeping abreast of the changes as the promising outcomes of an alternative and innovative trend. To Wurmfeld's knowledge, Labatut was highly influenced by Le Corbusier, since their first encounter in 1920, at a public lecture of Corbusier, held in the Atelier at Ecole des Beaux Arts. He was, as well, an admirer of Mies van der Rohe, because of the artistic competency in his use of technological material, such as reinforced concrete, steel, and glass. Besides the confusing nature of the multi-colored diversification of his interests, the essential feature that made Labatut's teaching methods so "rich" was obviously the same diversity, which allowed him to make a "synthesis" from a broader field of varied architectural styles.[123] Prominently, the character of the education at Princeton from 1927 until 1967 was identified by Labatut's "particular and personal synthesis, his enthusiasm and his readiness as a daily part of his studio criticism to collage elements not only from the modern movement but also every other period of architectural history."[124] The influence of his stuffed ideas, reinforced by a selective spectrum from past to present, and his radical posture on every student studying at Princeton during his time could be understood from the student works.

During Labatut's period, the education system was advanced to a substantial state, which triggered a Princeton tradition for both undergraduate and graduate programs. The arrangement of a final jury for the defense of the master theses, with the invitation of outside critics and clients, dated back to those years.[125] Since Labatut was the only full-time critic of the graduate program over most of his teaching career, it was a necessity for

the students of MFA program to be assigned to Labatut as the academic advisor for at least two semesters. He did not apply any legislation on the form of the thesis; nevertheless, this independence did not change the fact that nearly every thesis submitted in his period was the outcome of "an historical analysis related in some way to the essence of a design program."[126] The progress for analyzing "the essence of a program" through an historical analysis inevitably developed a scientific ground whose focus was "the design problem cutting across historical styles to approach what Labatut termed the "permanent values" of architecture, those elements free of style on which all architectural design depends."[127]

Emilio Ambasz was one of Labatut's graduate students. At first sight, Labatut's Beaux-Arts based understanding and teaching techniques of architecture might seem to be secluded from Ambasz' activist approach to architectural discipline. However, Ambasz later expressed his esteem for Labatut in a commentary he wrote in the following words:

> I had the privilege of studying under Mr. Labatut in 1966, when he became my master thesis adviser. Since I tended to identify with all forms of the avant-garde and I had been forewarned that his architectural ideas did not agree with my canons, I approached him with some trepidation. Crisis ensued when I began to realize that I was very moved by his poetic insights into architecture, that his seemingly unstructured approach to teaching concealed a most carefully devised teaching technique. He knew exactly when to praise, and how to direct. Moreover, he had a magnificent capacity to evoke the splendors of architectural space, the magic of ritual, and the power of symbols. A conversation with him was almost a most exciting adventure into architecture's mansions. He was a most inspiring teacher one for whom students made their designs, not to gain his approval, but to elicit his pleasure. For me, he came to represent the link with an architectural inheritance I had been denied: the concept of program and the notion of type the Modern Movement had plundered from the Beaux-Arts and never acknowledged.[128]

It could be said that Labatut's competent superimposition of the architectural elements from history with that of present in a harmony, provided Ambasz and other students to gain a new perspective that benefited from architectural inheritance. Consequently, it would not be a delusion to propose what Labatut had done at Princeton was more than a reapplication of the Beaux-Arts teaching system. The provided opportunity via the extensive spectrum of architectural styles triggered the creative activity and provided a prosperous atmosphere for students. Clearly, the specific concentration was on the growing tendencies of other revolutionary figures. The condition for the academic staff

was as enthusiastic as that of students. On the one side, there were those who continued to perform the conventional attempt by adopting the very "permanent values" of architecture into contemporary design problems via the techniques hidden in traditional teaching of Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Yet, on the other side, a certain elite with extremely marginalized thoughts appeared. It was the assumption of the IAUS exhibition that those vanguards implemented the incisive decomposition of the historical forms, to unveil the meaning in them and reconfigure those inputs for that day's practice via innovatory architectural experiments.[129] This vivid climate, I think, might be the major source of Ambasz's indebtness to Labatut. To quote Ambasz literally:

> Perhaps it was another expression of Princeton's hermetic wisdom that he came at the end of my architectural education, for he provided the context which generously encompassed the seemingly isolated architectural experiments of the younger faculty members, Eisenman and Graves. As he helped me to see in their architecture an always-renewed attempt at formalizing an atavistic quest, their work integrated into architecture's continuum.[130]

Ambasz's encounter with Labatut coincided with the last years of Labatut's teaching experience at Princeton. He concluded his commentary in the following words with the awareness of the responsibility he took over from Labatut:

> Since he came to this one from another continent, I always fancied him bridging the gap between the two in a shining Zeppelin, surveying the land from Olympus' windows. It was through him that I came to reconcile the sunset of a tradition with the dawn of a day; it was my generation's responsibility to help give shape and meaning, before it turns into tomorrow's yesterday.[131]

After Labatut's departure, there occurred affirmative developments in the Princeton School of Architecture with the assignment of Paul Geddes as the Dean of the Faculty of Architecture in 1965 and the Labatut tradition continued to be preserved by his students for long years. Even today, Princeton harbors profound architectural figures that perpetuate past teachings in an intensified and experimental manner to the current generation.

As previously mentioned, Eisenman and Graves were hired during Labatut's direction. Michael Graves (1934-) received his Master of Architecture degree from Graduate School of Design at Harvard University. When he was invited as instructor in 1962, he had just completed his study on the criticism of architecture in Rome under the auspices

of American Academy. Eisenman joined the academic staff of Princeton School of Architecture a year later, after he completed his PhD in August at Cambridge University and started to instruct a design studio for the academic year 1963- 1964.[132] As indicated by Louis Martin, their hiring was a distinctive occasion for Princeton. For the last seventeen years, no instructors were hired at Princeton; Eisenman and Graves were the first teachers who broke this convention. One can easily say that Ambasz was highly affected by the charisma of those figures through his following words, mentioning his Princeton days. To quote him: "Princeton is a sublime undergraduate university. It has a good architectural school. At that time, it was rather interesting. They had Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves; the first year Peter was teaching, I think, and the second, Michael Graves. They were quite decisive and kind of bamboozled the college into promoting me to graduate student, something on that source."[133] Adding that, the feeling of going to Princeton was similar to that of going to an Institute for Advanced Studies.

Slightly different from Ambasz's claim, they were responsible from the second year undergraduate studio. In contrast to the Beaux –Art originated teachings of the current staff in Princeton, Eisenman and Graves' passionate teachings about Le Corbusier and the "white architecture" of the 1920s discriminated noticeably, and marked the beginning of a change in progress in the faculty. Several theoreticians considered their activist and reactionary approach, nourished by feverish and energetic participation of the students, as an "experimental" revolution in terms of teaching methods.[134] They preferred to isolate the studio from others to create a liberated climate for study, and to coordinate it as if a teamwork of selective members who were able to see architecture and design by means of any experimentation. Of the other students, the pupil of Eisenman and Graves' studio were selected carefully among auspicious ones, "who seemed to have a brilliant future."[135] This consistent feature spontaneously guaranteed the quality of the work done.

The companionship of Eisenman and Graves was actually a productive one, resulted in prosperous and creative contributions of the selected party. Graves' Rome experience had enormous influence on his intellectual accumulation, but the intellect of the team was obviously Eisenman. In fact, as emphasized by Martin in his dissertation, Eisenman and the ones like Eisenman were adaptive to the "British perspective," and they thought that the context in the United States was "an intellectual no man's land."[136] All the desperate complaints about the lack of "any public forum for the exchange of ideas," any "group

gathered around a common idea," any "discussion that is more than one man deep," any architectural "magazines that attempt to focus upon the state of current polemic" was as isochronous as any other issue under discussion.[137] The intention of Eisenman and Graves was to provide the intellectual platform they wanted for the American scene. With such an intention, they decided to organize a series of conferences, under the title "Conference of Architects for The Study of Environment, CASE" in the summer of 1964, together with Emilio Ambasz, who was a graduate student at Princeton during that time. The project of organizing a series of conferences with a selected group, was with a hope to "generate a critical architectural discourse in North America" that would lead the improvement of the changing climate breeding in Princeton.[138] Their aim, in its broadest sense, was to push a step forward the experimental and so-called new discourse breeding in Princeton.

CASE was a project that was modeled after Team 10 meetings. The intention, in its broadest sense, was to generate an intellectual platform to exchange ideas. Hence, through a magazine that they would publish, they were going to issue those debates periodically to the notice of the American architectural society. The first CASE meeting was held in the spring of 1964, under the leadership of Eisenman, Graves, and Ambasz. The apriori scope of the three was to share their enthusiasm with serious academicians and practitioners of the time, and open their own avant-gardist edifice to debate, if negotiated, planned to organize the division of labor. In this context, selective intellectual figures were invited from MIT, Cornell, Columbia, Yale, and Pennsylvania University, such as Richard Meier, Stanford Anderson, and Henry Millon from MIT, Jacquelin Robertson, Colin Rowe, Giovanni Pasanella, Richard Weinstein, Tim Vreeland, Vincent Scully Jr., and Robert Venturi. The peculiarity that should not be skipped, however, was the inherent reason behind the selection. Rather than a collective concern for architecture or an ideological unification, those people were gathered together because of a common acquaintance, Peter Eisenman. Richard Meier was Eisenman's cousin. He was graduated from Cornell in 1957, and consequently had worked with important architects of the period, such as Skidmore, Owings, Merrill, and Marcel Breuer. Stanford Anderson was an assistant professor from MIT and had acted as unit master for the architectural design course at Architectural Association, AA in London for the education year of 1962-1963. During that period, Eisenman was as well in London, and they became roommates.[139] Henry Millon was Stanford Anderson's colleague since 1963. He had returned from the

American Academy in Rome, like Graves, in 1960, to take position of assistant professor of History of Architecture. Jacquelin Robertson and Colin Rowe, on the other hand, were Eisenman's friends from his Cambridge years. Rowe, however, had accepted to take a position at Cornell and left the Cambridge University in 1963. The only extraneous name who had no acquaintance with Eisenman or Graves was Kenneth Frampton. Yet, the reason why he was invited was accurate. Kenneth Frampton, at the beginning of 1963, had become the technical director of the approvingly prestigious architectural magazine in England: "Architectural Design." Eisenman was trying to involve him in the preparation of the magazine. Frampton was a perfect figure for Eisenman for this position because of two reasons: first, his "possible involvement" in the preparations of CASE magazine might well make use of his experience as an editor. Second, he gave the role of being "the Siegfried Gideon of the group" to Frampton. However, none of his ideas came true. Yet, neither the CASE meetings provided the stable ground to issue a magazine due to an ideological split between the members, nor Frampton could perform the naïve role as Eisenman deemed for him. Louis Martin stated how the meeting ended in the following words:

> On the very first night, the meeting turned into an ideological confrontation between Colin Rowe and Vincent Scully, which split the audience into two groups: Eisenman, Graves, Meier, Anderson, Millon, and Frampton, who supported Rowe; and the others, who supported Scully. The next day, Scully and Venturi left Princeton before the meeting was over. This was the beginning of polarization among Ivy League schools of architecture: at one pole were the European/Modernist-oriented Cornell, Princeton, and MIT; at the other pole were the American/Regionalist oriented Penn, Yale, and Columbia.[140]

The ideological confrontation was lived through the consistent controversy of the forthcoming debates on modernism versus, and or, postmodernism. The end of such an enthusiastic affair with such an orthodox opposition was relatively unfortunate, but it did not end Eisenman's dream "to use CASE as a vehicle to generate and disseminate ideas" and to issue these ideas, which could be regarded as an end product with a magazine to be entitled "RE:FORM."[141] Yet because of the oppositions in the group, Eisenman's projection ceased its impetus. In fact, he had already prepared a draft for the magazine, but had not found the chance to share it with others. The next year, in May the group had gathered once more, this time to "sign a second editorial statement for a projected CASE magazine."[142] Of all former contributors, there remained only five core members, who

shared similar ideological approaches with that of Eisenman's: Frampton, Rowe, Anderson, Henry Millon, and Eisenman. As for Louis Martin, the culminations of these meetings were as futile as the former, since at the end the project of a magazine never had the chance to be actualized. Nonetheless, despite all the dissipated mental effort, those meetings had given occasion to the transfer of another highly intellectual Englishman to American academic world: Kenneth Frampton.

2. 4 - SIGNIFYING TRACES 3: RECONTEXTUALIZING BRITISH DOMAIN, KENNETH FRAMPTON, "SIEGFREID GIDEON OF THE GROUP"

Kenneth Frampton was a "decidedly brilliant figure" for Eisenman.[143] As already mentioned, Eisenman's invitation to join the first CASE meeting, held in 1965, led to the permanent transfer of Frampton to the United States.[144] The previously mentioned figures, who by some means or other had savored the atmosphere in England, had all gathered around the idea that the intellectual platform in England had always been more prolific than that in America. Surely, Kenneth Frampton was the representative of the British école, thus his contribution would provide prosperity to the architectural theory generating in the United States. Besides his positive contributions to the American intellectual development, the American scene served Frampton in turn, which highly altered the track of his individual development. America, for him, became the scene of his intellectual transformation towards a thorough politicization. Later, in an interview published in the periodical *October*, he admitted that "the United States politicized [him] in a way…" and he classified the active means towards his transformation under three categories.[145] First, the student movement between 1965 and 1968 had serious effects on him.[146] Second, the States experience was his first confrontation with "the production and consumption on such a scale."[147] And, as the third factor, he showed his accelerating interest on the aesthetic features in Russian architects, triggered by a book of Camilla Gray, entitled *The Great Experiment: Russian Art 1863-1922*, published in 1962. In addition, through her book, his late, but vital recognition of "the enormous energy of Russian revolution from a cultural as well as a political point of view" was made possible.[148]

As was his later interest in politics, his primary culminations and conceptions in England are equally crucial to understand his point of departure. The cross examination of the facts and causes behind the recognition of the British case as a phenomenon might be seen as a minor tribute for the major concern, yet I regard it as crucial to map the web of confessions and avoidances, as a portrayal of an early transformation in architectural thought.

As known, the English land had never been the location of any related product in the duration of so-called orthodox Modernism. The first introduction of modernist principles corresponded to early 1950s, the years Frampton started his architectural education. Yet, Frampton, in his seminal book on "Modern Architecture," published in 1980, identified the first importation of Modernism into British architectural production as not only a "style," but as a "contemporary style." Modernism's emergence under the term "Contemporary Style," was challenging, because it verified the stylistic purposes behind the importation of a highly politic paradigm. Thus, it disclosed that Modern Architecture was understood in a dual meaning, including both modern with lower case, that is to say contemporary, and Modern with capital M. Therefore, English domain was the proper ground to present a transition of certain normative paradigms of Modern into new and contemporary contextual entities. And certainly, Frampton was the key figure who presented this state of mind to the United States after his arrival in 1965.

Frampton's education corresponded to years when the intellectual atmosphere of the AA Academy was highly productive, and tense due to the antagonism between various vanguard forces, aggravated around the anarchic assortment of key paradigms of the period, visibly competitive in nature. The staff of the school was divided into two poles, as if representing this antagonism. Frampton's education, therefore, comprised of those influences. On one side, there were severe "propagators of the so-called Contemporary Style."[149] Frampton's first year instructors, such as Paul Boissevain, and Leonard Manasseh, were among those propagators. As Frampton later indicated in his book *Modern Architecture*, the so-called style was the subliminal contemplation and recognition of "The Festival of Britain," held in 1951. The architectural works in the Festival were handled in two manners. There were those, which Frampton recalled as "Contemporary Style," designed in a "reduced Neo-Georgian manner," which utilized direct quotations from the typical features of a Sweden-originated official architecture, such as the use of brick in load-bearing walls, low-pitched roofs, white, wood-framed picture windows fitted with plate glass, small bore central heating and exotic indoor plants.[150] Moreover, there were others, which were designed in a Constructivist manner. Through the Festival of Britain, for Frampton, the Contemporary Style, provoking comparable the "populist" savor of Swedish empathy became more progressive in architectural production by minor intrusions of Constructivist inputs. Due to the

superfluous manner provoked by the architectural works, for Frampton, the Festival appeared as the rhetorical simulacra of the "circus of life." Yet, it was a fact that it enabled the re-celebration of a European-originated modernist tradition in Britain. In Frampton's words:

> This so-called 'people's detailing' became, with local additions, the received vocabulary of the left-wing architects of the London County Council, and it acquired a wider acceptance through the influence of *The Architectural Review*, J.M. Richards and Nikolaus Pevsner, who from having first argued for a stringent modernism, began in the early 1950s to opt for a less rigorous approach to the creation of built form. Pevsner's Reith Lectures of 1955, 'The Englishness of English Art', publicly asserted the picturesque informality as the very essence of British culture. This humanized version of the Modern Movement even came to be propagated under the title of 'The New Humanism' by the editorial of *The Architectural Review.*[151]

On the other side, there were the reformist vanguards that rejected the imitating nature of the Contemporary Style. For them, the upheld ideology injected by the Festival was an indication of a "normative syndrome;" therefore, "its syntactical and ideological implications" were of the other, obviously not of British.[152] For this group, there was a necessity to elaborate a new "ethos," apt to British sanity. The new ethos, which arose in this perspective, was denominated as "New Brutalism." Its propagators refused all the Swedish affinities that were embraced by the Festival, thus, its pledging "liberal and petit bourgeois stylistic compromise" and rejected its "gratifying populism."[153]

Alison and Peter Smithson, who were instructing the second year studio, were the radical advocators of the Brutalist ethos, and the design activity they perpetrated was relative to Brutalist principles.[154] Peter Smithson also acted as the design tutor of Frampton's class, and as Frampton emphasized, he was, by no means, the "most distinguished teacher of that moment."[155] In such a contentious environment, Frampton mentioned the complaints of the leftist students about the overload of paradoxical information that was not only competing with each other, but also underestimating the necessity of a political posture. As claimed by Frampton, those students were more critical with the stylistic postulations of Contemporary Style. For them, the imported use of brick as the symbol of Britain's new national architecture was the ultimatum of a bourgeois adjudication. Rather, in the current political context, they saw Le Corbusier's use of *bêton brut* in his works after 1945 and Owen Williams' use of concrete with an epic engineering approach in

Williams's Boots Factory (1932) and in his Peckham Health Centre (1935) as appropriate cases for the new identity of Britain. The "New Brutalist" approach announced by Smithsons' Hunstanton school project, therefore, provided the perfect model for the leftist AA students. Its stylistic features became the major influence on the design activities of both Frampton and his student fellows.[156]

As claimed by Irénée Scalbert in her article, titled "Architecture as a Way of Life: The New Brutalism 1953-1956," Alison Smithson first introduced this so-called style under the title "New Brutalism" in 1953 in her short descriptive essay on a house project in Soho. For Frampton, the first announcement of its philosophy to British public was due to an exhibition, titled "Parallel of Life and Art" organized the same year.[157] It was held at Institute of Contemporary Arts in London. Alongside Smithsons, two artists, the photographer Nigel Henderson, and the artist, Eduardo Paolozzi organized the exhibition. During that time, Smithsons and the two artists were the members of Independent Group (IG), which was a discussion-group, composed of young artists, designers, and critics. There, the notion of New Brutalism and its philosophy became the subject of discussions for the first time. Finally, in 1952, Paolozzi suggested organizing an exhibition to publicize IG group's ideas, and this project received extra appreciation in the group. The "Parallel of Life and Art" exhibition was a result of those discussions in the IG, which took a year of preparation. The show appeared to be their assemblage of images, as if randomly selected pieces from the materials of everyday life in an arbitrary manner. The images chosen were both projecting what one did at home for pleasure, but at the same time, were far away from being the representations of an ultimate contentment of one's life. As Frampton put them, a majority "offered scenes of violence and distorted or anti-aesthetic views of human figure, and all had a coarse grainy texture, which was clearly regarded by the collaborators as one of their main virtues."[158] Due to its stipulation of, in Frampton's words, "viewing the world as a landscape laid waste by war, decay, and disease – beneath whose ashen layers one could still find the trashes of life, albeit microscopic, pulsating within the ruins," the curators' violent manner induced several people, including Frampton, to recognize the exhibition as "decidedly existential."[159] However, as indicated by Scalbert, behind their vicious and existential manner, there were variable scopes, attributed by each curator. For Paolozzi, the main aspect of their artistic activity was the "antipuritanical taste for the American popular culture," and due this,

their work showed differentiation with other existentialist works in Europe. For Smithsons, the "novel" nature was a result of the consciously attributed "*as found* quality," was the most significant aspect of the exhibition, and via that, the exhibition became the verification of the proposal: "art could result from an act of choice rather than an act of design."[160] For Henderson, on the other hand, the gratifying feature of the show was the irony lying beneath the emergence of "vital" soul, from the depths of malicious representations of casual life. No matter what the scope was, it was a fact that the material sensibility of Brutalist ethos was reflected, in such a way that, the exhibition marked the beginning of an "a-formalist trend."[161] In Scalbert's words: "A-formalism undoubtedly gave a sense of direction to British avant-garde architecture in the 1950s."[162] Adding that: "Banham was aware of its importance, faintly at first when it meant to him no more than a rejection of classic proportions, and emphatically in 1966 when he recognized it as a force in its own right."[163]

As indicated by Irénée Scalbert: "Brutalism started with a particular sensitivity toward materials."[164] However, she also noted that its values and objectives were too blurred to be defined as a consistent movement. All proponents were sentient of this defect; all were in search of synchronized references for amplification, either within the discipline of architecture, or within the intellectual body of related artistic and philosophical phenomena. The forthcoming works of Smithsons were clearly displaying their challenge for 'meaning' that would take the style beyond the hermetic concerns of the exhibition. As Frampton claimed, after the completion of Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseille in 1952, Smithsons' structures, comprising a Neo-Miesian affiliation, suddenly started to speak of a more Corbusian language. As connoted by their well-known motto: "Mies is great, but Corbu communicates," the 'meaning' announced by Corbusian structures, for Frampton, facilitated Smithsons' endeavor to amend the "Brutal anti-art aura," to a more artistic stance, devoid of any drift from their steady and central principle "truth to material."[165] Consequently, Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation aggravated a shift in the 'syntax' of Smithsons' structures. The use of the term syntax is conscious, since, I believe, the major influence behind all was the ongoing discourses on language via semiology. Smithsons, therefore, animated the first instances of the search for meaning in the modernist components of the 1920s. This was significant in the context of the 1950s, since it marked the beginnings of a departure from Brutal thinking to a more 'meaningful' realm. Nevertheless, the ultimate bounce from the principles of Brutalism came by James

Stirling (1926-1992), who was a contemporary of Smithsons. Although some identified the early work of Stirling as Brutalist, he had always denied being categorized under such a template. Despite his sensibility towards material, which might possibly be regarded as a result of Brutalist approach, Stirling had branched himself from his entourage due to altering inclinations. Indeed, the competitive relationship between him and Smithsons merely relied on some slight differences bred from interpretation. While Smithsons were stimulated by Situationist sensibility and philosophy, Stirling precluded such prompt totally. Both used brick in their small-scale housing projects. Nevertheless, while Smithsons had not given any emphasis to the aesthetic value of its very use, Stirling, contrarily, heeded that detail by giving references of “the totalitarian brick aesthetic of the 19th century.”[166] Frampton declared Stirling as the most prestigious figure of the period who managed “the ultimate integration of the British Brutalist aesthetic.”[167] Frampton expressed this fusion, particularly perceived in his Leicester project, in the following passage:

> Leicester absorbed the fundamental contradictions of the initial Brutalist position by recombining the canonical forms of the Modern Movement with elements drawn from the industrial and commercial vernacular of Stirling’s Liverpool. All that now remained of the Purist paradigm of the late 1920s was the marine detailing – the deck rails, companion ladders and cowls that had been polemically illustrated in *Vers une architecture*. For the rest, Leicester was an eclectic *tour de force* that recalled, in its remarkable juxtaposition of diverse elements, not only the work of Telford and Brunel but also the work of William Butterfield as manifest in his All Saints’ Church, Margaret Street, London of 1849. What other strategy, one may argue, than the Gothic Revival could have succeeded in combining Purist formal elements with the Romantic imagery of Wright’s Johnson Wax complex of 1936-39, while at the same time integrating such Brutal structural components as the exposed diagrid floors drawn from Kahn’s Richards Laboratories of 1958?[168]

As also pointed out by Scalbert, the transformation in syntax came across by every theoretical enterprise of the period. Her interpretation of Reyner Banham’s two texts (1922-1988) written in a ten-year span was critical. In his essay of 1955, the prolific architectural critic and historian Reyner Banham, had first abstracted the movement under following characteristics: “memorability of image, clear exhibition of structure, and valuation of materials as found.”[169] However, by his 1966 book, entitled “The New Brutalism: Ethics or Aesthetics,” he rectified his previous abstraction by positing three new, and different conceptions of Brutalism, which rather embraced the significant parameters for the movement. In Scalbert’s words: “They were a *rappel a l’ordre* to the

fundamentals of architecture endorsed by Modernists with a Beaux-Arts background, an instance of British pragmatism according to which every case was to be assessed on its own merits, and a new aesthetic informed notably by *musique concrete* and abstract expressionism. However, it is clear that what Brutalism represented to him personally, during the critical years of 1953 to 1955, was the possibility of 'an utterly uninhibited functionalism' of the kind which he was to advocate throughout his life."[170] By referring to Scalbert's interpretation of Banham, one can unveil three major themes from Banham's later interpretation of Brutalism: historical reference, contextual configuration, and aesthetic organization. All were speaking of a stylistic approach. All comprised an interest on linguistic studies. All were signifying a transition towards postmodern. And, all were giving the signs of forthcoming debates of the 80s on historicism, contextualism, and autonomization, which will be the major keywords of the third section of this study.

Frampton dedicated a whole chapter on the stylistic approaches after 1925 in his renowned book: *Modern Architecture*. The title of the chapter was "Critical assessment and extension into the present, 1925-1991." Ironically, this specific English style was following the "International Style." There was no doubt that New Brutalism was a critical assessment of orthodox Modern architecture. However, I believe, its very extensions for the future, was concealed in another specific feature of the movement, which elevated the mere fusion of artistic and architectonic elements above neo-Modern examples. Referring to Frampton, one could regard Smithsons' *au fait* reception of *Art Brut*, Dubuffet, and Existentialism, as decidedly art-architectural metaphors, since each represented how "the boundaries between architecture and art were porous."[171] This might be considered as the English version of a postmodern affinity.

Having represented the intellectual environment at that period in England, to mention its influence on American lobby is similarly crucial. Here, another exhibition, held in 1959 was of great significance to grasp the transaction of an American state of mind with that of Britain. In Frampton's seminal book, *Modern Architecture,* the year 1959 was noted as the end of New Brutalism. The exhibition was displaying the student works of the academic year 1958-1959 in AA. As a reminder, just as the prominent architectural magazines of Britain, such as *Architectural Review* or *Architectural Design,* were the publishing bodies of what had been theoretically under consideration at that time; the

design studios of AA were those theories' field of application pragmatically. The student projects, in this context, might be regarded as the mirror of what had been processed in the domain of architecture. Indeed, the 1959 exhibition corresponded to Rowe's early years at Cambridge after his seminal Texas experience with Robert Slutzky, and Colin Rowe wrote a not very known essay on the student works accomplished at AA. This essay, published in the AA journal, beyond its context, recovered a void in my research due to three major motives. First, it provided the necessary clues to understand how Colin Rowe, who was an American-educated English architect, interpreted the eventual atmosphere in Britain in contrast to that in the United States. Second, because he pointed to the mannerist manner behind the works, which could address a postmodern sensibility. Third, and the most important aspect, because he spoke of two essential terms of modernist sensibility while categorizing the stylish-dialect in the student works: "form" and "function." In his review, Colin Rowe compared the "AA manner of the moment" with an "outburst of Pont Street Dutch after a wave of Belgravian Stucco."[172] He explained as follows:

> Capable for these reasons of immediately fitting into the London scene, and of augmenting its variety, it is therefore a paradoxical style which betrays a preference for the particular rather than the general, for the striking rather than the exemplary. In some ways, the deliberate sabotage of the older Modern architecture, in others a rather hectic loyalty towards it, at the level of forms it apparently consists of multiple reminiscences. Thus the dry bones of the Villa Radieuse are ruthlessly agitated, and the Unité at Marseilles is violently hacked about; the once discredited expressionists of the 1920s are again pressed into service; Constructivism and De Stijl are allowed to provide significant ingredients; the contributions of Art Nouveau and Futurism are not neglected; and then, with an affection deliberate casualness, the whole amalgam is savagely stirred to be ultimately mounded with a regard for its potential *terribiliatà* [173]

His review of the period might seem highly harsh and negatively critical. However, the irony was hidden in his continuing words. Rowe continued that his previous sentences scripting the 'potential *terribiliatà*', should not be interpreted as "adverse comments." On the contrary, it was illuminating an opposite condition. As much as the "obsessive" capacities of such a complex mix of mannerism, those ambiguous works were announcing a "welcome authenticity."[174] Rowe, in fact, analyzed the works in terms of "form" and "function," and he divided them in two groups. On one side, there were formalist works, which reminded various arrangements of mechanical furnitures. Whereas, on the other

side, there were reactionary unorthodox forms, which were mostly in "biomorphic" shapes, as if convoluted tubes or similar organic forms.[175] If one remembers that, as previously mentioned, the 1959 review of Rowe corresponded to his initial Cambridge days, it would not be hard to say that Rowe was much closer to the first group. Nevertheless, he was also sympathetic to the second intestinal experimentations due to their accomplishment of assigning pattern into "space and matter." For Rowe, this aesthetic-spatial peculiarity was what made them architectural. Whereas, the significant criticism noted in his following words, might mirror the very progress of architecture in that period, or might especially reveal the ongoing change in architectural thought. To quote literally:

> It is now some years since Modern architecture began to turn into 'something different', to turn into a popular success; and it is some years since the perceptive began to recognize that this process had certainly devalued the complex imagery by which the movement had originally been animated. For the figure of architect as a pioneer on the frontiers of the future became increasingly imminent; while the anticipated future itself became curiously divested of ideal overtones as its attainment became more and more of a possibility. Thus, the long awaited recognition of Modern architecture has turned out to be something of an anticlimax. The architect, to an extent, had superseded his own conception of himself. But to approach the problem with somehow more highly colored criteria: twenty years ago, or perhaps even ten, if one had been asked to provide allegorical representation of the new architect, one might have done far worse than select the figure of David, or the ingenious and youthful innovator confronting the great and stupid Philistine. But one could scarcely do this today. Times change. The stone hits the mark. Goliath falls. The historic David pays the penalty for his audaciousness…[176]

Indeed, the populist contamination of Modern architecture, the first appeals against its ideal sanctions, as mentioned by Rowe, was the main inquiry of the 1960s internationally and Rowe's expression of similar ideas about the present condition revealed the impact of the ongoing search on meaning in architecture, beyond any heritage of Modernism. And, Rowe concluded his words as follows:

> To pass further judgment is possible only at the risk of sententiousness and also at the risk of standing on a very shaky critical base. The observer may wish to stigmatise the AA exhibition as dissenting, schismatic, and heretical; but in order to do so he has to say from what it dissents. He is placed therefore in the ambiguous position of affirming the significance of one revolution and of refusing to attribute value to a further movement of reform. In fact he is placed a little in the position of a member of the eighteenth century Anglican establishment, pronouncing the Reformation to have been a return to the

> primitive virtues and therefore a good thing but condemning, say, the Methodists as dangerous enthusiasts. And is this very consistent? Or is it very defensible? Obviously it is neither. It is a deplorable position. But for all that it may sometimes be a position which we ought to accept.[177]

Rowe's words might be regarded as the portrayal of any connoisseur, apt to be situated in light of what was happening in architectural education, thus obviously trigger the necessary criticism of British context at that time from the viewpoint of an American educated Englishman. His words might be the sign of the first seeds of his forthcoming critical sensibility against Neo-modern approaches. His words might be the sign of the influence of English domain on his thoughts, and the English domain might signify a before and after in Rowe's formation.

If we go back to Frampton, his transfer to New York was indeed the transfer of the British state of mind to the intellectual lobbies of New York. As claimed before, it was Peter Eisenman, who called Frampton to the CASE meetings in 1965. The influence of Rowe on Eisenman as his tutor was an emphatic fact. During those years, Eisenman had complaints about the infertile intellectual platform of the United States. He was in search for possible means of a “revolution.” His awareness in regard to the fruitfulness of English intellectual debate was due to his Cambridge experience and his passionate discussions with Colin Rowe. If a comparison had to be made between the intellectual lobbies of the two countries, Eisenman regarded America as ‘no man's land’. Eisenman's intention while inviting Frampton to CASE meetings, therefore, was beyond his transfer as a brilliant figure, but also the transfer of his English thought and his editorial experiences from the days of his technical editorship of the magazine *Architectural Design*.

> Consequently, the "American romance with English intellectual attitudes" became so pervasive "that it became almost a requirement for an eastern school of architecture" to hire an English "type" or a South African. Eisenman did not give names, but many come to mind: Peter Collins secured a job at McGill in 1956; Colin St. John Wilson and James Stirling visited Yale in the late 1950s; Colin Rowe settled at Cornell in 1963; and perhaps because of Eisenman's presence, Princeton after 1963 became a major English outpost in the United States, with the successive arrivals of Kenneth Frampton, Anthony Vidler, Robert Maxwell, and Alan Colquhoun. In addition, several other English critics, including Joseph Rykwert and Reyner Banham, eventually joined other North American universities. As to the "South African," Eisenman certainly had in mind the architect and urban planner Denise Scott Brown.[178]

2. 5 - SIGNIFYING TRACES 4: INSTITUTE FOR ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN STUDIES[179]

Along with Eisenman's attempt to organize a community with "brilliant" people, in Martin's words, his experimental studies on architecture were continuing in the corridors of Princeton. Graves and Eisenman were working on several architectural competitions. They had formed an alternative studio, which was modeled through an inspiration of the urban design studio, established by Colin Rowe in Cornell. As traced by Louis Martin, in his seminal work, Arthur Drexler, who was the director of MoMA, visited Princeton in order to give a lecture in 1965, when Eisenman and Graves were working on the "New Jersey Corridor Project" (1964-1966). The project was assembled around the idea of a "linear city" that would provide a potential structural linkage between Philadelphia and New York. When Arthur Drexler saw their project, he got impressed with the thought, as also stated by Martin: the first seeds of the idea, which was to convene the architectural schools of other significant universities to study alternative urban solutions, were fertilized. Later, this initiative led to the formation of the exhibition, entitled "The New City Architecture and Urban Renewal," held at MoMA in 1967. Colin Rowe from Cornell, Jacquelin Robertson from Columbia, and Stanford Anderson from MIT contributed to the exhibition with innovative architectural proposals.[180] Eisenman and his team represented Princeton. However, the selection of the names for the team that would present Princeton in the exhibition prompted a dispute between Eisenman and Geddes. Although Geddes was the new dean selected with the support of Eisenman and Graves, he first rejected Eisenman's being the representative of Princeton University. Even though, Eisenman succeeded to present Princeton with his team as he desired, due to this antagonism, Eisenman's personal relationship with the directorial staff suffered permanent damage. When he demanded to use his sabbatical year to finish his book on Terragni, he received a denial from the administrative staff. Those confrontations culminated with the cessation of Eisenman's agreement in the summer of 1966.

As later indicated in the Institute's catalog, "The exhibition *The New City: Architectural and Urban Renewal* at the Museum of Modern Art, a natural consolidation of these efforts, led to the formation of the Institute."[181] After Eisenman left Princeton University, he put forth an effort to realize his dream of founding "an independent organization." To

provide a platform to “integrate theoretical studies with empirical design problems” and to "bring the real world into the academic world" was Eisenman’s eternal desire.[182] Therefore, the organization that he conceived would gather two worlds, the academia, and the professionals, for a collective study, dedicated to real urban design problems. Eisenman presented his project of Institution to MoMA via his friend, Arthur Drexler. When Drexler presented Eisenman’s project to the Director of MoMA, the idea to participate in an independent establishment was welcomed by the director. The year 1967, therefore, was the founding year of the *Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies* (IAUS) and a pivotal year for Eisenman. The forthcoming years would give birth to new openings both in his architectural career and in the field of architecture as a discipline.

Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), as indicated in Chairman’s statement, was founded “as an alternative structure within which to practice and teach architecture and urban design.”[183] It was “a non-profit, independent agency” whose core was formed by selective influential and young architects and planners, who “had already been independently engaged in seeking alternatives to traditional forms of architectural education and practice.”[184] As indicated by Frampton, the first structuring of the Institute was centered on selective figures around Eisenman. Frampton, later, in an interview he made with Hal Foster and Stan Allen, published in October in 2003, defined the gathering of this enormous group under the official title, *Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies* in following terms:

> That moment is difficult for me to characterize. It was centered on the strange displaced family that Eisenman, through his charisma, gathered around himself: Mario Gandelsonas, Diana Agrest, myself, Tony Vidler, and somewhat later, Kurt Forster. While we are not all Europeans, we are certainly not Americans. Eisenman made this kind of international coterie, which in a sense had always been his intention.[185]

The meetings of the *Committee of Architects for the Study of the Environment* (CASE) were obviously Eisenman’s initial enterprise of providing an intellectual platform. As Frampton later spoke of it, CASE was an “inclusive” group, gathering influential figures of the period. Nevertheless, due to some superimposed “naiveties,” its dispersion came soon.[186] The *Institute* was where they repaired that split. After the foundation of the *Institute*, Eisenman continued to organize the CASE meetings.[187] After the collapse of the first CASE meeting, Eisenman was conscious of the impracticality of gathering a

cohesive group, sharing similar thoughts. At least, they should be unified around a common idea: the initiation of a critical discourse on architectural ideology was essential for the American realm, alternative to all stylistic projections. Besides the differences in thought, the geographical distances were a problem. Therefore, the CASE meetings under the shelter of the Institute were continued to be organized in a fragmented structure. The decision of a meeting held in January 1968 was that the proper solution to overcome geographical distances was to decompose CASE into two major groups according to the majorities' localities: CASE/Princeton, NY, CASE/ Boston, with a possible reserve for any formation about CASE/Philadelphia behindhand. Afterwards the meetings were held either by the NY group at the Institute, or by the Boston Group at MIT or Harvard.[188]

According to Martin's study, the first year passed in a "productive and peaceful" mode. The collective study of the Institute with Colin Rowe's "Urban Design Studio" continued during the academic year 1968-1969. Robert Slutzky from Cooper Union, Alexander Caragonne from Cornell, and Emilio Ambasz who had been recently appointed as the curator of design at MoMA, also participated in those studies as visiting fellows.[189] The group initiated two new projects: "Development of a Formal Typology of Streets," sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts; and a "Zoning Case Study" for the New York City Planning Commission.[190] Simultaneously, Ambasz and Eisenman started to work on a two-year project about the "New York Settlements." This productive and peaceful mode at the Institute, however, was spoiled due to a conflict; Martin called it "a personality conflict" between Eisenman and the Cornell team. This conflict led to the resignation of Colin Rowe from the Institute by March 1969, and severely damaged the relationship of Eisenman with his mentor Colin Rowe to a point of no return.[191]

The sixth CASE meeting took place in Boston within this tense climate, triggered by Eisenman's "emotional breakup" with Rowe. It was a three-day symposium, prepared by Stanford Anderson and CASE/Boston and held at MIT. Eisenman participated in the symposium with the speech, "An Introduction to Syntactic Analysis and Design Process."[192] At that symposium, Anderson introduced Rosalind Krauss to Eisenman, whom he believed could be useful for Eisenman in terms of his new interest in structural linguistics. Krauss was a "bright art critic and historian," who had just submitted her Ph.D. on the sculpture of David Smith at Harvard, and her intellectual approach influenced Eisenman in his search for a new theoretical base to theory of form.[193] Krauss

introduced to him a different theoretical horizon, through specific concepts in painting, such as metaphor, illusion, and pictorial space. At the next CASE meeting, which occurred a few weeks later, CASE 7, Eisenman presented his theory of form with a new approach in light of Krauss' inputs. CASE 7 was the organization of CASE/Princeton, NY. It was held at MoMA as a two-day symposium, on 9-10 May 1969. "To generate a critical discussion of buildings by CASE members" was proclaimed as the meeting's primary objective.[194] Kenneth Frampton, Stanford Anderson, and Anthony Eaderly lectured on the house projects of Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, John Hedjuk, Richard Meier, Charles Gwathmey, and William Ellis. Although, the transcripts of the texts presented at CASE 7 had never been published, Martin's interpretation of them clearly explicated the mood of discussions. Despite their being fragmented proposals, Martin reiterated the overall message as:

> …Eisenman defended his group of houses as experiments "with form type rather than house type." Since the drawings for Falk House (House 11) were only preliminary, criticism of Eisenman's architecture focused on his Barenholz mini-museum (House I). To explain the concept of Cardboard Architecture, Eisenman distinguished between the pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic domains of architecture, the *pragmatic* being "form as program" and "form as structure," the *semantic* being "form as content," and the *syntactic* being "form as form." For Eisenman, the pragmatic and the semantic were filters that limited experimentation with the syntactic. He maintained that the mannerism of his work was different from Venturi's because he tried to move beyond the percept to the conceptual basis of architecture. Among those in the audience, Joseph Rykwert believed this project to be impossible yet worth the attempt. Eisenman referred to Chomsky to explain that "frontality, recessional space, rotational space, and transparency" were aspects of the deep structure of architecture. When mentioning his forthcoming article on Terragni, he stressed the importance of Rowe's and Slutzky's article on transparency, and credited Rosalind Krauss "for having revealed certain things in painting and in criticism about the use of metaphor and illusion and pictorial space" that "he found very helpful for criticizing" his own work.[195]

As also indicated by Martin, the book entitled "Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hejduk. Meier" was based on CASE 7 discussions. It was published in 1972. Indeed, Martin mapped the stages of development behind Eisenman's theory of form, over his several essays published between 1970 and 1974.[196] The overall scrutiny of those texts, for Martin, uncovered the mental journey of Eisenman, and explored the stages of his survey on the "deep structure of architecture," its transformation from "object" to "relationships."[197]

The first article was published at Casabella. It was an inquiry, discussing the place and importance of Terragni's *Casa del Fascio* in Modern Architecture's development.[198] The second essay, focusing on the work of Terragni similarly, was published at Perspecta 12/12 in 1971. This essay was composed of two parts: the first part was where Eisenman introduced the subject and his methodology; the second part, on the contrary, where Eisenman reread the deep structure in Terragni's Casa Guiliani-Frigerio via several diagrams, sketched by his students. According to Martin, both articles had a prevision that "modern architecture demanded a new awareness of physical world," but the latter one singled out by propounding an analogy with "Modern painting's attempt to divest objects of their traditional and associational meaning."[199] Modern painting's separation of object from context was a method for Eisenman to redefine the object's status, by assigning new meanings. However, as in architecture such detachment had always been impractical due to architecture's requirement of a three-dimensional presence, Eisenman segregated "surface" from "deep structure," which, for Martin, was an extension of Rowe and Slutzky's contemplation of cubist painting.[200] The common tribute was: "architecture is space, while painting merely creates the illusion of it."[201] Moreover, for Eisenman, in Martin's words:

> … the space in painting was an abstraction that was dual, like transparency: it could be "dependent on the distortion of known objects," and was thus "an abstraction of percept" (Leger, Gris) -or it could be based on "the structure of pure forms and relationships derived from … formal universals," and then be an abstraction "of a conceptual nature" (Mondrian, Malevich).[202]

The influence of Krauss on Eisenman could be perceived from Martin's paragraph. To present his main point, Martin quoted the following passage from Eisenman:

> There is a surface aspect essentially concerned with the sensual qualities of the object; that is aspects of its surface, texture, color, shape, which engender responses that are essentially perceptual. There is also a deep aspect concerned with conceptual relationships, which are not sensually perceived; such as frontality, obliqueness, recession, elongation, compression, and shear, which are understood in the mind. These are attributes, which accrue to relationships between objects, rather than to the physical presence of the objects themselves.[203]

The argument shaped the outline of his next "substantial text" for Martin: "Notes on Conceptual Architecture," published in the special issue of *Casabella* dedicated to IAUS in 1971. Eisenman's search for a "rational theory of architectural form," a definition of

Martin, should be scrutinized in connection with the overall intellectual context of the period. As Martin established the link, the intellectual context of mid-1960s, when Eisenman published his “Notes on Conceptual Architecture,” was aggravated by the postmodernist theories of Robert Venturi, speculated in his book *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, published in 1966. Provoking the necessity of “style” and “manner,” Venturi’s book, as claimed by most critics, marked a “turning point” in American architectural culture. Its primary complaint was “the symbolic poverty of the postwar corporate architecture,” and his insistence of planting stylistic components to avoid this so-called deficiency generated a new mannerist approach, as the most progressive trend of a period.[204]

Along with Venturi’s, the books such as Joseph Rykwert’s *Meaning and Building* of 1960, and its edited version in *Meaning in Architecture*, edited by Charles Jencks and George Baird, published in 1969 were similar endeavors for a new stylistic movement in architecture. However, as Martin claimed, Eisenman was particularly an opponent of Venturi’s Mannerism. The revelation of his antagonism was through a review he wrote in 1969 book *Meaning in Architecture*. There, he interpreted the stylistic and mannerist approaches, such as Venturi’s, as a response to, or in other words, “reaction” against the neo-modernist approaches of British and British-influenced avant-garde—Eisenman was obviously one. As Britain was the “last refugee of Modern Movement,” for Eisenman, its very penetration to American realm triggered the pervasion of British state of mind into academies.[205] However, Venturi and Denise Scott Brown’s were of another, as to Eisenman they were “South African.” For Martin, Venturi and Scott Brown’s 1967 and 1968 articles on Las Vegas, entitled "A Significance for A& P Parking Lots, or Learning from Las Vegas," and "On Ducks and Decoration,” were signifying their concern on the symbolic reconfiguration of public places. The first was an inquiry on the dominancy of sign over space, which they defined as “architecture of bold communication.”[206] The second was, in a similar vein, but this time, Venturi and Scott Brown developed a dual characteristic for the architectural systems of roadside America, under the themes “ducks” and “decorated shed.” While the term “ducks” was used to symbolize the architectural works, transformed into signs, the term “decorated shed” was used to define the program-bound structures, free from any symbolic system.[207]

Along with Eisenman, Martin rendered two antagonist views of the period. The first was that of Tomas Maldonado, from Princeton.[208] Regarding Venturi's argument, Maldonado criticized Venturi's use of the term "meaning" and "his uncritical attitude toward the culture industry."[209] Maldonado thought that the very use of the term "meaning" had to be clarified for the Las Vegas case. He claimed: "Each sign is a stereotyped, crystallized message; a semantic vehicle of which the connection to what it claims to design, denote, or signify is never made clear. The result is an epidermal communication, a simulacrum of communication, just chit-chat, just noise."[210] He continued:

> There is in fact every reason to suppose, without being terribly unfair, that Venturi believes in Las Vegas. In his article, he often manages to make us understand not only that he is not troubled by this dazzling jungle of signs, but on the contrary that he considers it a revolutionary turn in the environmental history of man. He considers Las Vegas the result of an authentic outburst of popular fantasy. And there he is mistaken. Las Vegas is not a creation by the people, but *for* the people. It is the final product —one might even call it almost perfect of its kind —of more than half a century of masked manipulatory violence directed toward the formation of an apparently free and playful environment, like a Luna Park. But it is an environment in which men are completely devoid of innovative will and of resistance to the effects of the pseudo communicative intoxication mentioned earlier.[211]

According to Martin's work, Maldonado later expanded his theories on Las Vegas, in a chapter he dedicated in his 1970 book, entitled *Design, Nature, and Revolution: Toward A Critical Ecology.* There, Martin highlighted Maldonado's counter approach of Venturi, which I regard as instrumental, because of its being a signifying trace of neo-Marxist criticism. In Martin's words:

> For him, the open enthusiasm for Las Vegas could be explained as a polemical rejection of any form of utopia in the sphere of design. If the apologists of Las Vegas were right to reject utopia, they were not right to maintain "that known, tangile, and realizable vileness is preferable to unknown, hypothetical, and unrealizable excellence." Looking for an escape from the false alternative opposing conservative, banal commonsense and ungrounded utopianism, Maldonado proposed a "praxiology of design" based on a renewed "faith in the revolutionary function of rationality," which would put "utopia in action," as Ernst Bloch suggested. In other words, having to choose between "destructive pessimism" and "constructive pessimism," Maldonado preferred the latter -that is, preferred "to respond to irresponsible growth with [the] responsible control" of design and planning. Inspired by the neo-Marxist criticism of Adorno and the Frankfurt School, Maldonado's criticism was directed at the American culture industry and took the Venturis' thesis as symptomatic of a larger malaise.[212]

The second antagonist stance was that of Robert Stern. In his 1969 book "New Directions in American Architecture," Stern proposed that the current conjecture of American architecture was invested by the contest between two opposite poles that Venturi had theorized in 1966 as the "inclusivists" and "exclusivists."[213] Classifying Venturi and his akin under the inclusivist approach, Stern criticized their declinatory pose against the tenets of Modern architecture, and their installation of architecture in the middle of a pop culture.

The reaction of Martin Pawley to Stern's interpretation was distinctive for Martin, since it clearly revealed the conflicting essence of two tendencies, British and Venturi's, in regard to the interest in pop-culture. Venturi's utilization of pop elements as a "new vernacular," was completely the reciprocal of British pop culture conception after Smithsons, founded on the transformative power of Modern technology.[214] Criticizing the American avant-garde for their elitist alienation, Martin Pawley posited that their "amusing activities" had nothing to do with the essence of the problem: "an organizational, administrative and design problem which is in sum the problem posed by the impact of technology on Western civilization."[215] This attack of Pawley initiated the first flames of a dispute between Scott Brown and himself, which at the end, clearly revealed an opposing nature behind two "elitisms":

> … the rejection of all theory of "architecture as a work of art" in the name of a radical avant-garde integration of technology; and the search for a theoretical basis for an "architecture of mass communication."[216]

Eisenman's review of *Meaning in Architecture* coincided with the period of this dispute between Pawley and Brown. One can easily deem this dispute as a stimulation for Eisenman, because he confirmed that "eliticism" was an inextricable fact of American debate as a legacy of British impact. Addressing Smithson's "Ordinariness and Light" as the main source behind the transplantation of pop as a design element, Eisenman was concerned about the misuse of the concepts of "pop" and "ordinariness" in current activities.[217]

As previously mentioned, Eisenman was one of the forerunners who led the pervasion of English state of mind in the United States. Along with Eisenman, the people gathered around the Institute were trying to position an American avant-garde, invested by the

legacies of orthodox modernism. Although, he was completely an opponent to Venturi's views, the "polemicality" of their topics compelled Eisenman to invite Venturis for submitting an essay to IAUS's first collective publication, which would be entitled, "City as an Artifact." Venturis contributed to this publication with the essay "Learning from Pop." The next article was of Frampton. It was a severe critique on Pop movement, led by Venturis' activities. Sharing Maldonado's views, Frampton proposed that, in Martin's words:

> For Frampton, Las Vegas was "the 'manipulative' city of kitsch." Semiotic studies like those suggested by the Venturis canonized kitsch culture and conformed "to the sacrosanct 'populist' goals of our affluent society." Moreover, the self-proclaimed value-free studies of the "dumb and the ordinary" carried out by Scott Brown and Venturi "verged on the cynical," and far from being subversive, they were ultimately conservative. This critique prompted a reply from Scott Brown in which she asserted that Frampton's "armchair-revolutionary" argument was useless and constituted a typically European dismissal of American society.[218]

Brown also rejected Frampton's criticisms with a harsh reply, blaming him of being the victim of typical misunderstanding of the American Society. In their subsequent book, "Learning from Las Vegas," published in 1972, they harshly condemned Modern architecture due to its devastation of symbolism and promotion of expressionism, through "structure" and "function," and criticized their contemporary neo-Modernists as follows:

> [Modern architecture] suggested, through the image of the building, reformist-progressive social and industrial aims that it could seldom achieve in reality. By limiting itself to strident articulations of the pure architectural elements of space, structure and program, Modern architecture's expression has become a dry expressionism, empty and boring –and in the end irresponsible. Ironically, the Modern architecture of today, while rejecting explicit symbolism and frivolous appliqué ornament, has distorted the whole building into one big ornament. In substituting "articulation" for decoration, it has become a duck.[219]

As Martin's claimed, Venturis drew attention to discrepancy between the theory and the practice of Modern architects, showing Mies as an illustration. For them, Mies's use of I-beams was as symbolist as any other mannerist example, even though his theory infiltrated a complete rejection of symbolism borrowed from the past constructions. In light of Venturi's arguments, Martin theorized Venturis' mannerist method as a pragmatist attempt to justify symbolism in architecture. The semiologist theories of Charles Jencks, George Baird, and Alan Colquhoun were, on the other hand, the

theoretical justifications of a symbolic pursuit. This revealed the major concern behind any attempt on symbolism of the period: to solve the "paradox of orthodox Modern architecture" intensified by the mere lack of communication between the "image" and the "substance." Yet how was the attitude towards such fields of interest in the Institute? Eisenman was involved with linguistic studies; Frampton was looking at the issue rather historically and politically; but was there any severe propagator of semiotic point of view? The answer was obviously yes. So, who was the most involved person with semiotics?

2. 6 - SIGNIFYING TRACES 5: MARIO GANDELSONAS, THE DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE ‘SIGNIFIED’ AND THE ‘SIGNIFIER’

The studies on semiotics highly affected the postmodern cultural criticism in the United States for some period. However, if the most passionate advocators of semiological studies have to be noted, it was certainly Mario Gandelsonas and Diane Agrest, both his wife and his colleague, who were transferred from Argentina to the Institute in 1972. Mario Gandelsonas was born in Buenos Aires, in 1938. When he was five years old, he started piano lessons, which formed the basis of his comprehension about ‘structure’ and ‘composition’. In 1954, he was admitted to the School of Architecture, in University of Buenos Aires. During his education years, he also studied musical composition, and acted as an active member on the board of the New Music Association. After graduation, he made his internship at the Organization of Modern Architecture, an independent institution, between 1959 and 1961. His initial correspondence with linguistics, semiotics, and structural anthropology coincided to his two-year study at the Institute for Advanced Studies in University of Buenos Aires, where he attended several courses on those subjects from 1964 to 1966. Between 1967 and 1968, he won a fellowship for research and went to Paris to study at the Center for Urban Research. In Paris, he took Roland Barthes’ seminar at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études,* whose work had always been the primary source of reference for Gandelsonas. He developed an interest in French structuralists. The same year, he submitted his thesis on tourism and returned to University of Buenos Aires. There, in the School of Architecture, he instructed related courses on semiology and architecture as an adjunct professor from 1969 until 1970. Together with Diane Agrest, they opened an office, and designed several projects until his swift severance from Buenos Aires. The thrust of his severance was the recommendation of Eisenman to spend a year at IAUS as a visiting fellow. As seen, he accepted Eisenman’s proposal without hesitation. In 1971, he received the Graham Foundation fellowship and moved to New York City with his partner Diane Agrest. In a year, he became one of the most active fellows at the IAUS.[220]

Before concentrating on the influence of Gandelsonas on the discursive inquires in the Institute, it seems necessary to identify initially the structuralist position he was influenced by. In Neal Leach's anthology, entitled *Rethinking Architecture: a Reader in Cultural Theory*, Structuralism was defined as an interdisciplinary movement and was presented among the prevailing paradigms of the 1960s and early 1970s. Referring to Leach, the objective of structuralist theoreticians was to universalize the "earlier *ad hoc* interpretation" by transcending its limitations. As observed by Foucault, and rephrased by Leach, the structuralists tended to construct a new mode of form, or shape in Foucault's terms, by setting up various relationships between the alienated constituents of the conventional. The absolute system was originated by the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). Leach spoke of Saussure in the following terms: "Saussure drew the distinction between *langue* and *parole* that is between language as a system and individual utterances. Saussure's concern was to understand the underlying system."[221] And, he emphasized that: "*langue* need not refer mainly to literary systems. All cultural forms could be analyzed by analogy with language, and could therefore be *read*."[222] What did this mean? To quote Leach:

> Saussure was concerned with words as 'signs'. The sign is made up of the 'signifier' and the 'signified'. The 'signifier' refers to the form, whereas the 'signified' refers to the content or meaning. For Saussure, the relationship between the 'signified' and 'signifier' is arbitrary. There is no fixed relationship, for example, between the word 'cat' and the animal to which that word refers within the English language. In other languages, different words would be used. Furthermore, the 'signified' is defined by what it is not. Thus, a cat is a cat, because it is not a dog. The principle of opposition is fundamental to structuralism, and the world can be seen to be structured according to the system of paired opposites, of binary oppositions, such as theory/practice, inside/outside, male/female, etc.[223]

According to Kate Nesbitt, the subject matter of semiotics and structuralism was language in particular. More specifically, they paid attention to how language communicated, and conceived this so-called communication as a "closed-system."[224] In her anthology, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture*, Nesbitt denoted semiotics of Charles Sanders Pierce or semiology of Ferdinand de Saussure as scientific approaches toward language. For her, those paradigms conceived language as, in her words, "a sign system," covering both its syntactic dimension, by which she referred to the structure of language, and its semantic dimension, by which she referred to meaning in particular.[225] In

this context, Nesbitt claimed that those paradigms, on one side, observed the "structural relationships" of the signs with its components (its 'signifiers' and 'signifieds' together), and the "syntactic relation" of the sign with its akin. On the other side, they observed the "semantic relationships" of the signs, which were directly related to the meanings, generated from the mere relation of the signs with the objects they symbolized.[226] The structuralist paradigm, on the other hand, was denoted by Nesbitt as a "study method," which claimed that, "the true nature of things may be said to lie not in things themselves, but in the relationships which we construct and then perceive between them."[227] According to Nesbitt, structuralists conceived of the world as a structure, a formation, shaped by language, by its "meaningful relationships between arbitrary signs." Moreover, she claimed that, in her words, "[s]tructuralism focuses on codes, conventions, and processes responsible for a work's intelligibility, that is how it produces socially available meaning. As a method, it is not concerned with thematic content, but with 'the conditions of signification'."[228]

Whether a method, or an intellectual agenda, structuralism, founding all the system on the arbitrary relationship of the 'signified' and the 'signifier', had its roots in linguistics, particularly in semiology, and the structuralist studies decidedly influenced the contemporary research on meaning in the discipline of architecture. With the aid of semiology, which was the "science of signs," a selective amount of researchers adopted the very technique to enable the "reading" and "decoding" of the built environment. Umberto Eco and Roland Barthes were the forerunners of the movement. However, especially Roland Barthes and his theories influenced the work of Diane Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas. Nevertheless, to characterize Barthes under a single template was hard for Leach, since his intellectual pursuit covered an extensive amount of outputs. Whereas his early works were provoking "a slightly unconventional structuralist position," his later works provoked "a more overtly poststructuralist perspective." Only by looking at this definition of Leach, one can understand that Barthes' oeuvre represented a transition in the thought of the period.

By the mid 1970s, it was realized that the structuralist mechanisms, founded on the rigid dialectics between the 'signifier' and the 'signified', had started to collapse due to the chaotic limitations of consuming culture. Therefore, Structuralism as a system had a short life, thus the alteration of the movement's rigid system into a more liberal vein was

due to Post-structuralist philosophy. According to Leach, for example, post-structuralist theoreticians claimed that Structuralism's rigid character was due to its absolute will to universalize any and all 'structures', yet its defect was the underestimation of the "specificity of time and place." This oscillating context was the main reason of Barthes' unevenness. Herein, one must be aware that *the* Barthes that influenced Gandelsonas and Agrest was an unconventional structuralist. Yet, it is equally crucial to see the post-structuralist position of Barthes, since it might give the clues of paradigmatic shift aggravated by the obstruction of capitalist development. In this context, referring to Leach, Barthes' 1976 essay, entitled "Semiology and the Urban," had a poststructuralist perspective that dealt with the "language of the city."[229] In the essay, he addressed a series of current problems with regard to urban semiology. For Barthes, the consciousness of symbols and their functions had been amplified by the current analyses on the "semantics of the city," and this condition had affected the urban plans, yet in a very primitive manner, generally through the technique of simulation. Thus, the collision of the accelerating demand for meaning with the conventional demands of "function," for Barthes, triggered the absurdity of the city's image. The conflicting facades of the middle-class city, aggravated by the "signification" on one side and the "function" on the other, for Barthes, were one of the opposite, but complementary, mechanisms of a city's structure beneath many others. Claiming that such processes between opposites were the main constituent of its rhythm, Barthes developed an analogy between the city and a "discourse," stating that:

> The city is a discourse, and this discourse is truly a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak our city, the city where we are, simply by living in it, by wandering through it, by looking at it. Still the problem is to bring an expression like 'the language of city' out of the purely metaphorical stage. It is very easy metaphorically to speak of the language of city as we speak of the language of the cinema or the language of flowers. The real scientific leap will be realized when we speak of a language of the city without metaphor. And we may say that this is exactly what happened to Freud when he for the first time spoke of the language of dreams, emptying this expression of its metaphorical meaning in order to give it real meaning. We must also face this problem: how to pass from metaphor to analysis when we speak of the language of the city.[230]

The previous paragraph, in fact, both presented the objective and the underlying problems for its actualization. To give language a solid appearance had always been problematic, but the city as language, and creating its shape in this regard, with all the effective

parameters of its formation, either sociological or political and ideological, was a more complicated endeavor that had to be realized for Barthes. If we call such endeavors as specific attempts of urban semiology, Barthes warned them for three issues: firstly, he criticized the lack in the present use of the term "symbol." For Barthes, "symbolism" ceased to be conceived as "a regular correspondence between the signifiers and the signifieds" in present condition, which meant that semantics as a notion, or better to call any one-to-one symbolism, was anyhow invalidated. For him, the term "symbol" referred to, henceforth, "an organization of meaning, syntagmatic and/or paradigmatic but no longer semantic." Therefore, its interpretation should have covered all dimensions: both semantic, and syntagmatic or paradigmatic. Secondly, he proposed to redefine "symbolism." Rather than calling it a world of the 'signifiers' and the 'signifieds', he defined it as the "world of signifiers, of correlations," principally the correlations that lacked to indicate an absolute signification.[231] A world that 'signifiers' remained constant, but 'signifieds' turned into ephemeral organisms. Finally, Barthes criticized the current progression of semiology. Analogical to the semantic analyses of Chomsky and Lévi-Strauss, putting emphasis on the transformation of the city's relations from being "analogical" into "homological," Barthes drew attention that the idea of 'a definitive signified always exists' had been exhausted: "signifieds are always signifieds for other signifiers or vice versa."[232]

In such a volatile context, Barthes believed in the necessity to rediscover the metaphorical chain, with all its substitutes: "We must search more particularly in the direction of the large categories, of the major habits of man, for example nourishment, purchases, which are really erotic activities in this consumer society."[233] His proposition was simple: Rather than analytical surveys, or "functional studies," he offered to "multiply the readings of the city" for reconstructing its language. Only after such study, to elaborate scientific studies on the nature of city, for example the definition of its units and its syntax, stood as a possible endeavor for Barthes, if any rigidity to its signifieds was not assigned.

In fact, Barthes' criticisms and his final proposition made one realize that the semantic approach to the city had been altered from a universalized context, to a more domestic context in which a thorough comprehension of the "play of signs" and of its structure were uniquely examined for each instance, without any pervasion to universalize its structure.[234] As theorized by cultural critic Hal Foster, in his article "(Post)Modern

Polemics," and as observed by Nesbitt, while the ideas of Barthes marked the shift from structuralism to poststructuralism, which for a majority was hard to be distinguished from one another, his ideas at the same time reflected the so-called "transition from modern to postmodern." Moreover, the nuance in manner indicated that the "the critique of sign" was initiated. The critique of its rigid system was reinforced.

Although, it seems unrelated, to portray the paradigmatic shifts of linguistic theory was important to understand the intellectual background of Gandelsonas' endeavors. To return to our major concern, the American lobby was highly infiltrated by the tools of linguistic theory in their concerns of postmodern cultural criticism. Thus, if we regard the selective figures of IAUS as the forerunners of this infiltration, the role of Gandelsonas within the total picture was irrefutable. After Gandelsonas' arrival, his ideas invoked by French structuralists and semiological studies, had enormous impact on the fellows of IAUS and specifically on Eisenman whose Chomskian deep structures, ten houses were also among selective semiological attempts of the period. Admitting that the major source of influence in Gandelsonas' intellectual formation was the structuralist and semiotic, as proposed by a majority of recent theoreticians, I, on the other hand, wish to emphasize that the so-called criticality of poststructuralist position in manner was also concealed in Gandelsonas' semantic studies. This nuance was important, since it, in a way, gave the clues of Gandelsonas' later transformation, overnuancing the ideas of Marxist theoreticians. In addition, we can give three instances to prove the very interaction between the members of the Institute and the first signs of transplantation in thought, highlighting a political approach towards architecture that transformed the American mainstream to a more radical vein.

The first one was a collective project of Eisenman and Gandelsonas. It was a research program, developed for the education mission of the Institute in 1972. Its title was "Generative Design Problem: An Analysis of the Problems of Communication and Meaning in Architecture." As the title signified, the whole project was founded on the essentials of linguistic theory. In its proposal submitted to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, they assigned the problem as the "development of a grammar or a set of rules for the analysis and design of the physical environment as a means of communication."[235] Executed over both empirical data and a set of hypotheses, the overall research was represented as a concern about the "interaction between behavior and environment" with

the major consideration of "architecture as a system of communication." As already noted, the intellectual context of the period was occupied with similar intentions, such as those of Venturis, Baird, Colquhoun, and Jencks, as noted. In the proposal, they mentioned those attempts and stated, "[m]ost have defined communication in the environment as either iconographic or metaphorical." In addition, continued with clarifying their approach with those attempts:

> The approach of the Institute is unique in that communication is thought of as a systematic series of elements and rules for the analysis and design of a broad change of potentially meaningful environments. We are in the study of the physical environment, and the development of the tools for analysis and design as no model exists for such a descriptive modeling of spatial manipulation. As such, we are attempting to develop a new model, which will provide knowledge with long-range implications for the development of physical environments. Through such tools, we might be able to enrich such an environment in terms of its capacity to communicate and in the effect of this communication on behavior.[236]

The sentence that they defined the approach was an instance of structuralist standpoint, its focus of codes, convention, and processes. Moreover, the very use of the term "environment" and its definition by Gandelsonas and Eisenman was of great significance for our scope, since the same year Ambasz's exhibition was presented by similar vocabulary. Delineating the overall scope of the program as proposing an architectural system, having common characteristics with "formal language," they signaled this analogy between linguistic systems and architectural systems as prior evocation for a researcher to follow when investigating "specific architectural traditions and their products." In this vein, they proposed a research methodology, simulating that of linguists or anthropologists: "Existing architectural systems from several cultures will be analyzed to identify design elements analogous to the elements in language. The investigators will seek to relate these basic systemic elements to what might be termed extra-cultural human experience (primitive or unlearned concepts), the analog to the linguistic *deep structure*. The particular external architectural design elements could be considered as the *surface structure*."[237] Indeed, the major problem was the invalidity of the authoritative dictum "form follows function," which, for Eisenman and Gandelsonas, had been confessed as the only explanation of designing a physical environment since the middle of the nineteenth century, in that day's condition. Due to the impracticality of any one-to-one correspondence between form and function, there appeared the necessity to "expand the

concept of function." Exemplifying Christopher Alexander's determination of "good form," comprised by several variables, such as user needs, technological and economic factors, as one of the sophisticated attempts to expand the concept of function with the inclusion of "both social and psychic behavior," Eisenman and Gandelsonas claimed that all accentuated the disclosure of a "gap in the form and function equation." A gap between, in their words, "the needs of individuals and how they are related to or generate form," seemed to be the most essential constituent of their research. The reason for this gap was certainly the recent invalidity of form-function aphorism. For Eisenman and Gandelsonas, it was mainly due to the inadequacy of data, related to "the nature of formal relationships within the physical environment." Although the term "environment" seemed to be used in a very general sense, the meaning they attributed to it was revealed in their following definition, in regard to the intention of the project. The intention, in its broadest sense, was, in their words:

> … to explore the area of this gap in an attempt to build an interface between the study of form and the study of behavior, by focusing the acquisition of meaning by architectural form, (which we will use in here to designate the build environment in general), the only relationship between man and his environment which is not fully explained, if at all, by functional, programmatic or behavioral terms. The basis of our research is concerned with the fact that the specific mechanisms through which the environment conveys meaning are uncharted. The explanation of such mechanisms we call generative design. The focus of our research will be to explain how architectural form "acquires" meaning both (a) in its design and (b) in its interpretation.

Here, what they explicitly meant by using the term environment was accurate. The program, therefore, pointed out several theses of Eisenman and Gandelsonas. They, however, underlined their "main" thesis in the following words: "architects design and construct things which have meaning, and that in order to have meaning the 'messages' which are created must conform to some normative system of signs." If "system of signs" was raised as the main issue, then the recognition of other "forms of communication" stood as imminent. However, there arose a nuance between the so-called other forms and architecture. In architecture, for them, the analysis, description or formulation of basic concepts, unveiled from traditions and their productions, provoked the invention of the so-called systems existing in several cultures, so that any "socially available meaning" could be produced.

The researcher team was composed of Diane Agrest, Peter Eisenman, Mario Gandelsonas, and Duarte C. de Mello, and it was proposed that each researcher would work on "different aspects of a general model," but who would study what particularly was not mentioned. In this sense, the research model they proposed had "hypothetical two state systems." The first was related to the "real architectural form," whereas the second was related to its underlying structure. The plan was to generate the "environment" from what they called the "basic structural elements" as if generating a "language" from "basic elements." For doing so, they put the development of "formal generative and transformational rules" as the prerequisite. Consequently, the resulting work, or better to call the generative designs, seemed to be handled via a set of theoretical references, since they noted "the model [was] largely in abstract form." Nevertheless, the intention was to experiment the "eventual development" of theoretical proposals "in terms of human response to form and structure." The theoretical criteria they conveyed provided the clues of basic references of influence. For example, the selective terminology for "two state system" were borrowed from structuralist theories of Lévi-Strauss, de Saussure, Hjelmlev, and Chomsky; for the dichotomy cultural/ universal from the linguistic and semiotic theories, such as Chomsky's "characterization of universals of language," Barthes' "analysis of fashion" or Gutman's "typological analysis of culture." All were to establish certain "divisions" in the theoretical model that could be developed by different researchers, yet the overall work was planned to present the "overlapping" between them. As could be understood, the Generative Design Research Program, funded by National Institute for Mental Health, could be interpreted as the first instance of their solidarity on a common ground, built upon the harmony of Chomsky, Barthes, Lévi- Strauss, and de Saussure.

The second instance, on the other hand, was Gandelsonas' first article on Eisenman's work, entitled "On Reading Architecture," written simultaneously, in collaboration with David Morton. It was published in *Progressive Architecture*, in March 1972. Nesbitt defined this article as an "important semiotic investigation" in which Gandelsonas operated a critical comparison of "the syntactically loaded work of Eisenman" with "the semantically loaded work of Graves."[238] According to Louis Martin's study, Gandelsonas' rereading of Eisenman and Graves turned into a mental reconstruction of their work.[239] The significance of this article for Martin, was due to Gandelsonas' classification of the current endeavors reexamining functionalist tradition under two major categories. The

first, with an implicit reference to Christopher Alexander's early work, covered the examinations of those based on computer or mathematical models. The second, on the contrary, covered the cultural and semiotic studies in architecture, recognizing architecture as "a system of cultural meaning."[240] It was this second tendency under which Gandelsonas classified Eisenman and Graves' work, yet as two opposite tendencies: Graves' semantics, versus Eisenman's syntactics. While Gandelsonas spoke of Graves' work as a totality interrupted by metaphors which aggravated "second meaning," Martin noted such semantics was suppressed in Eisenman's work, but a "dialectic" was constructed "within the syntactic domain between virtual and actual relationships," or to call in Eisenman's terminology, between "deep and surface structures."[241] Referring to Martin, Gandelsonas built up an analogy between the "layering" in Eisenman's work, and the "mathematical or musical notations."[242] And, this analogy, I believe, showed how Gandelsonas internalized Eisenman's work through the filter of his background for the time being. Nevertheless, beyond all readings, it was a claim of Martin about Gandelsonas' seminal article that might lead one to situate this article to a unique place: "[It was] one of the first instances in North America of a semiotic criticism of architecture."[243] The criticality in its content must have lead Martin to make such an interpretation.

Louis Martin, in his work, mentioned that Gandelsonas' publication of "On Reading Architecture" corresponded to a significant event, a symposium, held in Barcelona, under the title "Architecture, History and Theory of Signs." Along with Eisenman and Gandelsonas, significant figures, interested in semiological studies, such as Alan Colquhoun, Charles Jenks, and Geoffrey Broadbent contributed to this event, organized by Tomàs Llorenz. According to Martin, Eisenman's text comprised of several discussions, held at the Institute by Gandelsonas, Mello, and Krauss. Chomsky's linguistic model was again the primary influence of his contribution. The main argument of his discussion, as Martin claimed, was about the efficacy of implementing this model for the "development of a theory of architectural form." This contribution of Eisenman represented the productive atmosphere in the Institute, and revealed the intellectual interaction between them.[244] Here, one can easily claim that the *Institute* and the discussion with those figures had enormous effect on Eisenman's contributions to the theory of architectural form. Another illustration of this companionship could be grasped,

for Martin, from the consequent flow of texts, like Eisenman's "Cardboard Architecture," was published in conjunction with Gandelsonas' criticism of Eisenman, a text entitled "Linguistics in Architecture," published in *Casabella*, in February 1973.

The third instance of this interaction was concealed in Martin's mapping of the theoretical framework of Gandelsonas and Agrest. Over several texts written by Gandelsonas and Agrest between 1968 and 1973, Martin clearly denoted the influences behind their theoretical framework in the following words:

> Agrest and Gandelsonas derived their theoretical standpoint from their knowledge of post-1968 developments in French Structuralist theory, developments they monitored in the recent work of Roland Barthes. In effect, after 1968, Barthes integrated, among others, the critiques of structuralism formulated by Julia Kristeva (dialogism, intertext) and Jacques Derrida (deconstruction), and moved away from the scientific ambitions of semiology. In those years, Barthes began to develop a "hedonistic" theory of the text aimed at countering the insinuation, formulated by the Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre, that structuralism was the dominant ideology of 1960s. Already perceptible in *S/Z*, and thoroughly exposed in *The Pleasure of the Text*, Barthes' new approach proposed that reading and writing were means to defeat the ideological consumption of the text.[245]

According to Louis Martin, "the opposition of 'knowledge' and 'ideology' was the foundation of the critical endeavors of Agrest and Gandelsonas."[246] Their text published in the first issue of *Oppositions* was well known by a majority, but Martin mentioned a manifesto they had written in 1970. The title of it was "architecture, Architecture." In this text, Gandelsonas manifested the use of architecture with capital "A." According to Martin, the Argentinean architects shifted "Architecture" with capital "A" to a critical state where knowledge was produced, and raised the criticism of "architecture" with small "a," as the only prerequisite of this production, since its representation, for Gandelsonas, was nothing more than "an ideological practice, with representations and beliefs."[247] As Martin claimed, the terminology they used was completely generated from Marxist theories of the period, to quote:

> The objectives and terminology of this manifesto indicate that, in addition to Althusser's distinction between ideology and theory, the program of Agrest and Gandelsonas incorporated several notions found in Barthes, Kristeva and Derrida. Among them: the production of sense (as opposed to the consumption of sense) as a means to defeat ideology, the idea that semiotic was critical both of its object of study and of itself, and the ambition to deconstruct western philosophy's system of oppositions.[248]

The introduction of these concepts, such as "criticism", "ideology," and "class consciousness," to my knowledge, was among the first signs of the transfer of certain terminology, the first endeavors discussing the role of architecture with an alternative yet provocative point of view. However, here an additional query might be raised. It was a certainty that, as also claimed by Martin, the theories of Gandelsonas and Agrest were thorough studies that "integrated the critique of structural linguistics in Parisian intellectual circles, gravitating around Roland Barthes." And yes, Julia Kristeva and her theories were stimulating influences on the two from that circle. But, were Gandelsonas and Agrest unaware of the ongoing discourses on architectural ideology in Italy, led by Manfredo Tafuri? No references were given by the two, but a correspondence written to Emilio Ambasz in Spanish brought similar concerns to mind. In the letter dated 17/7/1972, it was written that the sender had just finished reading the catalog, and even though he could not have the opportunity to visit the exhibition, the catalog had perfectly displayed its being one of the most important shows on Italian design. The sender also emphasized that, as well as the interesting design objects exhibited in the show, the profound ideas of Italians had attracted his attention. His interpretation was significant for me, since he added that the Italian ideas had been the focus of intellectual debates in Europe for some time, and it was obvious that their debate had been accrued to a respectable status beyond Italian lobbies. The signature at the bottom was Mario.

2. 7 - ITALIAN INPUT

Having known the relation of Drexler and Eisenman, Ambasz did not hesitate to quit Princeton, when he had the invitation from Eisenman's friend Drexler to become "The Curator of Design" for MoMA in 1969. For once, MoMA was among the most prestigious institutions, and being the curator of design at MoMA did not mean seclusion from the academic work or design. He served as Curator of Design at the Museum for six years; and during this period, he organized three important exhibitions on architecture and urban design: "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape," (INDL) 1972; "The Architecture of Louis Barragan," 1974; and "The Taxi Project," 1976. Each show was very successful, but most of the publications in print media kept the show "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape" separate from the others, and introduced it as an eminent and devastating success for the period. The 1972 INDL show was held at MoMA, under the sponsorship of the Italian Ministry for Foreign Trade and ICE – Institute for Foreign Trade and Grouppo ENI.[249] Concurrent to initial provision of the show, Ambasz was executing the directorship of one of the research programs held at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, IAUS, in cooperation with MoMA. In addition to his administrative function at MoMA, Ambasz was among the leading members of the Institute and he was taking active participation in nearly every organization, symposium, and lecture held at the Institute in those years. Consequent to the preparation of the Italy show, he suspended his work at the Institute and granted with "a year's leave of absence" by Peter Eisenman and his fellow colleagues at the IAUS.[250] In the meantime, he worked on the preparations of the event.[251] This organization, for Emilio Ambasz, had a goal "to investigate in depth the Italian architecture," which, for him, "became one of the dominant forces in the creation and criticism of design," and to "honor the specific achievement of Italian designers," as indicated in the exhibition catalog.[252] The hidden intention behind this appreciation was to make a survey on contemporary design problems in Italy and to examine several approaches that were being developed as solutions.[253] In Ambasz' words, the starting point of the show for him was simple, but the direction of the work was quietly transformed during the process of research for the show:

…As a matter of fact, I started doing Italy: The New Domestic Landscape as a very simple minded idea, completely ignorant of the subject matter, fascinated with Italian design and production; but I thought we would just go, collect beautiful, pure products and bring them and show them. As I went to Italy, I started realizing that the subject matter was much deeper, there was a great amount of controversy, there were a number of designers who felt that it was impossible to do any design until the social conditions and the political terms were changed, there were other designers that felt, just as other designers they can only deal with products but that is not the scale on which they should be working, they should be working on a much larger environmental scale. So then, I tried to provide a larger context in our specific case, of the show Italy: The New Domestic Landscape. I provided twelve Italian designers with an institutional cover of protection, so that they could actually make an environmental statement. Their proposals ranged from the political to the actual large scale project like in the container turned into a mobile home you could see in that show….[254]

The press received it as an extraordinary success. For example, in the journal, *New York Times*, the exhibition was announced as a "big, beautiful, costly, didactic, and disturbingly ambiguous" project and the objects and designers were emphasized in the following terms: "There are handsome objects and designers protesting the meaninglessness of handsome objects."[255] The basic premise of the show was conveyed as search for an answer to the query whether design structures our life or vice versa, by saying that:

A chair will never be a chair again. It is an object whose formal characteristics are derived from, or motivated by, the semantic manipulation of established sociocultural meanings. And it's just one of 180 objects and 11 specially commissioned environments in the show "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape," opening to the public appraisal today at the Museum of Modern Art after a week of glossy preopening fanfare for one of the most ambitious shows ever mounted by that fashionable institution.[256]

According to another journal, *Times*, the exhibition was introduced as a "Super Show" which "combine[d] form and content, object and ideology, using the outstanding Italian example." The author indicated the project as "the most important design show in 20 years" which could only be a result of a "serious analysis."[257] The major point that the author explicated after the show was "whether life reduce[d] to such aesthetic formalism, or whether this [was] the application of traditional Italian taste and cleverness to a forced and rigid life style, with or without claustrophobia."[258] According to the *Times*:

> Italian design is full of these seductively false and beautiful images of the myths of industrialized society. "Progress" is "styled," visual effects, often related to the facts of production, and increasingly, even romantically disassociated from reality.[259]

As assumed by the author, the success of the show was due to its accomplishment of representing the Italian design and their way of living to American society by a "superbly" configured stage design that even the Italian spectators did not expect to have such a familiar experience. To quote literally from the newspaper report: "What one takes away primarily is the impression of that remarkable marriage of mind and eye that has consistently produced some of the most skillful and sophisticated artifacts and most provocative polemics in the history of art."[260]

The variety of the ideological stances of the designers who contributed to the exhibition was as well figured at the press. Lynn Lee captured the attention of the two counter groups of designers with the column titled "Art Review and Preview Now" of the periodical *Our Town*. She classified these groups as follows: Counter design group believed that "no more clutter should be added, that political changes are needed before we can change the physical aspect of society." Pro-design group believed that "you can change the quality of life by improving your physical environment."[261] In her column, she quoted some interviews with a limited number of people who visited the exhibition. The celebrated architects, I.M. Pei and Philip Johnson, were among the visitors she interviewed. Their responses were divergent. While Pei appreciated the "overwhelming amount of effort" that was made, he admitted that he was not inspired and asked whether the show was worth all that effort. Philip Johnson, on the other hand, seemed very much excited. To quote from the review, in Philip Johnson's words:

> My feeling is that this is the first modern movement since the Bauhaus. …It is the first major movement, in fact, that makes Mies's Barcelona chair look not exactly dated, but like what it is — a classic.[262]

In addition to the positive annotations, there were the ones who criticized the project as well. As an illustration, the newspaper *Guardian* highlighted the sponsorships that made such a huge organization possible, and criticized the huge amount of money spent for a single exhibition, saying that: "Nothing wrong with all this…, except that it makes the whole thing sound more like a trade fair than a museum exhibition."[263] In their words:

> But what the show reveals is that most design is a bastardization of Art and nothing brought this out more clearly than the pretentious way in which the show was mounted, with elaborate show cases encasing minimal objects. As for the "environments" which were also presented, design as Postulation, Design as Commentary, Design as Counter-postulation" etc., the less said the better.[264]

The article written by Rita Reif in *New York* magazine, on the contrary, entitled "MoMA Mia, that is some show," represented completely an opposite standpoint. In Reif's words: "The provocative ideas presented in the Italian show at the MoMA may well make this the most exciting and controversial design and architecture exhibition seen here in many decades."[265] Reif construed the exhibition as the product of a "strong architectural leadership, imaginative industrialists, an impressive crafts tradition and a repressive society," and stated that the objects and environments on show were the works of young Italian designers and architects.[266] Reif, referring to Ambasz's explanation, described the reason behind this young population. According to Ambasz, in 1960's Italy, the young architects were excluded from housing work and therefore, concentrated on the product design "to satisfy the ever more affluent middle class."[267] To quote from the review:

> They devised a design idiom that, unlike the Bauhaus aesthetic of the 1920s, became immediately acceptable the world over. Borrowing themes from transportation, exploiting techniques of both crafts and industry, and translating Pop from art to design, they soon products, stunning in their versatility that left no room in home or office unchanged. Furniture environments were the next step. And now, prepackaged architecture is proposed. Whether or not it will succeed depends not only on government subsidies, industry and public, but also on the strength of young architects in the counter-design movement who are growing ever more insistent on massive social change. Their provocative ideas, represented at the MoMA in films and even in empty spaces, may well make this the most exciting and controversial design and architecture exhibition seen here in many decades.[268]

According to Ambasz, "in a curious way, people were immensely generous and were remembering 'the Italian Landscape' show to be a much better show than it actually was, that was the moment for me to get out while I was still winning."[269] The INDL show was one of Ambasz's thriving exhibitions at MoMA, and he resigned from the Museum in 1976 since he felt that it was time to get out and start doing his own profession, when he was still at the top of his profession.[270]

Notes

[1] John Elderfield, Peter Reed, Mary Chan and Maria del Carmen Gonzalez (eds.), 2002, *ModernStarts* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art), p. 27.
[2] *ModernStarts*, p. 8.
[3] Ibid., p.9.
[4] See also, Sarah Williams Goldhagen, June 2005, "Something to Talk about," *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 64: 2; Terence Riley, 1992, *The International Style Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art,* Columbia Books of Architecture Catalogue 3, (New York: Rizzoli International Publications).
[5] Ibid., p.21.
[6] Ibid., p.21.
[7] Harriet S. Bee and Michelle Elliot, 2004, *Art in Our Time: A Chronicle of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art), p. 35.
[8] Sybil Gordon Kantor, 2002, "Prologue: Knowing Alfred Barr," *Alfred H. Barr, Jr. and the Intellectual Origins of the Museum of Modern Art*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 4.
[9] Ibid., "Architecture, Barr and Henry-Russell Hitchcock," p. 242.
[10] Introduction, *Art in Our Time*, p.13.
[11] Emilio Ambasz, ed., 1972, "Preface," *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements, and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di), p. 12.
[12] Ibid.,. p. 12.
[13] Ibid., p. 12.
[14] Ibid., p. 12.
[15] Ibid., p. 12.
[16] Ibid., p. 12. To actualize the Italy exhibition, Ambasz made numerous trips to Italy during its preparation process. He made his first trip in May 1970, and continued to visit Italy periodically until the construction of designs had finalized.(Department of Architecture and Design Files 1004, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY: PI II.A.548) The aim of his trips was initially to provide the financial support he needed and to convince the manufacturers and corporate elites of Italian "high-finance" to contribute the expenses, thus to make preliminary negotiations with the designers who accepted to propose a design for the exhibition. From a memo, Ambasz sent to Drexler, the present director of MoMA, Ambasz made his first trip to Italy in May 1970. It was nearly a two-month trip as written at the itineraries of his trip Ambasz sent to Drexler. The route Ambasz were planning to follow was starting from Milan, passing through Turin, Venice, (may be Bologna), Florence, and Rome; ending with Geneva and Naples for visiting ship builders. Memo, May 15 1970. Therefore, it is natural to assume that the majority of private contacts were face-to-face discussions. During his visits, Ambasz contacted various Italian firms to provide their support for the parts of the exhibition devoted to Objects and Environments. The information is from Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[17] Ibid., p.14.
[18] The manufacturers are as follows: for Section 1 (Objects selected for formal and technical means): Cassina, Flexform, Arflex, Kartell, Busnelli, Saporiti, Artemide, Anonima Castelli, Zanotta, C&B, Cinove, Bernini, Gavina, Bazzoni, BBB Bonachine, Tissetente, Synthesis, Poltronova, Elco, Xilema, Poggi, Longato, Arredduce, Arteluce, Stilnovo, O-Luce, Gabbianelli, Sirrah, Candle, Studio Luce, Flos, Brionvego, Minerva, Autovox, Veglia Borletti, Solari, Italora, Necchi, Terrailion, Sit Siemens, Olivetti, Danese, Haller, Reed&Barton, Sambonet, Guzzini, Cini & Nils, SICART, Vistosi, Salviati; for Section 2 (Objects selected for their sociocultural implications): Poltronova, Ponteur, Acerbis, C&B, Gufram, Cristal Art, Stilnovo, Zanotta, Flos, Abet-Print, Planula, Poggi, Venini, Martinelli-Luce; for Section 3 (Objects selected for their implications of more flexible patterns of use and arrangement): Zanotta, NY Form, BBB Bonachine, Gavina, Flexform, Sormani, Arflex, Giovanetti, C&B, Bernini, Boffi, RB, Snaidero, Campeggi, Robots, Abet-Print, Giosué Turri.. For more information about objects exhibited in part 1, see the catalog: Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di).
[19] The display cases were constructed in Italy, under the sponsorship of Anonima Castelli.
[20] Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[21] He invited during his first trip in May 1970.
[22] The firms and manufacturers that made collaboration with MoMA supported the artists and designers financially, supervised the production and construction of their designs and underwrote the shipment. The firms and manufacturers that contributed for the exhibition were mentioned individually in Ambasz's acknowledgment. To mention briefly, there were: **ABET-Print**: that understood the theme "cultural role of industry," which lies under the conception of this show, and supported the artists financially; **Alitalia**: which assisted the designers and MoMA with any means throughout the exhibition preparation; **ANIC and Lanerossi of Gruppo ENI**: which coordinated and supervised the production of five environments; **Anonima Castelli:** which followed the design and mounting progress of the exhibition containers and underwrote their construction; **Fiat:** which supported the show financially; and **Olivetti:** which subsidized the audiovisual graphic systems that introduced various sections of the exhibition. Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[23] Quoted from "a reminder of remaining dates and data" at Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[24] For example, Vittorio Gregotti's honorarium was more than that of Tafuri's, since Gregotti was more familiar to America architectural world at that time due his books were translated to English, and he delivered certain lectures in selective American universities. Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[25] According to the archival material, the list of the translators was as such: Ms. Felicity Lutz, Roma Italia, who translated Guilio Carlo Argan essay; Ms. Angela Redini, Roma Italia, who translated Italo Insolera essay; Ms. Angela Gibbon, Roma

Italia, who translated Manfredo Tafuri essay; Mr. James Pallas, Milano, Italia, who translated Vittorio Gregotti essay; Ms. Barbara Angelillo, Terni Italia; Ms. Donatella Ferrario, Roma Italia; Prof. Dott. Arch. Piero Bottoni, Milano, Italia. Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[26] Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[27] The information is from Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[28] Emilio Ambasz, ed., 1972, "Acknowledgments," *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements, and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di), p. 13.
[29] Ibid., p. 13.
[30] INDL Book: Press Release, Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[31] He was a visiting professor at the Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm, Germany.
[32] Emilio Ambasz, 1992, *Inventions: the Reality of the Ideal*, (New York: Rizzoli), p. 334.
[33] Stanford Anderson, 1999, "Architectural History in Schools of Architecture," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. *58,* No. 3, Architectural History 199912000, pp. 282-290.
[34] Ibid., p. 282.
[35] As claimed by Anderson, Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe had worked in Behrens's atelier, and they developed an awareness on his education model at those years. Ibid., p. 283.
[36] Ibid., p. 283.
[37] Ibid., p. 283.
[38] Ibid., p. 283.
[39] Louis Martin, 2002, *The Search for a Theory in Architecture: The Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976*, Unpublished Thesis, Princeton, p. 771. The dissertation that was submitted to the doctoral program in History, Theory and Criticism, in the Department of Architecture at Princeton University, were studied under the supervision of Alan Colquhoun.
[40] Ibid., p. 241
[41] Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and Philip Johnson, 1995, *The International Style* (New York, London: W.W.Norton & Company), p. 15.
[42] Martin, 2002, p. 242.
[43] Ibid., p. 243.
[44] Ibid., p. 250.
[45] Ibid., p. 408
[46] Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and Philip Johnson, 1995, p. 15.
[47] Ibid., p. 15.
[48] Anderson, p. 286.
[49] Ibid., p. 286.
[50] Colin Rowe was the advisor of Peter Eisenman during his PhD study at Cambridge. For Ockman, the "salutary" influence of Rowe's character and prose on Eisenman was accurate. In this sense, she spoke of Eisenman's early studies on Casa del Fascio as an "apolitical and autonomous" reading that pushed "Rowe's preference of form without ideology to an extreme conclusion — ironically one that Rowe, too steeped in the tragic knowledge of history, could never have arrived at himself." See, Joan Ockman, Dec. 1998, "Form without Utopia: Contextualizing Colin Rowe," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 57 (4), p. 450.
[51] Ockman, "Form without Utopia," p. 450.
[52] The editor of the book starts his note with the following quotation from the British architectural historian and writer Reyner Banham "nearing the end of a perfunctory review of *British buildings, 1960-1964,"* in Colin Rowe, 1996, *As I was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume 1: Texas, Pre-Texas, Cambridge*, edited by Alexander Caragonne (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. ix.
[53] James Stirling and Robert Maxwell were his schoolmates from those years. He received an invitation from the Warburg Institute at the University of London to accept a junior fellowship after graduation. He worked two years in the Warburg Institute under the supervision of Rudolph Wittkower and prepared a thesis with the title "The Theoretical Drawings of Inigo Jones." It was during these years the series of Rowe's "interminable" trips to Italy began.
[54] I used the term episteme here, by its dictionary definition.
[55] Joan Ockman, "Form without Utopia," pp. 450-451.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying*, *Volume 1*, p. xi.
[58] Ockman, "Form without Utopia," p. 450.
[59] Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying*, *Volume 1*, p. 21-22.
[60] Ockman, "Form without Utopia," p. 450.
[61] Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying*, *Volume 1*, p. 13.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Hitchcock went to Paris in September 1926 where he received a fellowship to continue his Merovingian researches.
[65] Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying*, *Volume 1*, p.14.
[66] Ibid., pp. 14-16.
[67] Ibid., p. 14.
[68] Ibid., p. 16.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., p. 18.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Rowe mentions about an occasion Hitchcock told him at a dinner they had in London. "In this restaurant and at this very table I gave lunch to Jimmy Conant (president of Harvard) just before he went away to offer the job to Walter Gropius". Admitting his unawareness of Hitchcock's politics, but his interpretation was that Hitchcock's "advocacy" caused him to be disabused. He defined Hitchcock as the sponsor of Gropius's transfer to Harvard with a "hope" which was later occupied by Sigfried Gideon. Colin Rowe, Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying*, *Volume 1,* pp. 19-20.
[77] Ibid., p. 19.
[78] Colin Rowe, 1972, introduction to *Five Architects* (New York: Wittenborn), quoted in Colin Rowe, Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying*, *Volume 1,* p. 19.
[79] Full quotation is as below: "But should it not be obvious that the term the Texas Rangers belongs to the theater of New York Jewish irony and that it could scarcely have originated in Texas itself? It is a kindly , though sardonic, ex post facto designation applied, by Jewish wit, to three Cornell faculty members who were at the university of Texas in '56-'57." Quoted from the essay "Texas and Mrs. Harris," in Colin Rowe, 1996, *As I was Saying, Volume 1: Texas, Pre-Texas, Cambridge*, p. 37.
[80] Gerardo Brown-Manrique, June 1996, "Review: The Texas Rangers: Notes from an Architectural Underground," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 55 (2), p. 192.
[81] Ibid., p. 192.
[82] Ibid., pp. 191-192.
[83] The full quotation is as follows: "for all [Henry Russell Hitchcock's] excitement for Frank Lloyd Wright I could not quite understand his excitement; and, instead I continued (and still continue) to endorse his remarks about Wright made in 1929." Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying, Volume 1: Texas, Pre-Texas, Cambridge,* p. 22.
[84] Ibid., p. 31.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., p. 30. At the end of the essay Colin Rowe denotes that: "this is to intimate that any influence of Harwell Harris on his faculty could only related to his relationship with Hoesli; and, and after my arrival and my Corbu/Mies propaganda, this relationship was necessarily diminished." Ibid., p. 40.
[87] Ibid., p. 40.
[88] Ibid., p. 31.
[89] Ibid., p. 32.
[90] The full quotation is as follows: "…it was a substance of this message, intimating a triangle of relevant achievement comprised of then productions of Wright, Mies and Corbu, which quickly led to significant hirings, with Hoesli proposing the name of John Hedjuk, whom he had met in New York and who had then gone to a Fulbright scholarship in Rome, and with myself because of my experience at Yale, suggesting an input from the studio of Josef Albers. This is because the rigor and the elegance of the Albers appeared to me to be completely exemplary. Albers was just the best thing going; and in proposing graduates of the Albers studio, I quickly was able to discover that Harwell Harris also had an enthusiasm for it. He had been a visiting critic at Yale and, for him, too it was quite the best." Colin Rowe, *As I was Saying, Volume 1: Texas, Pre-Texas, Cambridge,* p. 32.
[91] Ibid., p. 32.
[92] Ockman, "Form without Utopia," p. 450.
[93] To quote Ockman: "A two-part essay that belatedly appeared in the Yale journal *Perspecta* in 1963 and 1971 after being rejected by Nikolaus Pevsner at *Architectural Review* (presumably for its anti-Gropius bias)." Joan Ockman, Dec. 1998, "Form without Utopia: Contextualizing Colin Rowe," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 57 (4), p. 448. See also, Ayşen Savaş, Sep. 1998, "Shallow Spaces," *Archiscope: Transparency*, pp. 84-85. Despite its short publishing life, *Archiscope* was a very important journal for the development of architectural discourse in Turkey. It was directed by Zafer Akay, and published by Middle East Technical University.
[94] Colin Rowe, "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal, Part II," in *As I was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume 1: Texas, Pre-Texas, Cambridge*, edited by Alexander Caragonne (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p.74.
[95] Ibid., p.74.
[96] Ockman, "Form without Utopia," p. 448.
[97] Colin Rowe, "Texas and Mrs. Harris," in *As I was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume 1: Texas, Pre-Texas, Cambridge*, edited by Alexander Caragonne (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), pp. 32-34.
[98] Ibid., pp. 34-35.
[99] Colin Rowe, 1996, "Cambridge 1958-1962," *As I was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays, Volume 1: Texas, Pre-Texas, Cambridge*, edited by Alexander Caragonne (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 132.
[100] Ibid., "Texas and Mrs. Harris," pp. 35-36.
[101] Ibid., p.35.
[102] The emphasis is Colin Rowe's. Colin Rowe, "Cambridge 1958-1962," p. 132.
[103] Ibid., "Texas and Mrs. Harris," p.37.
[104] Ibid., "Cambridge 1958-1962," p.134.
[105] Ockman, "Form without Utopia," pp. 449-450.
[106] Colin Rowe, "Le Corbusier: Utopian architect," p.136.
[107] Ibid., p.136.
[108] Ibid., pp.138-139.
[109] Ibid., p.142.
[110] A note, which he later adds to the end of this essay, showed that his opinions had changed about utopia when the book was published. To quote: "but how quickly I changed my mind about Utopia…" Ibid.,p.142.

[111] Ibid., p.134.
[112] Louis Martin, p.532.
[113] Ibid., p.532.
[114] Ibid., p.536.
[115] Full quotation: "the students must have realized his predicament, since they wrote a song which later gave this group the term *The Texas Rangers: "*Oh the Rangers come from Texas / There's Werner, John, and Lee, / And Colin's come from Cambridge, / Nor Texas Ranger he." But these songs are cited so as to establish that the term The Texas Rangers was first articulated in Cornell, in fifth year studio language, during the fall of 1962…" Colin Rowe, "Texas and Mrs. Harris," p. 37.
[116] Rowe stated his doubts in the following words: "it all become a bit like a celebration of Texas a few years back, had it not been for the presence of myself. Because somehow my own performance didn't quite fit." Colin Rowe, pp. 35-36.
[117] Mr. Labatut was a French architect and academician who first studied with Boeswillwald (1815-1896) in the restoration of historical monuments, "a discipline of Violet-le-Duc." Later, he showed an extraordinary success during his education in the atelier of Victor Laloux at the school of Ecole des Beaux Arts. After graduation, he won various prizes for his work during his practice in France. "He won a major competition of the Institut de France, the Concours Chaudesaigues, in 1924 and a second in the Grand Prix de Rome in 1926, among many other prizes." It was the year 1927 when Labatut made his first visit to Princeton, and it was 1929, when he returned to stay in Princeton. After 1929, he started to perform the executive function of the architectural faculty. Full quotation is from the Catalogue No (4): Michael Wurmfeld, 1977, "Comments on Princeton's Beaux Arts and Its New Academicism" *Princeton's Beaux Arts and its new academicism: from Labatut to Geddes: an exhibition of original drawings over 50 years* (Princeton Junction, N.J.: PDQ Press), p. 15.
[118] The text is from the Catalogue No: 4 of the exhibition held at IAUS Jan. 27- Feb. 18, 1977. Michael Wurmfeld, 1977, "Comments on Princeton's Beaux Arts and Its New Academicism," *Princeton's Beaux Arts and its new academicism: from Labatut to Geddes: an exhibition of original drawings over 50 years* (Princeton Junction, N.J.: PDQ Press), p. 15.
[119] Ibid., p. 15.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] "This was an outgrowth of the way of Laloux had invited the best available critics to see the work in progress during the Institut de France competitions and the way those critics had opened up the experience in the Atelier." In Michael Wurmfeld, 1977, "Comments on Princeton's Beaux Arts and Its New Academicism," *Princeton's Beaux Arts and its new academicism: from Labatut to Geddes: an exhibition of original drawings over 50 years* (Princeton Junction, N.J.: PDQ Press), pp. 15-16.
[126] Ibid., p.16.
[127] Ibid.
[128] The text is from the Catalogue Number 4 of the exhibition held at IAUS Jan. 27- Feb. 18, 1977. Emilio Ambasz, 1977, "Commentary," *Princeton's Beaux Arts and its new academicism: from Labatut to Geddes: an exhibition of original drawings over 50 years* (Princeton Junction, N.J.: PDQ Press), p. 25.
[129] "The form of the thesis was never legislated by Labatut but most students produced. In some cases, the analysis generated the design problem, in other cases, the reverse. This resulted in the focus of these "permanent values"—circulation, scale, monumentality, polychromy, site planning including historical context, are the themes that appear and reappear in the student work. Although extremely personal to Labatut, these themes are not unrelated to some of teaching techniques of analysis in the standard theoretical text from the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Julien Gaudet's *Elements et Theorie de L'Architecture*, in which architectural elements such as facades courtyards, stairs, public ways, etc., were also presented in a manner cutting across previous architectural style previous architectural style, and thus are also related to the positive aspects of the tradition of the Beaux Arts School. A method of presentation of the student work seemed also to evolve , in many cases not unlike the somewhat painterly and very elegant drawings done by Labatut himself as a student who remained on to teach at Princeton, has been a powerful influence in maintaining the high standards in which architectural ideas were studied and communicated through two dimensional drawings." Full quotation, from Michael Wurmfeld, 1977, "Comments on Princeton's Beaux Arts and Its New Academicism," *Princeton's Beaux Arts and its new academicism: from Labatut to Geddes: an exhibition of original drawings over 50 years* (Princeton Junction, N.J.: PDQ Press), p.16.
[130] Emilio Ambasz, 1977, "Commentary," *Princeton's Beaux Arts and its new academicism: from Labatut to Geddes: an exhibition of original drawings over 50 years* (Princeton Junction, N.J.: PDQ Press), p.25.
[131] Ibid., p.25.
[132] Louis Martin, p.549
[133] Oral History Project; Interview with Emilio Ambasz, p. 3. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[134] Louis Martin, p.550.
[135] Ibid., p.550
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] An anecdote that I learned from my advisor Ayşen Savaş, who was the Ph.D. student of Stanford Anderson in her MIT years.
[140] Martin, p. 551.
[141] Ibid., p. 563.
[142] Ibid., p. 563.
[143] Louis Martin's phrase while he was talking about the significant people Eisenman gathered around himself. Kenneth Frampton was among the '56 graduates of the Architectural Association (AA) in London; and acted as the technical editor of the architectural magazine *Architectural Design* between the years 1962 and 1965. He worked with Douglas Stephen and

Partners between 1961 and 1965, where he had held an associate position. During this time, he was also acted as visiting tutor at the Royal College of Art (1961-1964) and at the Architectural Association (1961-1963).
[144] Stan Allen and Hal Foster, Fall 2003, "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," *October*, No 106, p. 35.
[145] Ibid., p.39. Moreover, Maldonado was the major key figure of his politicization; Frampton stated that through Maldonado he had learned Herbert Marcuse and his book *Eros and Civilisation*. Hannah Arendt was the second key figure; her 1958 book "The Human Condition," which was "a political thesis" rather than Marxist for Frampton, "was and still" constituted a significant place as a reference for Frampton's work. Even though his first notice of the book was via Thomas Stevens in AA, his first reading of it coincided with his first arrival to the States. As claimed by Frampton, he regarded Arendt's book as "a key to the States, to the condition of advanced capitalist production and consumption," which he had difficulties in understanding before. See "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," pp. 41-43.
[146] Ibid., p. 39.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Kenneth Frampton, "The English Crucible," p.115. Herein, it is important to mention briefly the political condition at Britain, which had significant effects on the development of architectural practice for the period. As indicated by Frampton, Britain had surmounted a cyclical stagnation after the Second World War, even for to "justify any form of monumental expression." With the disintegration of India from Empire's body in 1945, Britain started to lose her 'Imperial identity.' The political powers plied to tranquilize the 'Depression' by developing alternative strategies of "Post war social reconstruction." There were important 'parliamentary acts,' which aggravated the reconstruction. One was "the education act of 1944," which resulted in "the construction of some 2500 schools within a decade." Another act was that of "New Towns," dated 1946, which resulted in the "designation of 10 new towns…with populations ranging from 20,000 to 69,000." Both acts had positive consequences for British architecture, but the built examples of the school building program, which was conducted by Hertfordshire County Council, under the leadership of C.H. Aslin, appeared as the direct application of the demanded ideology in terms of architecture. The paradigmatic affinities informed by those architectural works were to be regarded by the governmental powers as "sufficiently 'popular' for the realization of English social reform." See, Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, p. 262.
[150] Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, p. 262, and "The English Crucible," pp. 115-116. For Sweden-originated official architecture, see Alan Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, pp. 193-209.
[151] Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, p. 262-263.
[152] Frampton, "The English Crucible," p. 116.
[153] Ibid., p. 116.
[154] Frampton listed further important figures of the time, which could be classified among the "sympathizers" of the movement, such as Alan Colquhoun, William Howell, Colin St. John Wilson, and Peter Carter, all of whom, in his words, "were working in the early 1950s for the LCC Architect's Department without subscribing to Swedish line." Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, p. 263.
[155] Stan Allen and Hal Foster, Fall 2003, "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," *October*, No 106, p. 36.
[156] Frampton, "The English Crucible," pp. 116-118.
[157] Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, p. 264.
[158] Frampton, pp.264-265.
[159] Frampton, p.265.
[160] The emphasis is mine. Quoted from Scalbert, p.65.
[161] Irénée Scalbert, "Architecture as a Way of Life: The New Brutalism 1953-1956,"…,p. 60
[162] Scalbert, p. 60.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid., pp. 59-60
[165] Frampton, *Modern Architecture*, p. 266.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Scalbert, p. 59.
[170] Ibid.
[171] In their latter work, however, Smithsons combined the Situationist sensibility to Existentialist sensibility. The specific story behind the competitive relationship between Stirling and Smithsons was suppressed around this partial detail on Situationist sensibility. Confessing that he was close to Stirling personally, rather than Smithsons, Frampton later admitted that he could have understood this so-called "Situationist position" by 1960 when he was acting as the technical editor at *Architectural Design*. It was due the English translation of Constant's text *New Babylon,* published in the journal, which for him was "an astonishing text" for the time. See, "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," p. 38.
[172] Colin Rowe, p. 159.
[173] Ibid., pp. 159-160.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid., p. 160.
[176] Ibid., pp. 163-164.
[177] Ibid., p. 165.
[178] Louis Martin, p. 581.
[179] All the intellectual links in this section was developed by Louis Martin in the third chapter of his thesis. He, in fact, was the first researcher who edited the archival material on IAUS at CCA archives. For his doctoral research he interviewed by several important figures of IAUS. The oral archive in the CCA is mostly composed of the written scripts of those interviews. Therefore, Martin's thesis, beyond its being an important source of influence, acted for my study as an encyclopedia covering the most up-to-date and comprehensive knowledge about the Institute.

[180] MoMA's "New City" exhibition was on display until 13 March 1967. It drew extra attention in the United States and was reviewed in international architectural magazines. See, Louis Martin, 2002, *The Search for a Theory in Architecture: The Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976* (Princeton: Unpublished Thesis), p.552.
[181] The catalog of IAUS published in 1979. IAUS archives of CCA: Box IAUS 57-008 Ch. C3-2. CCA Archives, Montreal.
[182] Martin, pp. 553-554.
[183] The catalog of IAUS published in 1979. IAUS archives of CCA.
[184] The catalog of IAUS published in 1979. IAUS archives of CCA.
[185] "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," p. 42.
[186] Ibid., p. 42.
[187] Some loss from the group members occurred such as Tom Vreeland. He informed Eisenman that he could no longer afford to attend the CASE meetings, held at New York, because of his transportation budget. The three-page letter he wrote to Eisenman was noted at Louis Martin's dissertation. According to Martin, Vreeland, in his letter, mentioned his doubts regarding the future of such an organization, reflecting on their close-history with CASE. Nevertheless, Eisenman's reply was much more opportunistic, admitting Vreeland's ascertainment about CASE, by affirming "his ill-form child, now nothing more than a pleasant social amenity." Yet, the Institute would not face the wrong decisions made while CASE meetings first started to be held, such as "wrong selection of people." This would not be a utopic thought, since Eisenman was also aware of the impossibility to create a "united" group, each having analogous thoughts and future projections. Martin, p. 564.
[188] Martin states that in Eisenman's surviving archives the correspondence related to CASE resumes in the in the spring of 1989.
[189] Ambasz became a fellow of IAUS, New York, in May 1970.
[190] Martin, p. 566.
[191] Eisenman resigned from the studio work, however remained as the responsible of the budget used by the Cornell group. Because of his "tight control over the budget, and the working hours of the students" the relationship between him and the Cornell group tensed. Especially, Colin Rowe complained about his attitude by saying, "IAUS was draining the resources of his Urban Design Studio." This argument two even extended to Eisenman's change of the keys of the Institute to leave them out. After a meeting for rapprochement, Cornell team decided to finish the projects they were studying in a short time, and then resign from the Institute. Eisenman accepted Colin Rowe and Alexander Caragonne's resignation by the end of March 1969. Due to this struggle, Eisenman and his "mentor" Colin Rowe never maintained a relationship of equal level. Martin, p. 567.
[192] Martin, p. 568.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid., pp. 569-570.
[196] Those essays were: 1970 and 1971 essays on Terragni; their enhanced versions, published in the book "Five Architects;" and Eisenman's seminal essay, entitled "Notes on Conceptual Architecture," published in two segments in 1970 and in 1974.
[197] For more, See, ibid., pp. 572-580.
[198] Ibid., p. 573.
[199] Ibid., p. 578.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid., p. 579.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid., p. 580.
[205] Ibid., p. 581.
[206] Ibid., p. 583.
[207] Ibid., p. 584.
[208] Tomas Maldonado, who was of Argentinean origin as Emilio Ambasz, was one of the figures transferred to Princeton during Geddes was the dean. He had strong influence on its politicization. He was from the "neo-Bauhausian" Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm, and came to the Princeton around 1967, just before the closure of Ulm. According to Frampton, the major connection for Maldonado's invitation to Princeton as a visiting professor was through Emilio Ambasz, who was a graduate student during that period and was an ex-pupil of Amancio Williams, who was the designer of the famous concrete bridge in Mal der Plata (1943-45). He was a significant influence on Frampton's politicization. See, "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," pp. 41-43.
[209] Martin, p. 586.
[210] Ibid., p. 586, quoted from Tomas Maldonado, 1972, *Design, Nature, and Revolution: Toward A Critical Ecology*, trans. from Italian by Mario Domandi (New York: Harper & Row), p. 64.
[211] Ibid., pp. 586-587, quoted from Tomas Maldonado, *Design, Nature, and Revolution: Toward A Critical Ecology*, trans. from Italian by Mario Domandi (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 65.
[212] Ibid., pp. 587-588.
[213] Ibid., p.588.
[214] Ibid., p.589-590.
[215] Ibid., p.590.
[216] Ibid., p.591.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid., p. 593, Scott Brown, Denise, November-December 1971, "Reply to Frampton," *Casabella* 359360, pp. 41-46.
[219] Ibid., p. 595, quoted from Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Steven Izenour, 1972, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press). Quotes are from the 1977 reprint, pp. 102-103.
[220] The biographical information was drawn from: *Agrest and Gandelsonas: Works*, with an introduction by Anthony Vidler, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995).

[221] Neil Leach [ed], "Structuralism," *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, p.163.
[222] Ibid., p.163.
[223] Ibid., p.163.
[224] Kate Nesbitt, "Introduction," in Kate Nesbitt, ed., 1996, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: an Anthology of Architectural Theory*, *1965-1995* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.33.
[225] Ibid., p.33.
[226] Ibid.
[227] Hawkes, *Structuralism and Semiotics*, op. cit., 17, quoted in Nesbitt, p. 33.
[228] Ibid., pp.33-34.
[229] He presented this essay in a lecture, held at the *Institut Français*, the Institute of the History of Architecture at The University of Naples on 16 May 1976.
[230] Roland Barthes, "Semiology and the Urban," in Neil Leach, ed., 1997, *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (London, New York: Routledge), p. 168.
[231] Ibid., p.170.
[232] Ibid., p.170.
[233] Ibid., p.171.
[234] Ibid., p.172.
[235] Program in Generative Design, Research Proposal of IAUS, pp.17-18. Fonds 057- IAUS Box 57-004 File B6-2, Canadian Centre for Architecture Archives, Montreal.
[236] Ibid., CCA Archives.
[237] Ibid., CCA Archives: The emphasis is mine.
[238] Nesbitt, p.33.
[239] Here, it is important to state an anecdote Martin narrated during my visit to his office. He stated that Mario Gandelsonas was one the jury members of his doctoral study. During the jury, Gandelsonas claimed that nobody had better understand and reinterpret his work as Martin did.
[240] Martin, p.624.
[241] Ibid., p.625.
[242] Ibid., p.625.
[243] Ibid., p.626.
[244] Since, referring to Martin, this contribution by Eisenman had never been published in English as a full text, but its excerpts constructed the main themes of his succeeding seminal works, such as "Cardboard Architecture," and "Notes on Conceptual Architecture IIA," which were published in 1973.
[245] Ibid., p.628.
[246] Ibid., p.629.
[247] Ibid., p.631. For Martin's interpretation of Gandelsonas and Agrest's five texts, see Ibid., pp. 628-641.
[248] Ibid., p.632.
[249] The information is gathered from the catalogue of the exhibition, published by MoMA in collaboration with Centro Di. Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design,* (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di).
[250] Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design,* (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di), p. 15.
[251] However, we assume that Ambasz during this preparation process had sought for his colleagues' advice and got some assistance for some issues in his Italian project. Ambasz's letter to Mr. Ratto. Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[252] Emilio Ambasz (ed.),1972, "Preface," *Italy*: *The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di), p. 11.
[253] Ibid., p. 11.
[254] Oral History Project; Interview with Emilio Ambasz, p. 19-20. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[255] *New York Times*, May 26 1972. Department of Public Information Records, PI II.A.548. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] "Art review and preview now" by Lynn Lee, in *Our Town*, June 2, 1972, p. 7. PI II.A.548. MoMA Archives, NY.
[262] PI II.A.548. MoMA Archives, NY.
[263] *The guardian,* 31 October 1972. PI II.A.548. MoMA Archives, NY.
[264] *The guardian,* 31 October 1972. PI II.A.548. MoMA Archives, NY.
[265] "Moma mia, that is some show" by Rita Reif, in *New York Magazine,* p. 41. PI II.A.548. MoMA Archives, NY.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Oral History Project; Interview with Emilio Ambasz, p. 5. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[270] OH Project; Emilio Ambasz, p. 5. MoMA Archives, NY.

CHAPTER 3

DECONSTRUCTED REALITIES:
"ITALY: THE NEW DOMESTIC LANDSCAPE"

> It has been a long-standing assumption of the modern movement that if all man's products were well designed, harmony and joy would emerge eternally triumphant. Many signs from different sources are making it evident that, although good design is a necessary condition, it is not by itself sufficient to ensure the automatic solution of all the problems that precede its creation and of those that may arise from it. Consequently, many designers are expanding their traditional concern for the aesthetic of the object to embrace also a concern for the aesthetic of the uses to which the object will be put. Thus, the object is no longer conceived as an isolated entity, sufficient unto itself, rather as an integral part of the larger natural and sociocultural environment.[1]

As this paragraph also verified, the diversification in the state of mind by the end of the 1960s embraced a critical pose against the constants of modernist tradition. The solicitous call for additional criterion, as demanded by recent conditions, compelled the necessity to operate a rereading upon this particular paradigm for its intellectual origins. If the main concern of the late 60s and early 1970s' discursive platforms on design both in Europe and in United States rested upon the mere conversion of conception, affiliated with "object" as phenomenon and circumstantially "design" as phenomenon, then it is eligible to argue that Ambasz's focal inquiry upon the "Italian design" was to signify necessary incidents of exceptional departures from the very phenomenon, and, in a way, composed a concessive "documentary of contemporary design practice" in a particular geography, representing deviation from conventional. As indicated in the exhibition catalog, the reason for their selection of Italy as the focal geography was simple and obvious. It was due to the mere credence that nowhere else the previously mentioned conversion of phenomenal patterns had affected the design tradition, as it did in Italy.

Was this due to Ambasz's solitary sense for the rudiments of a style? Why had Ambasz interpreted the embodiment of the contemporary Italian design practice as "so complex, so well crystallized, and so rich"? Which motives triggered the progressive escalation of Italy's authority in the creation and criticism of design by the beginnings of the 1960s? Regardless of any rhetorical scrutiny, its influence on the creation and criticism of design in the United States after the 60s was as inevitable as any other sways of the period.[2] As mentioned in the draft of MoMA's press release, dated May 1972:

> The emergence during the last decade of Italy as the dominant force in product design has already influenced the work of every other European country and is now having its effects on the United States. What is emerging from this burst of vitality of the Italian designers is not simply a series of stylistic operations of product design – although that too is certainly involved—but a fundamental and growing awareness of design understood as an activity whereby man creates artifacts in order to mediate between his fears and aspirations and the pressures imposed by the natural and cultural world.[3]

In the prologue to the exhibition catalog, written by Ambasz, it was indicated that "Italy ha[d] become one of the dominant forces in the creation and criticism of design."[4] Ambasz's scope was to focus on the operative force of Italian architecture and design practice after 1960s and 70s, and to investigate the depths of such an authoritative design practice by mapping the diverging approaches of Italians, developed for current problems in architecture. By representing the complex web of traces behind this authoritative body's act of creation and its sophisticated achievements to American intellectuals, he intended to unveil the specific logic behind the solutions, developed for contemporary design problems. As specific cases might reveal the complex list of "natural and sociocultural" motives behind its becoming dominant in the creation and criticism of design, the INDL exhibition was definitely envisaged as a mediator to demonstrate those cases to the attention of American elite, in a way to publicize certain stylistic rudiments in its body. As the inconsistency of the body, obstructed to implement an analogy, its presentation, by nature, as a unitary scheme of exposition would lack to fulfill any rational expectations. Yet, the reverse act to expose the chaotic structure of design practice of that day and to represent the variety of analytical approaches due to various problems to American architectural society might give the opportunity to root out solitary constructs. As they stated in the draft of their press release:

> Italy has assumed the characteristics of a micro-model where a wide-range of possibilities, limitations, and critical problems of contemporary design are brought into sharp focus. Many of the concerns of contemporary designers throughout the world are, therefore, fairly represented by the diverse and sometimes the opposite approaches being developed by Italian designers. Italian design provides us, therefore, with a concrete framework, which permits the examination of a number of widespread design concerns. This exhibition – the largest ever staged by the MOMA – will, consequently attempt not only to report on current design developments in Italy, but also, to examine a number of issues which, although of a more universal nature, are, nevertheless, fully represented in the Italian designer's work.[5]

The exhibition, "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape," was, therefore, an ambitious project for the period. As Ambasz's initial assumption was to represent the illustration of various concerns of industrial societies in the world, Italy constituted an appropriate model with its complex body, comprising "a wide range of conflicting theories about the present state of design activity, its relation to building industry and to urban development, and the growing distrust of objects of consumption."[6] The catalog of the exhibition, as the only residue of the event today, therefore, witnessed all amalgamated levels of information to be unveiled for any analysis.

The curator of the exhibition, Emilio Ambasz, edited the catalog. Helen M. Franc (1908-2006), the editorial assistant of the Museum of Modern Art, was the coordinating editor.[7] Emilio Ambasz designed the cover and the publishing house, Centro Di, designed the layout. INDL book was designed "as an extensively illustrated publication," approximately about 232 pages, which was planned to cover the visual material of each artwork. The plan of MoMA, as indicated in the correspondences, was to compose it in four sections:

> Section 1: a Historical Survey of Contemporary Italian Design
> Section 2: a Critical Analysis of the Different Intellectual and Formal Positions of Contemporary Italian Design in the context of International Design Problems
> Section 3: a Presentation of the Objects shown in the Exhibition;
> Section 4: a Presentation of the Environments shown in the Exhibition[8]

As this categorization was due to certain objectives Ambasz explained in the introduction of the catalog, each section was to "provide a cultural context" for the next.[9] The Objects indicated the different design positions evolving in Italy during that period, and to expose they were "thus complementary."[10] The historical section, furthermore, was to historicize

the design act from the beginning of the twentieth century and its practice. According to archival material at MoMA, this section was conceived of an overall exposition of History of Design in Italy over significant stylistic approaches, such as “Art Nouveau, Futurismo, Razionalizmo and Secondo Dopoguerra,” to be finalized by a discussion on the “critical history of the ideological developments of Italian design thought and imagery” throughout the periods under concentration. The critical section, finally, was planned to pursue an analytical examination of the formal and ideological attitudes that have given internal structure to the thought and activities of Contemporary design. The tentative list of authors who were invited to write a contribution for the historical and critical sections was as follows:

> The historical section: 1. On History of Design in certain time-periods:
> Paolo Portoghesi on Art Nouveau,
> Maurizio Calvesi on Futurismo,
> Leonardo Benevolo on Razionalismo,
> Vittorio Gregotti on the Secondo Dopoguerra, and
> 2. On a Critical History of the Ideological Development of Design: Guilio Carlo Argan
> The critical section: Germano Celant, Manfredo Tafuri, Filiberto Menna, Ruggero Cominotti and Adalberto Dal Lago.”[11]

Although slight changes occurred between the first conception and the final publication in terms of the structure, the sequence of sections, and the writers of the articles, the INDL book appeared as a big accomplishment for its period, covering an extensive amount of colored and black & white illustrations of the “Objects” and “Environments” shown in the exhibition, in addition to the historical and critical analysis of Contemporary Italian Design.[12] Nevertheless, was there a hidden premeditation for American public behind its arrangement? Obviously, yes. The catalog was set to become a documentation of different design positions in Italy and their grounds that were hardly known by American architectural society. The conception of MoMA for this publication was quite pretentious since they believed that “…this publication … [would] be a ‘first’ and should fill the present gap.” The prerequisite for their claim was evidently the dictation of the writers for “the non-existence, as yet, of a History of Italian Design, whether historical or critical,” due to the lack of information about the history of Italian design in the United States. In this perspective, the organization of the verbal and visual material that would fill the gap of the thought and imagery of Italian design were handled through a methodical analysis. The following steps were traced: Initially, several well-known Italian designers and their

younger colleagues were invited "to propose environmental concepts and translate them into physical designs."[13] Yet, the contributors of the exhibition had a common requirement: "to explore the domestic landscape with a sense for its 'places,' and to propose the spaces and artifacts that give them form, the ceremonies and behaviors that assign them meaning."[14] The INDL book included the photographs of objects and environments. Contributions from Italian historians, critics, and theoreticians provided the social and historical context for the contemporary Italian design. The INDL book was the only comprehensive study to be predominant on Italian design for its time. Therefore, to give the INDL book a higher value than the works of art displayed in the exhibition might not be insincerity, for the scope of this study. Building the ground for the displayed works, the catalog became the reference book both with the unique corporeal proposals of Italian designers showed in the exhibition and the historical and critical texts written by eminent Italian historians and critics. The succeeding section, the "historical articles" yet turned out to be equally influential and appealing, as were the design pieces. "For an American audience," wrote Ambasz, "it has seemed indispensible to provide on this occasion some background on the evaluation of Italian design in this century."[15] And, the articles were exactly fulfilling the requirements of any similar historicization process and their overall unity acted as an interface for both visual material in the exhibition and the critical essays that followed. The contributions of the first four authors were anticipated to constitute "a historical exposition of the most important intellectual and stylistic developments of Italian Design in [the specified period], with emphasis on documentation and graphic representation of its most important artifacts and events."[16] However, the essay that was demanded from Guilio Carlo Argan was with a purpose to recover all analyzed periods by other authors, to provide "a critical history of the ideological developments of Italian Design thought and imagery from Art Nouveau Period to the Secondo Dopoguerra period, including Futurismo, and Razionalismo."[17] Nevertheless, in the issued copy, the article written by Argan was among critical articles rather than historical, and the historical article on Futurism that was expected to be written by Maurizio Calvesi was inscribed by Fagiolo Dell Arco.

The essays in this perspective sorted out a historical framework for contemporary Italian design, by evaluating "the Italian version of Art Nouveau (Paolo Porthoghesi), Futurists concepts of design (Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco); the period between the two World Wars (Leonardo Benevolo); the postwar years, during which Italy emerged as a major

international force in design (Vittorio Gregotti)."[18] The trace throughout the historical articles evaluating different "styles," for Ambasz, had the virtue to provide the knowledge of a sequence of "circumstances and ideas that, for all their contrasts and divergences, still underlie the situation of today and frequently persist either as survivals and revivals."[19] Ambasz, therefore, regarded those articles as essential tools for a clear comprehension of "the story of the continuing efforts of Italian architects to rid their profession of backwardness and provincialism."[20] In a way, they did not only provide a historical basis for the exhibition itself, but also for the critical articles that followed.

The last section, "Critical Articles," included a series of critical essays. For Ambasz, the Italian design as a phenomenon was not notable for only its creative production, but also for the body of art and architectural criticism. Ambasz defined this body as an "analytical operation," constructed on a solitary "confinement" that devoted itself to evaluate the "formal properties of the objects produced."[21] However, the line of evaluation had significance due to its political and aggravating nuance, nourished by the unique concentration on the sociocultural context of design and the historical processes in its development.[22] The major objective of Ambasz for such assembly was "to provide a frame of reference for the objects and the environments in the exhibition" in terms of Italian context.[23] This critical section illustrated, in a sense, a genuine body of critical works. The authors were selected Italian figures, all at tops of their disciplines, prominent professionals with the body of criticism they had instigated.

It is important here to state why this section acquired extra importance in our study. The major motivation is our conviction that the critical proposals represent the genuine manifestation of the ideological endeavor lying beneath the eccentric improvement of Italian design. In fact, it was those proposals that caused the "critique of ideology" to be discerned by the American architectural milieu with the 1972 exhibition. A brief concentration on both the essays and the biographies of their authors could help to clarify the aspects explicit in the details of the Italian debate on architecture and design and might provide the platform to discuss the context in which the authors wrote those critical articles. In this respect, the authors who contributed to the 1972 exhibition with their critical texts and their brief biographies were as such:

Ruggero Cominotti was an economist. In 1972, he was the director of SORIS, which was a company established by the Italian Institute for Furnishing (IMI) and Olivetti. He undertook several economic researches and marketing surveys in various companies.[24] The essay that was demanded from Cominotti, to be included in the INDL book, constituted an analysis on "the processes of Contemporary Italian Design and their relation to Italian Social and Economic Planning, of approximately 5000 words."[25] The article he submitted was identically titled with the Museum's demand: "Italian Design in Relation to Social and Economic Planning." Through this article, Cominotti assessed "the role played by design in the country's economic development" in depth.[26]

Italo Insolera was an academician who received his bachelor degree in architecture at Rome in 1953. He taught in the architectural schools of Rome, Florence, Venice, and was a member of the architectural school at the University of Geneva until 1972.[27] He presented an essay, entitled as "Housing Policy and the Goals of Design in Italy" for the exhibition in light of the Museum's request. The request of MoMA from Insolera was: to "write an essay analyzing the problem of Italian industrial design from the point of view of urban planning, remarking on the absence of coordination between urban planning and housing policies (financial and housing standards), the scarce development of industrialized housing, and the general lack of coordination between the housing and furniture industries."[28] In this perspective, Insolera submitted an essay that focused on "the relation of urban planning and housing- or of its absence- to the production and consumption of household furnishings."[29]

Guilio Carlo Argan (1909-1992) was a professor of History of Art and taught art history at various universities, including Rome University. He was one of the familiar characters for the American architectural milieu. He graduated from the University of Turin in 1932. There, he held the chair in The History of Modern Art. His critical writings received several awards. In 1972, he was the co-director of the periodical *L'Art* and the director of the periodical *Storia dell'Arte*. His published works included *The Renaissance City* (1969), and *L'Arte Moderna* (1970).[30] As previously mentioned, Argan was invited to contribute with an essay for the section of historical articles; however, his essay took place among the critical articles in the issued copy. The request of Museum from Argan was to provide "a critical history of ideological developments in Italian Design" from Art Nouveau period until the end of World War II. The essay he submitted for the exhibition

was entitled identically as "Ideological Development in the Thought and Imagery of Italian Design," contending, in terms of Ambasz, "the external and internal influences on modes of thought that have affected the transformations of modern Italian design."[31]

Alessandro Mendini was a practicing architect in 1972. He was especially concerned with theoretical and critical studies and was the editor of the periodical Casabella from 1965 to 1970.[32] His article on "The Land of Good Design" was, for Ambasz, a historical study indicating "the manipulation of design in the service of consumption and the resulting dilemma of designers."[33]

Germano Celant, the author of the article "Radical architecture," was at that time the "curator of the Experimental Museum of Contemporary Art in Turin, and lectured on radical architecture at several American colleges and universities including The University of Minnesota, The College of Art and Design in Minneapolis." In 1972, Celant was working on a book about radical architecture. He issued several articles, such as *Arte Povera + Azioni Povere* (1968), *Art Povera* (1969) and Conceptual Art, *Arte Povera*, Land Art (1971) in addition to his published works.[34] The essay he was asked to contribute was framed as a performance of "an analytical examination of the formal and ideological attitudes that have given internal structure to the thought and activities of Contemporary Italian Design, of approximately 5000 words."[35] The essay he submitted was entitled similarly with his former published articles: "Radical Architecture." In this essay, he dealt with "the significance of counterculture positions adopted by groups of radical designers."[36]

Filiberto Menna was Professor of the History of Contemporary Art at the University of Salerno during 1972. He had delivered various lectures and conducted courses on industrial and visual design. Menna had written articles focusing on "historical and critical problems of art, architecture, town planning, and industrial design in relation to society."[37] What Museum required from Menna has a similar context with that of Celant's: an analytical examination of the formal and ideological attitudes" lying beneath internal structure to the thought and activities of Contemporary Italian Design.[38] In this framework, the title of the essay Menna contributed to the exhibition was "A design for new behaviors," and there he elucidated "the aesthetic and political premises of the emerging counterdesign groups."[39]

The last author was Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994) who was an Italian architectural critic and historian. Tafuri received his bachelor degree in architecture from the University of Rome in 1960 and was a professor of architectural history, and the director of the historical section of *Instituto Universitario d'Architettura di Venezia* since 1968. The title of the institute when it was first founded was "the Institute for the History of Art and Architecture." Later, that title was redesignated into "the Institute of the History of Architecture." It was Manfredo Tafuri, who led the conversion of the Institute to the "Department of History of Architecture" (DSA) into the "Department for Critical and Historical Analysis" in 1982. In a short period, the Department set up "its own tradition of research and teaching" in the company of the donations of particular professors such as Bruno Zevi, Leonardo Benevolo -one of the contributors of the exhibition- and Giuseppe Mazzariol.[40] Tafuri continued being the director of DSA until 1988. In fact, by transforming the former Institute for the History of Art and Architecture into DSA, then by unveiling the teaching and research activities of DSA, and finally by instituting the PhD program within the Department, Tafuri had made a decisive contribution to the university and provided an authoritative position within the international establishments.[41] In the United States, however, his works were virtually known at the time the exhibition was held. Ambasz introduced Tafuri in the exhibition catalog with the following terms: "As a critic and historian, he is particularly concerned with the social and political aspects of architecture and town planning, from the age of humanism to the present day. He is a member of editorial staff of the periodical *Contropiano* and the author of numerous books and articles."[42] In the specific context of the Museum, Tafuri presented an essay titled as "Design and Technological Utopia" which was his first text published in English. [43] In need of providing a frame of reference for the objects and environments presented at the exhibition, Ambasz asked Tafuri to figure out "the metamorphoses in the ideology of Italian design that have resulted from aesthetic and socioeconomic pressures."[44]

In its entirety, the distinctive standpoints of Italian historians and designers about art object and architecture based on a "critique of ideology" were vastly appreciated by American architectural milieu via INDL catalog. It was possible to pick a copy from the Museum during the visits for the exhibition. Thus, Ambasz sent it to every acquaintance he was in dialog, to the libraries of universities, and to the important people in the United States.

Due to two specific reasons, I intentionally distinguish Manfredo Tafuri and his critical article on "Design and Technological Utopia," from all previously mentioned authors and their proposals. The first one is due to the major reason of my concentration on this exhibition and its catalog. As mentioned at the beginning, it is due to its innovative capacity to be a tool for the redefinition and the reappreciation of Tafuri's historical and critical works in the American architectural milieu. The second motive was stated in the thorough work of Louis Martin: "Tafuri's text for MoMA in 1972 marked the beginning of the slow penetration of critique of ideology into the Anglophone architectural milieu."[45]

As Ambasz's aim was to unveil the specific logic behind the design practice of Italians, along with original display design works, the project definitely required a wide spectrum of survey on the issue under question, covering the historical and critical endeavors of the period. Analogously, as the aim of this study was to develop a historical criticism of a sequence, triggered by the INDL exhibition, our historical project definitely required the "deconstruction of its ascertainable realities," to speak of a Tafurian terminology. The catalog of the exhibition, in this context, acted as the main object of analysis, the object to be deconstructed, and the object to produce meanings. To assign such an ambitious task to a mere catalog might seem as reductionist. Herein, it is important to restate that the INDL catalog was the most appropriate ground for such an attempt due to its being one of the unique products, verifying the roots of the idealistic penetration. Yet, its desolate use may still provoke a risk. However, as in Tafurian terminology, history was defined as a "production," constructed analytically, therefore had always entertained the risk of being indefinite and provisional constructions. The historical criticism of this study similarly may connote such speculations. Indeed, provisionality and obscurity is in the nature of any related attempt.

3. 1 - DECONSTRUCTING "OBJECTS": THE COLLAPSING DESIGN TENDENCIES IN ITALY

Before "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape," the polemicality of "designing an object" as a concept had never been so radically conveyed to the American intellectual sphere. It was not only because of the distinguished characteristics of exhibited design works, but also due to the chaotic ideological structure beyond their creation. The first phase of deconstruction, therefore, focused on that chaotic formation, expressed by "Objects." As previously mentioned, the first section of the catalog was devoted to the objects, displayed in the exhibition. The selection of the significant objects in this part was made among the "Best Designs" produced in Italy, but was not pursued with an intention to theorize a historical anthology of Italian product design, nor was to classify the products of different approaches prevalent in Italy. As Ambasz indicated in the introduction of the catalog, the INDL exhibition was particularly concerned with exploring an environmental approach. The objects, in this context, were selected for their implied meanings to support this concern. Indeed, all were consciously selected to provide a cultural context for one of prevalent tendencies in Italian design, an environmental approach, approximate to Ambasz's concerns. Before exploring this tendency, it is crucial to delineate the diverging attitudes toward design in Italy. As Ambasz indicated in the script for the documentary of the exhibition, all the way through his survey on Italian design, he realized that there were three dominant attitudes toward design: "conformist, reformist, and one of contestation, attempting both inquiry and action."[46]

Ambasz's use of the term "conformist" for the first tendency might provoke an adverse template for this posture, yet for Ambasz, nearly the whole manifestation of Italian design was through the products of this design attitude whose propagators "conceive[d] of their work as an autonomous activity responsible only to itself."[47] According to the script, the designers of this approach worked without questioning the socio-cultural context they presently belonged, but instead they concentrated on the "already established forms and functions" of the past and tried to refine them.[48] Ambasz stated that there were certain characteristics, which distinguished the designers of this approach from others: "their bold use of color and their imaginative utilization of the possibilities offered by the new hard and soft synthetic materials and advanced molding techniques."[49] Their work, in

Ambasz's words, was "mainly concerned with exploring the aesthetic quality of single objects — a chair, a table, a bookcase — that answer[ed] the traditional needs of domestic life."[50] Several products of prominent designers, such as Joe Colombo, Mario Bellini, Gaetano Pesce, Marco Zanuso, Gae Aulenti (her early work), Richard Sapper, Enzo Mari, Ugo La Pietra and Ettore Sottsass, Jr. were represented in this category and belonged to the conformist attitude in Italy.

The second tendency, on the contrary, was "reformist" in character for Ambasz. Quite the opposite of conformists, the reformists had severe concerns about the role of a designer in contemporaneous society, dedicating itself to the act of consumption. Their motivation was rather political, but passive in developing a critical participation. To quote Ambasz, literarily:

> Torn by the dilemma of having been trained as creators of objects, and yet being incapable of controlling either the significance or the ultimate uses of these objects, they find themselves unable to reconcile the conflicts between their social concerns and their professional practices. They have just developed a rhetorical mode of coping with these contradictions.[51]

The designers of this attitude were convinced that "there can be no renovation of design until structural changes had occurred in society."[52] However, the structural change was not their major task. They neither plied for inventing any new forms, nor attempted to propose any new behavioral patterns. Instead, in Ambasz's words, "they engage[d] in a rhetorical operation of redesigning conventional objects with new, ironic, and sometimes self-deprecatory sociocultural and aesthetic references."[53] In other words, they justified their activity by molding the creations in the form of cumulative commentaries, examining their preestimated roles in the society.[54] Due to "the diversity of these rhetorical operations," the products of this group, for Ambasz, mapped out an ambiguous spectrum of revived "known forms with altered meanings."[55] For example, several forms of early Modern movements, such as Art Nouveau and Bauhaus, might be encountered in altered interpretations, supplying the postulations of the present society.[56] Or, several familiar forms might be used in different sociocultural meanings.[57] Or, the known forms of Pop culture or daily-life use might be presented in transformed shapes or scales.[58] Or, the elements of nature might be used mimetically as the most pure forms that rejected any addition or subtraction from its entirety.[59]

As could be realized from the catalog, the products of some designers, such as Gae Aulenti and Geatano Pesce, were in the list of both reformist and conformist approaches. In fact, as Ambasz indicated in the catalog, the differences between two approaches were not so clear-cut. The fluctuations of the designers' pose between these two attitudes, therefore for Ambasz, revealed the paradoxical condition that the current design activity was squeezed in-between due to the contemporary uncertainties, oppressed by the demands of consuming society on the one hand, and the utopist compromises of technological developments on the other.[60]

The third approach, Ambasz designated as "one of contestation, attempting both inquiry and action" was exactly concerned with this paradoxical condition. According to Ambasz, such approaches could be grasped in two main trends in Italy, having diverging foundations. The first trend rejected any constraint of socio-industrial culture and declared a so-called "moratorium." The term "anti-object" was a characteristic proclamation of their position. The literal meaning of this term, for Ambasz, had nothing to do with an absolute refusal to produce. Instead, it symbolized an absolute confinement to politics and philosophical notions that abandoned any other option.[61] The second trend, on the other hand, shared the disbelief of the reformist attitude. They also had doubts about designing and solitary object, irrespective of any physical and sociocultural context. Proclaiming the passivity of reformists in terms of critical participation, Ambasz distinguished this trend due to the activist criticality they developed for the problem.[62] For Ambasz, their conception of the object was related to its complex use generated from a set of behavioral processes, comprising a constant change of relationships and its patterns.[63] Ambasz spoke of those designers as follows:

> To the traditional preoccupation with aesthetic objects, these contemporary designers have therefore added a concern for an aesthetic of the uses made of these objects. The holistic approach is manifested in the design of objects that are flexible in function, thus permitting multiple modes of use and arrangement. To one accustomed to dealing with finite shapes acting as points of reference, such objects can often be offensive, because they refuse to adopt a fixed shape or to serve as reference to anything. In contrast to the traditional object, these objects in some instances assume shapes that become whatever the users want them to be, thereby, providing an open-ended manner of use. Objects of this source are conceived as environmental ensembles, and permit different modes of social interaction, while at the same time, they allow the user to make his own statement about both privacy and communality.[64]

In fact, for Ambasz, the designs of this approach were the most appropriate ensembles that supplied the necessary notions for their own environmental conception.[65] All three tendencies mentioned by Ambasz were the early-1970s prevalent attitudes toward design in Italy. Although Ambasz particularly concentrated on the last so-called environmental trend, the catalog actually portrayed all essential notions toward design with a deliberate aim to provide cultural context, and this comprehensivenesswas exactly what motivated alternative interpretations by significant figures, other than Ambasz. Here, having understood Ambasz's specific intention, it seems equally crucial to "deconstruct the ascertainable realities," the terminology is that of Tafuri, by tracing back to its origins to unveil the basic motivations behind the modern Italian architecture.

"Nearly the whole story of the relationship between modern Italian architecture and Italian culture is linked to Futurist movement," wrote Vittorio Gregotti at the beginning of the chapter he focused on the formation of Modern movement in Italy between 1918 and 1943.[66] As he indicated, the Modern Italian architecture was born after the First World War in an ill-defined climate, perplexingly with full rejection of Futurist ideals due to the "neonationalistic" features in politics and in "official cultural policies." As indicated by Manfredo Tafuri, "the complex cultural policy of [fascist] regime was intended to safeguard its own character as 'popular' and as a product of mass movement by assuming a superficially *national* guise."[67] The first modern architects, therefore, lacked the chance of "being marginal" to some extent, since the major aim, in its broadest sense, was to regain a national character in terms of both art and architecture. "Culture," wrote Tafuri, "as a unified incarnation of that ideology, became the instrument which assigned precise roles to the different approaches: each 'style' had its exact social referent, each way of working its own public patronage. The regime, as State and Nation, was the exclusive agent in administering their synthesis."[68] Manfredo Tafuri claimed that:

> The *Manifesto of the Futurist Party*, published by F.T. Marinetti in 1918, gives the measure of how much the ideologies of the Italian avant-garde culture entered into dialectic with the ferments that culminated in the fascist movement: far too open the cultural autonomy that intellectuals claimed as their right ended up by coinciding with a flanking support for the policy of Mussolini.[69]

In 1919, the futurist principles such as dependence on machine aesthetics, the rejection of bourgeois social order changed identity by the end of the war and was displaced with two opposite principles: "a return to order" and "the rejection of eclecticism."[70] These new

principles were mostly represented by Milanese architects between 1919 and 1925, and found expressions in art. In Gregotti's words, "original point of view was exemplified by the group of painters known as the Milanese 900."[71] According to Gregotti, the work of Milanese 900 "had inherited a positive outlook towards the metaphysical painting of Giorgio de Chirico and was devoted, through classicism, to an assertion of the Italian pictorial tradition of what was most typical in the national culture."[72]

In his book "Modern Architecture," the architect-critic, Alan Colquhoun mentioned about two progressive movements within that period. Deliberating the first as "Novacento," he mostly addressed the mannerist instances of classical monumentalism of Milanese architects, yet through a "moderate avant-garde position."[73] Novacento, in Colquhoun's words, "promoted an architecture, though 'modern,' would restore its links with an anonymous classical tradition."[74] Giovanni Muzio was the leading architect of the movement, who for Manfredo Tafuri, "expressed a moderate twentieth century poetic akin to that of Massimo Bontempelli: abstract neo-classical dreams and memories with metaphysical flavor were the signs of an unquiet bourgeoisie in search of a new quality within its own tradition. But such high-bourgeois aspirations became superfluous when it came to purely functional tasks."[75] Later, Colquhoun spoke of his "CaBrutto Apartment in Milan" as a model of a "style" in which the emphasis was mostly on façade, by means of the "mannerist ironic deformations of conventional classical motifs."[76] The developments in architecture were all due to the political aura in Italy. To rephrase Tafuri:

> By 1926, the cardinal principles of Mussolini's policy were settled. Once fascism had solved its conflicts with industrial capitalism, it strove for more and more identity itself with the state as such, rather than with its own political party. At the same time as the monopolistic tendencies of the capitalist development were becoming clearer, the criteria for a new organization of national territory were also taking shape, thus laying the basis for what was claimed to be a logical completion of the Risorgimento.[77]

As indicated by Tafuri, "a political turn" had occurred in 1925, retarding the rectification of urbanistic policy, toward a utile body for the building industry, which led to major transformations for the subsequent decade.[78] The mere results of new urbanistic policy, on one side, triggered the "restructuring [of] historical centers by improving their functional aspects for speculative purposes;" yet on the other side, enabled the "development of

suburban and rural residential settlements."[79] The very designs, in this context, were achieved through competitions for a decisive period. It was in this atmosphere, when another progressive movement commenced by the foundation of *Gruppo 7* in 1926, with a reaction against mannerist approaches of the time. To state briefly, *Gruppo 7* was founded in Milan Politechnico by a group of versatile students, including Sebastiano Larco, Guido Frette, Carlo Enrico Rava, Luigi Figini, Gino Pollini, Guiseppe Terragni, and Adalberto Libera. The following passage from their founding declaration, issued in the magazine *La Rassegna Italiana* might denote their major conspiracy:

> The hallmark of the earlier avant-garde was contrived impetus and a vain, destructive fury, mingling good, and bad elements: the hallmark of today's youth is a desire for lucidity and wisdom … This must be clear … we do not intend to break with tradition; tradition transforms itself' and takes on new aspects beneath which only a few can recognize it. The new architecture, the true architecture, should be the result of a close association between logic and rationality…

With this program, they specified a "revision" for the "traditional design practice" by encompassing new construction technologies of the day. It was a "modernist program" as Doordan named, that called for "the development of rationalized typologies for industrial architecture and mass-housing schemes; the reform of architectural education; and the analysis of historical precedents in terms of typological and morphological categories rather than treating ancient buildings as unique monuments of individual creative genius." Doordan continued: "As a corollary of its attempt to shift the subject of history from a celebration of individual creativity to an investigation of typological evolution, Gruppo 7 argued for a revision of cultural attitudes regarding the nature of architectural production. … They advocated designs that focused on the prototypical and the universal solutions to social problems. The Rationalists warned against personality cults in architecture and called for a 'renunciation of individualism.'"[80]

Later named as Italian Rationalism, the advocators of this progressive movement "supported modern art and architecture with thoroughgoing and wholehearted polemics against antiquated academic monumentalism."[81] As its very program was borrowed from the innovative theories of Le Corbusier, published in the magazine *L'Esprit Nouveau*, the propagation of this very program in Italy coincided with the regime's very wish "to show itself modern and efficient;" therefore, the very "assimilation of an international

vocabulary" through the Italian case was highly supported by the state powers.[82] "With its fusion of functionalism and classical spirit," in Colquhoun's words, Rationalists transplanted the "idealist aestheticism" and the "formal abstraction" of orthodox modernism, and collated its vocabulary with "classical monumentalism."[83] Their achievements scored a relative success for the period, despite in Colquhoun's words, "the indifference, and sometimes the hostility of the Fascist party."[84] Accepted as the architecture of fascist ideals by a majority of critics, yet declined by others, the contentious discussions on the relationship of fascism with rationalism, however, had always remained as an unsolvable subject of debates.

The Italian Rationalism was first recognized by the public body through the writings of Eduardo Persico (1900-1936), who, for Gregotti, was "the most brilliant critic and the most controversial supporter of modern Italian architecture," and that of Giuseppe Pagano (1896-1945), whom both did Colquhoun identify as "the intellectual leaders of the movement." [85] Both Persico and Pagano were of Turinese origins. Their Turinese connection was crucial due to the concealed irony in contextual level that might be against the so-called fascist ideology. Turin, in those years, held a privileged situation among the main cultural centers of Italy. In Gregotti's words: "It was the center of the most advanced art criticism of the time, it was also the city of the greatest political and intellectual resistance to fascism, as represented by Antonio Gramsci and Piero Gobetti."[86] When Persico and Pagano moved to Milan in 1929 and 1930, they took up editorial and directorial tasks of the magazine *Casabella*. By the courtesy of their harsh modernist propagation, *Casabella* turned into, in Gregotti's words, "the most brilliant critical instrument of Italian rationalism."[87] Pagano belonged to a "less reactionary" party than Persico. The contestations on Modern architecture were, for Pagano, "a reaffirmation of fascist ideals," whereas, for Persico, the situation was slightly different, and had different cultural origins.[88] Possessing "a firm moral opposition to the cultural aspects of fascism," Persico spoke of "ideals going back to Risorgimento," and his turn to architecture outside Italy was due to his ambition toward "a moral and civil renewal for which there was no room in Italy."[89] In other words, as indicated by Tafuri, "he was opposed to fascism and envisaged its obsolescence in an ethical and technocratic future."[90]

Vittorio Gregotti regarded the performance of *Casabella* as the narrator of Rationalist movement as "decisive" for the moment. Through it, Milan, which was the center of neo-classists, became "the center of fight for Modern architecture" after the 1930s. In addition, owing to it, the unification of two significant ensembles of Italian culture, having oppositional ideology, enabled in terms of settlement: the avant-gardes, Rationalist architects and the neoclassicists, Milanese 900. In fact, the motto "return to order" was their common aphorism, whereas the difference between them arose from the varying meanings each ensemble attributed to the terms "order" and "logic." While Rationalists meant "function" and "use," Milanese 900 meant "classicism" and "anti-avant-gardism."[91] Nevertheless, they had common receptions in terms of "expressive approach" and "monumentalism." The major query behind those progressive movements was about the form of the very connection of each approach with that of fascist ideology. Among Rationalists, the debates on "fascist ideology," according to Gregotti, on one side, "caused years of aesthetic confusion and deep ideological contradiction," but on the other side, it was the main "impetus" behind selected preeminent works of the period, such as *Casa del Fascio* of Terragni.[92] Tafuri spoke of *Casa del Fascio* in following terms:

> In his *Casa del Fascio* (party headquarters) of 1932-36 in Como, he manipulated the rationalist language in such a way as to reinterpret the typical form of the palace and make it the heart of a new type of urban structure. But the magical unrealism of the edifice also speaks of the underlying objective of its author, the aspiration to a "suspended tonality," to architecture as "dream of reason."[93]

Alongside magazines such as *Casabella*, it can be said that every competition, and every exhibition held in Italy between the years 1932 and 1936 became the terrain of rationalist propaganda. However, all the solitary proposals exposed "a diversified panorama," for Tafuri, despite in his words, "a single factor linking various points of view," which was "the definition of a 'national' art."[94] According to Tafuri, it was this factor that "constituted a common ground where proposal for renewal and reactionary tendencies could meet."[95] To quote Tafuri: "In the rationalist position, the concern with preserving a bond with tradition while still achieving a renewal of forms became the occasion of reproposing Mediterranean myths and antirhetoric of purportly spontaneous peasant style architecture."[96]

The climate, however, completely reversed after 1936 because of the remote impact of the manifestation of a “strong anti-modern reaction” in Europe, which induced an analogous mutation in the Italian architectural discourse. The sudden death of the intellectual leader of Rationalist movement, Eduardo Persico in 1936, the international anti-modern propagation, the war and more, signalized, as Gregotti wrote, “the beginning of retreat of Modern Architecture. In a way, 1936 is a crucial date: it marks the apex of rationalist ideal as it was ideologically set forth in *Casabella*.”[97] The change in terms of ideals triggered alternative search for the “structural problems of architecture.” As Gregotti mentioned, the two years, consequent to Persico’s death, from 1936 to 1938, embraced two significant ideological approaches, through which the critical adjustment of Italian rationalist discourse was engendered ideologically, either in theoretical or in professional level. The first approach was preceded within the scale of urbanism and rather in a pragmatic manner. This approach comprised of mainly the recognition of urban planning as to scope out the structural problems of micro-scale, by means of various constructs in macro-scale.[98] The second approach, on the other hand, was of Rationalists and rather theoretical. They “tended to express the trend’s theoretical and ideological problems.”[99] The major reason beyond this minor tribute was concealed in Tafuri’s following words:

> In reality, the modern architects found themselves at a loss precisely because of the character of the initiative itself, the first real attempt to codify a comprehensive fascist undertaking. Their projects seem to have renounced all criticism in the face of the rigidity and precision of the program. Further polemic was useless, could at best be only the occasion to assert one’s moral probity.[100]

As Gregotti indicated, both contributions had enormous influences for the field. Herein, however, the latter enterprise of Rationalists might appear as more critical than the former pragmatic attempts, due to the perceptible establishment of the pioneering origins of future development of Italian architectural criticism, executed on an ideological level. The open debate of theoretical and ideological problems in the body of Rationalism obviously created a “critical dialogue,” distressed in the complex correlation between the movement’s privileged ‘modern’ principles, with the reality of “accrual and traditional environment.”[101] The aim, in brief, was to develop “a rationalist critique” which spoke of both national and universal vocabulary of architecture, “on a completely different level from nationalistic arguments of the academicians.”[102] The built forms of the period were in atypical forms, as if the mere verifications of the fact that, in Gregotti’s words, “one

could be modern with unusual forms that was not stylistically rationalist."[103] Herein, Gregotti's query of "what was the use, then, of buildings pleasing modern taste?" appeared as crucial; yet, his answer regrettably received no comments and should be quoted literarily:

> Conditions deteriorated rapidly: Casabella was forced to stop publication in 1943 by order of government, and nearly all the rationalists joined the political underground. Terragni died prematurely at the age of 39; Rafaele Giolli, Gianluigi Banfi, and Giuseppe Pagano were arrested and then deported to German concentration camps, where they died in 1945. What had been a "problem of style" became a "problem of death and freedom." Many paid dearly for their errors and doubts.[104]

Albeit, the post-war reconstruction that Colquhoun contextualized in his book was considerably a "continuity" of 'pre-war architecture,' albeit this prolongation seemed to be the "relative" emancipation of the development of international modernism with the support of political powers during Fascism; the very continuation of modernist activities casted into a reactionary form, due to the Realist experience of the holocaust. Almost a majority of modernist architects was the ally of Fascism; and as Colquhoun indicated, with "the defeat of Fascism," the architectural profession was coerced to "search for a new architectural identity."[105] The architectural debates, regarding the origins of Modern architecture rolled up oppositional interpretations among architects. "In this debate," wrote Colquhoun, "Milan and Rome represented opposite poles."[106]

Milan, as indicated by Gregotti, had been the central field for the long-lasting "battles for modern architecture," and had been sophisticated by means of "the harsh experience of resistance," against Fascism.[107] During the war; having experienced such a holocaust for Rationalist tradition, the continuation of Rationalist movement, naturally, was assumed by Milan; yet this time, by means of a harsh resistance against Fascism. Referring to Colquhoun, to state that the Rationalist program, which Milanese architects reapplied during that period, was an extension of Persico and Pagano's first manifestations on the movement in the 1930s, leading its very involvement with "leftist politics" would not be immoral.[108]

Rome, on the other hand, had been under the domination of administrative powers, as the capital city, and had "lacked any substantial rationalist architectural tradition," until that time.[109] The lack of any theoretical and cultural platform regarding Modern architecture had been changed with the return of Bruno Zevi to Rome, from the United States, after his "political exile" ended.[110] The two seminal books he published subsequent to his arrival had dual significance: on one side, through them Zevi made the propagation of Modern movement against the mannerism of academic circles in Rome, and on the other, by them he mounted the first critique of Rationalists in the intellectual lobbies of Rome. Those works were, respectively, *Verso un'Architettura Organica,* published in 1945, and *Storia dell'Architettura Moderna*, published in 1950. Each work, for Gregotti, provided "a fundamental contribution to the criticism and historiography of Modern Italian architecture," and, to a certain extent, facilitated the reputation of Italian architecture internationally.

Zevi's "call for a more humane architecture" by those books triggered substantial step-forwards in various fields.[111] Whilst, his 1950 book engaged a privileged status in terms of Modern architectural history, and influenced several young architects as a reference book in those years, the 1945 book on organic architecture, and Zevi's foundation of Association for Organic Architecture (A.P.A.O.), in sequence, instigated the decisive embodiment of critical and theoretical debates on Modern architecture between 1948 and 1950. Another important feature of A.P.A.O. was its provision of the broad-spectrum for creative activity, which for Gregotti, "had, hitherto, been repressed within rationalism's classical vocabulary."[112] Their annunciation promoted organic modernism nationwide, which was disseminated under the leadership of Zevi. In their announcement, they said:

> Organic architecture is not once a socio-technical activity and an artistic activity towards creating the environment for a new democratic civilization: it is aimed at architecture for the human being, shaped to the human scale, and following the spiritual, psychological and contemporary needs of man as a part of society. Organic architecture is therefore the antithesis of monumental architecture used to create official myths.[113]

The suspension of the A.P.A.O. happened a year later in 1950, due to the contradictory political declarations of its members, and by its dissolution for Gregotti, any attempt to "give a direction to the left, and a form adequate to avant-garde culture" lost impetus.[114] The defeat of any leftist attempt in architecture was a result of political changes in power.

In 1949, the center-right Social Democrats took over the conduct of state. As indicated by Colquhoun, "far from inaugurating a programme of social reform and technical modernization, the government concentrated on shoring up the tangle of existing interest groups within the construction industry."[115]

The particular time-period from A.P.A.O.'s dissolution until 1958, therefore, in Gregotti's words, "marked, for better or worse, a turning point in the history of modern Italian architecture."[116] He categorized the very attempts within that time-period under the title "a striving for reality."[117] By this designation, he referred the ultimate struggle of Italian architects to "understand history and tradition," in order to determine the mutual aspects of "left-wing, national and popular ideology," and finally to establish a complex, contextual ground with regard to the "existing environment and geomorphology."[118] As Gregotti indicated, the attempts with this time-period, obviously, required "the revision of history (initiated by the modern movement) by integrating the local character of architecture, beginning with its folklike, popular aspects and the study of spontaneous, anonymous architecture."[119] In other words, the struggles in those minor fields signified the ultimate struggle for a major obstacle, which addressed, on the one hand, a return to the roots of modern movement philologically, and on the other, "a revision of classical historiography of that movement."[120]

Being termed by Colquhoun as the "Neo-realist movement," the built forms and the built environments of this movement represented the outcomes of "a central concern," in Tafuri's words: "an insistence on defining a language that would be directly communicative for poorer classes who were viewed as the protagonists of the post-war reconstruction."[121] Mario Ridolfi (1904-1984), Ludovico Quaroni (1911-1987), and Mario Fiorentino (1918-1982), who were the members of Roman school, were the leading figures of this orientation. They interpreted the planning organization of rural and anonymous architecture, in order to formulate autonomous forms as in "the myth of spontaneous forms," and used "artisanal building materials, such as wrought iron and Roman-style brick vaults."[122] Their achievements for Tafuri involved "explicit references to the peasant world extolled for its uncontaminated naturalism."[123] Adding that:

> Certainly, that rediscovery of rural purity was simply one aspect of the cultural populism that was so in vogue in post-war Italian culture. It was a regressive utopia with nostalgic accents. But, as far as architecture was concerned, it created a true and proper ideology that was adequate to the particular role that the building industry was called on to fulfill in the period of reconstruction.[124]

Several contemporary theoreticians in terms of their mere consequences, such as Tafuri, Gregotti and many others, harshly criticized the artisanal attempts of the period. So to illustrate, Tafuri drew attention to the point that the "exaltation of traditional craftsmanship and an architecture conceived as a product of intellectual artisanry were just the thing for building trades."[125] He continued his words by claiming that it was the fatal consequence of, in his words, "an economic sector that was utilized as a reservoir to absorb the vast unskilled general labor force moving into the cities from the undeveloped south and country areas, but which could function only as a tool of real estate speculation and therefore had to make do without technological improvements and rationalized production methods."[126]

Gregotti, analogously, defined the "national progressive" attempts of Italian architects after 1950 as "a symbol of narrowness of an elitist culture incapable of accepting real isolation or becoming an authentic mass-culture."[127] He criticized those architects and their "formalist contribution" while attributing "the heritage of modern vocabulary," which, at the end, led nothing more than, in Gregotti's words, to "the land speculation, the destruction of historical centers, the despoiling of landscape."[128] To be more specific, Gregotti criticized those architects since "they transformed the ideological involvement of modern architecture into a practical commitment whose hallmark was efficient production."[129] To quote Gregotti:

> … This battle for realism in Italy was waged mainly by architects who, for the most part, belonged to the progressive political left, even though they thoughtlessly adhered to the propaganda of the Stalinist avant-garde, and through aesthetic imitation separated form from ideology. Perhaps they were afraid to lose contact with proletarian reality, which seemed to be embodied only in new methods of reaching messages.[130]

"To weld together the cultivated tradition and popular tradition" was their major aim for Ernesto Nathan Rogers.[131] As previously indicated by Gregotti, the very emphasis of the day was on "structural detailing," and as its courtesy, the vocabulary had turned into an "expressive" tone to develop an "autonomous" language of "popular and national

culture," which was "in opposition to that of bourgeois elite."[132] Manfredo Tafuri defined their task as "to give monumental form to the populist approach by means of a structural expressionism intended to establish a direct emotive contact with the public."[133] And, criticized those aspects as follows:

> The proud declaration of autonomy contrasts with the recognition of a language made up of traditional elements not pertinent to bourgeois culture, yet sounding like a glorification of history, a history which is not the history of a lower class nor of an upwardly mobile class: more categorically, a folklore, outside any healthy consideration of realism.[134]

Herein referring to Tafuri, one might claim that the mid-1950s staged the absolute settling of Italian intellectuals with their past and present practices, seeing that, in Tafuri's words, "the myths and hopes fostered by the ferments of the previous decade" started to lose its efficiency for the particular period when the echoes of the "increasing strengths of middle class" reached its peak.[135] The doubts about the integration of the issues such as "modern architecture and national tradition" were first opened into debate by younger generation at a meeting of architectural students at Rome in 1954. Subsequently, a significant debate was initiated in the pages of *Casabella* within a parallel perspective. It should be emphasized that *Casabella,* after a time-break, had newly started to be republished under the editorship of Ernesto N. Rogers by 1954, the same year with the student meeting. The rebirth of the magazine was considered a signal of the changes in debates among the Italian architectural world, because of its new editorial board. *Casabella* as a "fundamental school", and Rogers as an influential tutor had an active role in the education of the selective figures of young generation for two generations, such as Giancarlo De Carlo, Vittorio Gregotti, and Marco Zanusso, and many additional figures who were considered "among the most influential architects of 1960s and 70s in Italy," such as Aldo Rossi, Giorgio Grassi, Gae Aulenti, Luciano Semerani, Francesco Tentori and Guido Canella.[136] The major significance of *Casabella,* among several others, came from this very active and instructive role as a key reference on the development of the young architects of the period, in addition to the ones in its body. As Gregotti wrote, a new generation grew, all of whom were "characterized by their proposal of criticism and history as a dialogue, by their use of theory as dialogue, by their consideration of architecture an area of knowledge, and through their refusal to separate theory from practice."[137] They were opposed to nationalistic approach; they were opposed to "folklike

elements, and the natural, dialectic, spontaneous tradition."[138] They were opposed to the "peasant epic," sincerely represented by Italian neo-rationalists in the 1950s. They, rather, interpreted "architecture as a political commitment," and consulted history in this regard, as indicated by Gregotti, to establish a relationship that might be interpreted as "determinist and deductive, somewhere between ideology and architectural language."[139] In fact, Tafuri defined the aura better: "the common thread linking the efforts of this generation was a revolt against the 'fathers,' who were guilty of having transmitted illusions now harshly exposed and whose 'continuity' was still obstinately celebrated. The bourgeoisie, which should have received the aesthetic message of purism and avant-gardism, revealed that it did not know what to do with the proposed spiritual regimens. It was better to design an 'armchair for crying' for that bourgeoisie and recognize that it had conquered all enlightened utopias."[140]

Gregotti enlisted the key references, which influenced the young members writing in *Casabella* on ideological level as follows: Guilio Carlo Argan's Marxist rereading of Bauhaus, in his 1951 dated book *Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus,* Theodor Adorno's critical study of consumer society *Minima Moralia*, and "the reinterpretation of Marx by phenomenological school led by Enzo Paci."[141] Guilio Carlo Argan was an Italian architectural historian who later engaged in politics and became the first communist major of Rome between 1976 and 1979.[142] Argan's book which was published in 1951 along with Zevi's "*Storia dell'architettura moderna"* (1950), had great influence on the intellectual origins of young generation (including Tafuri).[143] As Tafuri denoted, considered himself as a trainee of Argan in the interview he did with Passerini. Argan devoted his time to the history of art with great emphasis on the "social context," and pleaded architecture and urban design as specific areas, which required a strong interaction with culture and community. For him, these areas should be considered in close-integration with "history of humanity," "human and subjective needs" whether metaphysical or vice verse, and particularly should be appraised as an inextricable part of "human cultural history." As Hoekstra claimed: "To accentuate architecture as a human and subjective event meant for Argan that architecture was not understood as an abstract expression of universal truths that existed apart from any human involvement, but as part of the broader range of human cultural history."[144]

Guilio Carlo Argan's 1951 book "*Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus*," was of great significance since the time it published, since Argan amalgamated the "didactic program of Bauhaus" with the intellectual movements of the early twentieth century in Germany in a reformist manner, or in other words, due to its method analyzing that particular period of modern architectural history on a particular geography not as an autonomous architectural intellect of an individual, but as a collective genius of various actors, a thought under which lay a strong political statement.[145] In Hoekstra's words: "The dramatic dimension of Argan's *Walter Gropius* consisted in the link between the German architectural culture during the 1920s and the fundamental philosophical issues that characterized the decade. Argan wrote not only of the houses that were designed for an *Existenz minimum*, but also of Heidegger's *Dasein*."[146] According to Hoekstra, Tafuri recalled that Argan's history had "a strongly anachronistic character," since it was speaking of the decade covering the period between 1920 and 1930 that was marked by "the 'ultimate' attempt of reason to escape totalitarian clutches."[147] In Hoekstra's words:

> The European history of reason was depicted as being in its ultimate phase of coming face to face with its collapse and destruction. However, for Argan this was not because of the intervention of the Nazi's. Even apart from Hitler's empire, the eventual downfall of reason had been implicit in the history of the Enlightenment from the start. Reason bore the seeds of its own decline within itself, Argan believed, and this thought impressed the young Tafuri.[148]

Tafuri, on the other hand, commented on the atmosphere that influenced the Italian architecture after the 1950s as Lukácsian. For him, before Lukács' seminal books "Theory and Novel" and "Soul and Form" were translated to Italian, his "nostalgia" of a "mythic time in which 'being' and 'form' coincided" extremely affected the philosophical idea of those days. "And, like Lukács," wrote Tafuri, "they seemed aware that the division between the self and the world, between 'inside' and 'outside,' between soul and action, provoked by corrosive intervention of thought was, if not remediable, at least artistically presentable. Nostalgia for totality and the effort to describe the situation by means of fragmentation can be seen in the allusive forms created by the BBPR, Ridolfi, and the young Milanese designers, and constituted a heritage that would greatly influence the architecture of the 1960s and 1970s. Without such premises, we cannot understand the formation of the poetics of Canella, Gabetti and Isola, Aldo Rossi and Gregotti."[149] According to Tafuri, the architectural creations of those selective figures in the 1950s, such as BBPR, Ridolfi, and the young Milanese designers, were relatively "refined" built

forms that symbolized "the true and poetic ambiguity" in the complex consolidation of history and ideology.[150] For him, with the "allusive" language they used, they made out to be the mere depictions of "a flirtation with the Golden Age of European bourgeoisie."[151] Defined by Tafuri as the "Prousts of Italy," the significant actors of *Casabella* generation sought the very answers of the major problem, which was "to repudiate the alienated signs of traditional modern movement," by means of "poetic" journey towards "the mythical time when architecture fulfilled consolatory functions."[152] The theoreticians, such as Paolo Portoghesi, and Manfredo Tafuri, announced the particular instances in the second half of the 1950s as the selective creations of "Neo-Liberty." Paolo Portoghesi's 1958 essay in *Comunità* entitled "From Neorealism to Neoliberty," for Tafuri, was a defense of the attitude, and in his words, "constituted the first recapitulation of Italian work associated with the autobiographical tendency and the recovery of a humanism aimed at combating alienation."[153] Therein, Portoghesi demanded the "construction of a *koiné* in places where its presence was not burdened by other interests," as if justifying his own work.[154] To quote Gregotti:

> The people of Turin, mainly Catholic, had to return to the surviving bourgeois values and to acknowledge the responsibility of that class faced with structural transformation. This meant proposing the adjustment of the new social structure to the control of a more progressive, European bourgeoisie. For the Milanese, who were for the most part Marxists, neo-Liberty was a protest, a return to a situation already considered negative, a kind of ironic view of the Italian bourgeoisie as still restrained by pre-capitalistic prejudices and trying to condense fifty years of European cultural experience.[155]

In fact, the catalyses that aggravated the debate on Neo-Liberty came from Gregotti, which was, for Tafuri, a result of a polemic between Gregotti and Rogers: "the polemic grew out of the statement that the modern movement had failed, that its ethical ideals, by now formulaic, had become superfluous. As long as the 'recovery of values left untouched' by the founding fathers did not injure the fortress of the modern movement, any incursion into heterodox linguistic areas seemed justified and healthy; once the protective nets of theory been removed—verbally furthermore—it seemed necessary to direct anathemas against those proclaiming a crisis."[156] The architecture of Gabetti and Isola, for Tafuri, represented the very style and he later reminded of those days as: "[They] did not present revisions of recent discoveries. Seen from a distance in time, they do not seem to justify the fuss that, for the most part, was due to the hidden problems

they brought out and to their capacity to bring to light—through extreme ambiguity—the oscillating content of repressed introspection, cathartic intimacy and the theoretical moralism characteristic of the new Italian 'maestros.' For the attention paid to 'existing factors' and to context was but an extreme attempt to anchor the profession in a stable port, to flee the tempest threatening this fragile vessel sailing without any lights to illuminate the menacing icebergs surrounding the institutions."[157]

The older generation, "the architects of the first generation of rationalism," on the other hand, had come to a corner of decision about either continuing to practice the "codified discipline," which meant, "to repeat its fixed formulas," or deciding to retheorize the basic principles of the discipline or to redefine the "fundamental basis of the discipline, its essence, its resistance to change, its social status, its tradition."[158] However, for Tafuri, instead of choosing one item, "their stubborn insistence on balancing on that weak thread" called forth the imminent end of their "fragile" and "uncertain" political commitment.[159] Therefore, they preferred to concentrate on environmental theory, devoid of acute emphasis on historical problems. Anyway, the debate in those years had shifted to another dimension worldwide due to the late works of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, and Italy was sensitive to those changes. Different reactions arose and it was a "phobia about formal codification," for Tafuri, which gave shape to those reactions. For example, Rogers' ascertainment that "only 'method'—perhaps only the method of 'the orthodoxy of heterodoxy'—could mediate history, existing factors and the modern movement."[160] The chapel of Ronchamp for example, had been criticized by Argan harshly due to its "irrationalism" and "mysticism," while Rogers in Tafuri's words, defended it on an ideological level."[161] Ernesto Rogers' attempt was in-between that of the younger and older generation. In Gregotti's words:

> In his series of editorials in *Casabella* between 1954 and 1955 ("Responsibility to Tradition," "Pre-existence of the Environment and Practical Themes," "The Tradition of Italian Modern Architecture"), and later with the publication of Number 215 of *Casabella* and his book *Esperienza dell'Architettura,* Rogers set forth the theory of the problem of the environment as a connecting element between modern architecture and history and tradition. On the one hand, his attitude contrasted with that of rationalist architects, and on the other hand, it gave rise to intense polemics within new generation writing in *Casabella*.[162]

Alan Colquhoun categorized Roger's attempt under the subtitle "Contextualism" and proposed that: "if neorationalist movement marks the first appearance of what Vittorio Gregotti has called 'striving for reality' in Italian postwar architecture, the striving can be found in Ernesto Roger's concept of an architecture that responds to its urban context."[163] According to Colquhoun, the previous stated articles of Rogers signified his mere advocacy toward "an architecture which while remaining explicitly modern in its technique, would respond formally to his historical and spatial context – an architecture based on existential, rather than an idealized reality."[164] In this respect, the built forms, demonstrating the contextual affinities outlined by Rogers, "symbolized the research into memory and tradition," and appeared as "rich thematic proposals;" though by their means "the newly-formed Team 10" criticized Italians at the last CIAM congress, held in 1959 in Otterlo.[165] The cause of attacks was obvious: the historicist methodology they referred to create a "nationalist modern architecture, as well as to find a national way toward socialism."[166] What was explicitly emphasized in the congress was the insolvency of Italy in developing "a fluid methodological dialogue regarding its formative processes, a dialogue less committed but substantially more subtle and perceptive than the Italian."[167] The year 1959 appeared as a crucial moment, or in Gregotti's terms, "a crisis moment," for Italian architecture due to the final scene of the significant attempts of the past decade, which Gregotti categorized under the very theme, "striving for reality." Gregotti highlighted three alternative attitudes. The first one was related to the mere shift of ideology-language relationship to a higher literary level of criticism and debates. For example, the strict connection of architectural language to ideology, the ongoing new interests in linguistic studies, and the social theories of mass-communication and information were specific compulsions that called forth the crisis of new avant-gardism, for Gregotti. The second one was mostly related to the "new urban dimension." As the phrase was Gregotti's, it uncovered the contemporary reinterpretations of certain Modern conceptions, such as the concept of neighborhood. The third one, on the other hand, was related to the new technological means, such as prefabrication, integral projects, and others, supplying immense opportunities for urban and regional studies. The increase in the interdisciplinary study centers and groups was a result of this appeal, for Gregotti. They attempted to develop new analytical methods and hypotheses about the current problems of territory.[168]

The proponents of the first attitude created a prolific literature on the criticism of architecture, which acquired worldwide reputation, and gained a privileged status as reference due to its authoritative value. The actuality of the third item, alternatively, was the reality faced by every nation, though for the Italian case, the fertile progress of Italian design could be an instance. The thorough management of technological means served Italian designers to create unique artworks, befitting the demands of the epoch by the professional analysis of finishing details in order to parade a unitary beauty by means of technology.

The accelerating consciousness on the obscure parameters of urban problems, however, altered the debates in architecture, consequently its very creations, towards a macro-scale-prior process especially in the north section of Italy, as if the object of architecture was not the built forms, but rather the "city" itself. Giuseppe Samonà's 1959 book "Urban Planning and the Future of European Cities" appeared as a crucial reference that deliberated the "theme of extra-urban scale." In that book, referring to Tafuri, Samonà showed the examples of Greater London and the French *grands ensembles* as the "pretext for an interpretation of the environment's physical form that suggested a profound restructuring of the discipline." Tafuri continued: "two elements emerged from this ferment. On the one hand, the visible was stressed; on the other, urban planning as a 'model' entered a critical phase, while 'regionalist' thematics were unconsciously revived. The crisis of the model, however, had no institutional referents: the critique of the "city as form" and of neighborhood poetics liberated the political valence that had in some way been contained and compressed in those operative instruments. A two-fold operation, then took place in the late fifties. The worn reality of plan and institutions was cast aside, at least theoretically, as the focus shifted onto the *problem* of new subjects and new techniques for new institutions; the theme that had emerged into the reassuring current of the 'will for form' was immediately redirected , and the problem was thus prevented from erupting."[169] Simultaneously, the new dimension of the city, aggravated by the mass immigration from south to north required the transformation of the conventional conceptions regarding "city," into a broad state which embraced further conceptions, such as "city-region," "city-territory," and such.[170] "Casabella entered a new era with a sequence of monographs dedicated to the American scene, to office districts, to 'city-region,' to the Milanese intercommoned plan, and to large national international competitions."[171]

The interpretations on the dialectics of past and future practices were far-beyond one can imagine. However, the mere theme "the utopia of reality," proposed by Ernesto Rogers, appeared as a unifying phenomenon, in Gregotti's mind, under which "the attempts to bridge previous experiments and new problems" could gather.[172] As claimed by Colquhoun, Italian urban theory had been dominated by "fixed models," such as "the social assumptions of the Garden City movement, and Anglo-American concept of small town neighborhood."[173] However, the very resolution of the "crisis of a methodology" regarding the problems of "big city," required, in its broadest sense, a revolutionary rapprochement over "city-region" that nestled, in Colquhoun's words, "a set of dynamic relations in a state of constant change."[174] As the book, entitled *"L'Urbanistica e l'Avvenire della Città,"* published by Giuseppe Samonà in 1959 might represent a selective state of mind, there were several preconceptions of those who thought this crisis by no means would compel a shift in collective mind. In the book, Samonà mentioned the positive dimensions of the "big city," and regarded the opposite estimations, the fixed formulations of past, including any oppositional theories of sociology, as "cliché" patterns of thought.[175] He stressed upon the inner supremacy of the "big city" to facilitate constructive "structural changes in human environment."[176] Gregotti appraised the plan proposal of Ludovico Quaroni for the CEP neighborhood competition near Venice, as an instance of nestling all the possible advantages of the new situation due to his "radical" solution of "the relationship between urban environment and architectural scale, through the placement of great buildings whose form and dimension depend essentially on their function in the quarter's general form and appearance."[177] Specifically, Quaroni and others having analogous propositions evaluated the city as a dual-processing mechanism, working between its "fixed and symbolic" core and the outer part of the core, which was "continuously changing and essentially uncontrollable."[178] Tafuri spoke of CEP as follows:

> Quaroni's project for the CEP in San Guiliano … set in many ways the groundwork for the new climate of the sixties. It appeared, in fact, at a moment in which Italian intellectuals were becoming aware of a new reality: convulsive urbanization and the diffusion of mass communication had affected profound transformations in society and individual behavior. These changes, along with rapid economic growth, encouraged the formation of interpretive models that quickly replaced those of the preceding decade. Technological ones replaced neorealist myths, though consideration was given to the legacy of the avant-garde. It was not, then, a question of implementing the technique that Pier Luigi Nervi had triumphantly celebrated in his Palazzo and Palazzetto dello Sport in

> Rome and his Palazzo del Lavoro in Turin, nor was it a matter of simply assuming the new rites of an 'affluent society.' The new work was warranted instead, on the one hand, by a reality that seemed to be overturning all established models in its unbridled course and, on the other hand, by a methodological crisis of instruments reflected in the anxieties that produced Libertini and Panzieri, Franco Fortini, and Elio Vittorini's "heterodox Marxism."[179]

Such debates on urban development evidently gave way to crucial inventions, having political nuances, in terms of urban theory and practice; they, on the other hand, signaled the alarm of descending substance of architectural form in advance, which in a way vandalized the architectural form by divesting it of its meaning, or in Gregotti's words, "the creative substance of architecture."[180] Therefore, at the beginning of the 1960s, the architectural magazines, particularly *Casabella*, reduced the accentuated dialogue on urban development and concentrated on recalling the "architectural form" back to focus "as a meaningful quality."[181] With a reaction towards national approaches of the past decades, the very debate on architectural form was achieved through an "international language." Such focalization of architectural form in regard to its very meaning postulated an overrating on "space and volume", rather than architectural detailing. Moreover, as Gregotti specified, "it affirmed … a new linguistic engagement, which seemed to be the instrument of a reaction against Neorealism, proving the authenticity of its vocation (which was also political) directly through the language of the work itself."[182] Signifying Carlo Scarpa and Ettore Sottsass Jr.'s works, as instances of such experimentations, Gregotti's appreciation of the specific developed from the "extraordinary sense of invention, of imaginative mechanics, of concentration of spatial tension" in Scarpa's work, and the symbolization of the "coherent tension between a variety of fragments" and a "coordinated sequence" in Sottsass' work.[183] Tafuri defined the background of the developments in those years in the following words:

> In order to evaluate correctly the architectural experimentation of the mid-1960s it is necessary to return to the convulsive debate initiated by the literary, musical and pictorial neo-avant-gardes—supported by editors like Feltrinelli and reviews like *Il Verri, Quindici*, and *Marcatré*—which responded in their own way to Vittorini's exhortations in *Menabó*. The usefulness of language was at stake, as well as its capacity to convey information by means of difference, transgression and "semantic distortion." The renewed interest in semiology and linguistics was in fact based upon an interpretation of form as potential complex of relations. Information theory, popularized by Umberto Eco, supported the poetics of the aleatory, of the "open work," of the initial form perennially awaiting completion by its inhabitants. For an art that had lost

> meaning or that was able to suggest a way to untangle meaning, the neo-avant-garde *vague* seemed reassuring. Moreover, the polemic surrounding the *work* again raised the issue of the fossilized relationship between ideology and writing; the dominant theme to emerge was that of a language cleansed of superstructural dross. A difficult choice had to be made: between "apocalyptic" and "integrated" architecture.[184]

Tafuri stated that this condition had a "profound" effect on various fields, such as music, literature and the figurative arts. In fact, he interpreted that, in his words, "one of the main characteristics of the modern 'project' became apparent, namely that it had appointed itself overseer of the individual 'case' and function as a malleable technique, as a group of strategies open to the unexpected. There was no nostalgia for the irrational in the reflection of the avant-garde, but rather a recognition of new forms taken by the project (which was political 'and therefore' technical, above all). There seems, however, to have been no awareness of this in the architectural debate of those years."[185] However, Gregotti opened the notion of polysemy in various forms at the review *Edilizia moderna* he edited in those years, and specific works of Aymonimo and Canella represented an interaction. Tafuri wrote: "Italian architects did not need to be coaxed by Robert Venturi to absorb the message of *Seven Types of Ambiguity*. That message was a form of realism: reality, no longer synthesizable, was multivalent, and could be read as a continuous flux of superimposed texts. To encompass the contradictory in objects that challenge their finished character meant to examine what had escaped rationality's reductive interpretation."[186]

The 1964 Triennale was a step forward in this perplexity. It not only showed, in Tafuri's words, some of "miracle Italy's major problems" by means of an "inquiry into the informative capacity of nonverbal communication," but also signaled the very divergence of experimental attitudes from "analytical knowledge," in regard to "Italian coasts, tertiary infrastructures, and the adaptation of green spaces" which constituted the current focus of Casabella.[187] It, on the other hand, to quote Tafuri, showed the "possibility of replacing the poetics with an architecture based on solely *relations*."[188] For Tafuri, this change, conveying the "transformation of nature into culture" evidently signified the change of intellect of Italian designers and a new cultural climate. This climate had nothing to do with the "utopianism" of the early 1960s. Nor, it had any "ideological messages."[189] It was, for Tafuri, an "improvement in the overall quality of 'current

architecture',” in which, to quote: “historiographical inquiry addressed in a new way the problem of its relationship to planning.”[190] If one asks about what happened to the first generation of Italian Rationalism, and the young generation who followed them, Gregotti answered this query in the following passage:

> Against their will, many of them generously accepted responsibilities in the schools, which take a great deal of energies or they have exposed their theses in public debates (for example the one organized by Samonà on the regional plan of the Trentino and the reconstruction of Vajont), and they have often been the target of unjust and ungenerous criticism. Samonà for instance, was criticized for taking adventure of a natural disaster (the breaking of a dam and the destruction of a village) to further his own theories on urbanism. Their cultural point of view is symbolized by their interest in design, an interest generally shared by the following middle generation. For this reason, the Triennale, after its eight exhibitions in 1947, was in their hands and only the thirteenth Triennale (1963) evidenced some new directions.
>
> The younger generation, those who first experimented during the period of striving for reality, followed. Almost all of them were committed to positions in the schools, influenced by criticism, and not sufficiently committed to their profession.[191]

And, concluded his words, by defining the task of the day, in 1968, literally by the words of Gregotti:

> Now, the task is to move beyond the mere assertion of experimental attitudes, for the intention to invert ideology and language thus supports the creative process's role as an instrument of liberation from the feeling of impotence, and as a legitimate process of invention, without ignoring those precarious elements of action, complexity, and ambiguity. We are now left with the problem of judging whether the reality that experiments have built up is progressing or regressing, and whether reality produces possibility or uselessly obstructs the development of the world.[192]

The year 1968 was of great significance: the time of the “big trade-union controversies,” the big student protest, the protest of working class, the year that Italy had subjected to a new path. So, Ambasz's ascertainment of the whole design practice in Italy in 1972, under three-reductionist terms, thus may be defined as childish, was important, but did not portray all the ongoing debates in regard to the political and revolutionary stance behind them. Yes, the design activity might be reduced to reformist, conformist, and contesting stances, but what was the line of thought during that period was more significant for the Italian case. In fact, to conceptualize certain notions under polemical terms had always been the tendency of Americans. For example, theory, history, design,

and criticism were related but autonomous paradigms of architecture as discipline. Italians, on the contrary, had never regarded history and theory as single and isolated entities, but developed an overall perception towards the act of creation, without any dissection.

3. 2 - DECONSTRUCTING "ENVIRONMENTS": TO DESIGN OR *NOT* TO DESIGN

The second section of the catalog was devoted to the "Environments" presented in the exhibition, which provided the major reputation for the show. The Environments, documented in the second section, were "specially researched, designed and produced for this exhibition" by various "outstanding" designers and architects of Italy.[193] The designers, who were invited to give their "solo performance[s] as a statement of [their] position," were selected on the account of "formal and ideological positions" each represented.[194] Gae Aulenti, Ettore Sottsass Jr., Joe Colombo, Alberto Roselli, Marco Januso, and Ugo La Pietra were among those who were invited at the preliminary stage of the exhibition's conception. The initial responses of the designers to Ambasz's invitation were quite satisfactory that he rhapsodized about his satisfaction in the catalog. Later, Mario Bellini, Gaetano Pesce, Archizoom, Superstudio, Gruppo Strum, and Enzo Mari were added to the list. As previously mentioned, those designers were highly influential figures of Italy whose reputation had achieved worldwide recognition. Along with the contributions of the so-called celebrity; a competition among the young Italian designers was organized to include innovative contributions from the young generation.

Ambasz, in fact, overrated this segment of the exhibition related to environmental design above any other sections. The originality of the design work was one factor, I believe, since he repeatedly expressed the newness of the displayed material. As all so-called "environments" were designed and produced for Ambasz's show, the exposition of selective material first in the United States was decidedly meaningful. Another factor was the eloquent, yet complementary, nature of contemporary Italian designers' attitudes to environmental design. As the methods of approaches varied according to certain avant-garde preoccupations in the long-established Italian design tradition, their representation to the American architectural milieu, as pinnings on board, was similarly innovative because it certainly led to their reconsideration as abstracted by the American state of mind. To remind, Ambasz had categorized three major attitudes toward design: conformist, reformist, and one of contestation. Conformists were not concerned with the impacts of social or physical context on design activity, and regarded it as an autonomous entity. Reformists had concerns about contextual entities, but passive in activity.

Emphasizing the fluidity between the first and second attitudes, Ambasz endorsed the third approach's activity as the most appropriate coping with contemporary design problems, and developed an analogy between that approach and his environmental conception. In this vein, one would have expected that the designers chosen to propose environments would be selective figures of the third approach. Ironically enough, he did not intend to invite only the designers of the third category. They were mostly the proponents of the first two attitudes. To avoid any confusion, it was equally important to re-emphasize that those interpretations on the prevailing attitudes in Italian design were mostly done in regard to the exhibited product designs. When the issue was shifted to environmental design, Ambasz's tripartite classification of Italian design practice over objects continued in a deductive and abstract manner. The unique designs were similarly presented at the catalog under three main categories, according to their embodiment of being "design as postulation," "design as commentary," or "counterdesign as postulation." The number of prevailing attitudes toward environmental problems, however, was particularly reduced, or better to call abstracted, to two opposite estimations of social phenomena. Indeed, this newly generated categorization of Ambasz meant that he overestimated the dialectics of two complementary postulations; each, in fact, had comparable indications with the predetermined Dadaist trends of the third approach. However, it is important to state here that Ambasz's presupposition of a dialectical structurization in design activity, represented with the terms "design" and "counterdesign," was completely founded on the basis of complementary approaches, developed particularly for the present design problem, predestined by Ambasz's problem submission.

In this context, Ambasz divided the participant designers into two groups. The designers in the first group, for him, committed "design" as a "problem solving activity, capable of formulating, in physical terms, solutions to problems encountered in the natural and sociocultural milieu."[195] The designers in the second group, on the other hand, refused the realization of any physical resolution and elicited upon "the need for a renewal of philosophical discourse for social and political involvement as a way of bringing about structural changes" in the society.[196] Ambasz's major aim was to focus particularly on the negative dialectics of these two design attitudes. A special "Design Program" candidly explained the problem definition to both groups. Ambasz's goal was to delineate a common point of departure for both stances.

Design Program

"The recent history of design" provided the thematic ground of the Design Program. Such perception, for Ambasz, required to trace back to first Modern period, and to reunderstand the "prototypical" resolutions of Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe or Walter Gropius. To reveal the complete picture of high modernism, such a meditation on history was instrumental for Ambasz. And, only this way, one could signify the ultimate modifications of the style within "new perceptual experiences," to transform, in his words, "an imperfect today, to a harmonious tomorrow."[197]

The major goal was to drive an avant-gardist model for contemporary design problems. In fact, as indicated by Ambasz, the problems of the 1970s were different from and incomparable to those of the "first modern" era; therefore, only to customize Modernism was not enough to contemplate the predicaments of present situation. The contemporary solutions required a new terminology, unveiled from the specific problems of the present condition, of daily experience.[198] A thorough consideration of environmental problems, such as the "deterioration" of cities and its institutions, poverty, and environmental pollution, for Ambasz, might provide ultimate solutions to current problems about dwelling or more technically housing. The architects or designers of 1970, for Ambasz, first had to develop awareness on both the principles and objectives of Modern Architecture, and their solutions for the current daily problems. Then, they had to merge the principles and objectives of the present with those of high modernism. This task, Ambasz manifested, was the hidden agenda behind the "Environments." Therefore, the "Environments," or better to call "microenvironments," on one side, seemed to constitute the complex ground to explore the possible approaches to contemporary problems in the context of environmental design. On the other side, it was expected that each had a reinterpretation of Modern Architecture and its tenets.

The Design Program particularly prioritized, in Ambasz's terms, "the designing of a domestic environment."[199] Two mandatory peculiarities of the domestic environments were emphasized: the sufficient capacity to accommodate new or different private and communal events, and the ultimate competency to allow the renovation of the constants in one's social or individual memory.[200] In this context, the contributors were expected to design "microenvironments" and to plan its "microevents." By microenvironments,

Ambasz connoted the "spaces" for domestic life and its "artifacts." By microevents, he referred to not only new, but also ceremonial and ritual, patterns of behavior that those spaces were planned to inhabit. In this context, Ambasz delineated two complementary lines of approach: The first one was rather positive. To facilitate the design of domestic spaces, structured by artifacts, they preferred, in Ambasz's words, "to serve for the long-range meanings of rituals and ceremonies of twenty-four hours of the day."[201] The second one was its complementary. To "arrive at a redefinition of the ideal way to live," in Ambasz's terms, they preferred to ignore the legacy of present culture.[202]

Therefore, Ambasz assigned a specific methodology of design for the first group: "to explore the domestic landscape with a sense for its places, and to postulate the spaces and artifacts that give them form, the ceremonies and behaviors that assign them meaning."[203] The major aspiration was to create, in Ambasz's words, "new forms and patterns of use, emerging from the changing life style," by means of new materials and techniques of production. The expectation of Ambasz from the designers of this stance was manifold. First, he wanted them to explore a new idea of dwelling, which would transform the traditional context of housing into something new. Second, instead of envisioning the dwelling units as "self-contained" entities, he wanted them to develop context-bounded entities, provoking new modes of environmental structuralization.[204] As indicated by Ambasz in the script of INDL film:

> The environments presented by designers who have chosen the first category reveal many facets of the present industrial and ideological controversy. As far as possible within the scope of the exhibition, they explore the possibilities for change that the prevailing situation in Italy might allow. No clearly defined line separates those who seek to change established conditions by means of technology from those who seek to use design as a symbolic means for reforming the present.[205]

The specific methodology of design assigned for the second group, embracing counter-design position, on the other hand, was to deconstruct the conventional object and transform it according to the thrusts of cultural change.[206] The mere ambition was to provide a subversive platform of thought, provoking marginal manifestos, in terms of philosophy and politics.[207] By two determined methodologies, in a way, Ambasz had already delimited the proposals, and programmed the level of their polemics from the very beginning.

The specific and general considerations assigned by the Design Program were similarly operative factors. They included, on the one side, the programmatic contemplations, and on the other side, the exhibition layout and display considerations. Ambasz developed two programmatic options for the designers to fulfill the requirements. “In option 1,” Ambasz wrote, “the environment should satisfy both personal and communal needs—the roles traditionally performed by *stanza* (communal) and *camera* (personal); and in option 2, the environment should restrict itself to the satisfaction of the communal role (traditionally, *stanza*).”[208] To decide the object’s mode, “private or communal,” and its character, “fixed or adaptable,” was up to the designer. The programmatic options were to assign the object’s use, role, and its ceremonial function. Furthermore, Ambasz wanted them to be capable of mass production, therefore, he noted the designers to envision their proposals as “industrial prototypes.”[209] As the materials and the mounting details such as joining fixtures had to be chosen consistent with this standpoint, Ambasz wanted them to solve the mounting details such as joining fixtures, and to choose the material, compatible with the necessities of mass-production.

For Ambasz, the major objective was to design economical environments that could have been afforded by low and middle-income Italian families.[210] The physical requirements in regard to size, spatial limitations, light resources, construction, and shipment of the exhibition prototypes were also specified in detail. Due to the lack of exhibition area in MoMA, the total space that each environment would occupy was limited to 3.60 meters height x 4.80 meters width x 4.80 meters depth (12x16x16 feet). Moreover, as the environments were envisaged to be produced in Italy, later to be transported to United States, the dimensions of the containers that would carry them became a significant matter of concern for their detailing. Reminding that, the dimension of the containers were smaller than those of the prototypes (5.9x2.3x2.2 meters), and its access door was about 2.2x2.1 meters, Ambasz called attention to the very necessity to decompose the prototypes into demountable elements in a sufficient size to permit their entry into the containers. In addition to the previous technical and programmatic considerations, Ambasz rendered the intellectual background of the exhibition’s animation, and he notified the frequent dilemmas affecting the design of domestic landscape, such as its being the property of an urban society, a family, or a private domain. In other words, he asked the designers to reevaluate the problem of dwelling for each property and to develop marginal solutions for any prospective changes in the structure of the society.[211]

Environments: "Design as Postulation"

As previously stated, Ambasz categorized "the environments" under three major subtitles in the catalog: "design as postulation," "design as commentary," and "counterdesign as postulation." The first contribution to the section "Design as postulation" was that of Gae Aulenti (1927), a Milanese architect and designer.[212] She was among the prosperous figures of Italian design, listed under both conformist, and reformist attitudes, depending on the implications of her designs. Aulenti stressed the dialectical relationship between "man's objects" and the city. As understood from her introductory statement, Aulenti was concerned about the inherited legacy of recent history and critical of its "ambiguities, contradictions, discords and the distortions."[213] To eliminate such negativities, she claimed, "A domestic environment should be designed in its general form, for its positive qualities can reside only in the sum of conditions in accordance with which its spatial elements and attribution of meanings approach a synthesis, which is possible only by using and testing all the criteria applied to the city."[214] She, therefore, designed a house environment, which encompassed a cordial capacity to "create experiences," by means of numerous variations of individual space and place organizations.[215] Her prototype was composed of four main elements: a set of linear and angular modules, red in color, an extendible table with modular service units, a chair in corrugated form, and a lamp. All were placed on a square-shaped base. The modules, when used vertically, became the boundaries of the private space; when used horizontally, they were transformed into different furniture, such as sleeping units. As allegorical and metaphorical submeanings were assigned to each component, their modified arrangements addressed altered connotations, in regard to the ultimate meaning of the domestic environment for its user.[216]

The second contribution to "Design as Postulation" was that of Ettore Sottsass, Jr. (1917-2007), Austria originated Italian architect, artist, and designer.[217] Sottsass wanted the spectator to interpret his prototype not as a product but as a theoretical statement. Yet, a provocative statement that worked "in negative direction," but tended to offer positive affinities for its user, such as the freedom to organize one's own space, the opportunity to decide the formal appearance of individual space, the control for transformation of space according to the happening it hosted.[218] Indeed, he was rather critical about the sanctions of industrial-productive society, applied on man.[219] His domestic environment, in this sense, seems to be designed with an aim to provide the

ultimate freedom to its user. It was a mobile environment, composed of a series of boxes and containers, in ordinary physical shapes, produced by dreary materials, such as plastics. Each container had a different function. The apathetic and dreary manner of design was due to Sottsass' belief that rather than its appearance, the variety of its functions was what satisfied the user. Critical about this precedence, and its impact on design production, Sottsass configured a flexible environment from several boxes, apt to multiplication or diminution in terms of quantity, but irrespective of any postulation in reference to its quality. The ignorance of qualitative values and the orientation toward qualitative consumption were obviously, what Sottsass wanted to stress upon, his main concern, and his ultimate criticism to the consuming nature of the society, consequently to the context-deficient product design practice. Yes, Sottsass' boxes represented his critical pose about the relationship of a microenvironment and its microevents, as demanded by Ambasz. Nevertheless, beyond it, I regard them as his tools to criticize the common ignorance of the "aesthetic" or "design" values in mass-production.

The third contribution to this section was that of Joe Colombo (1930-1971), Milanese architect and designer.[220] Colombo affirmed that in case the theme "homogeneity" was "the basic premise underlying [any] design," then one could list three items of relationships to unveil the main impetus determining the design methodology: "the relation between the city and the dwelling unit"; "the relation between green spaces and the dwelling unit;" and "the relation between man and the dwelling unit."[221] In this framework, Colombo designed a "total furnishing unit," applicable to mass-production, which served basic functions of daily life and proposed an intense resolution of details.[222] The innovative idea behind it was its offer of a dynamic mechanism by means of transforming elements, which provided the possibility to compose numerous spaces with differing quality. As cubic form might provide "maximum economy" in terms of production, Colombo preferred to create a variety of cubic furnishing units, "freely placed within their allocated areas."[223] The function attributed to each unit varied in regard to "various functions of home and private life." Four flexible units, in different sizes, constituted the components of environment, serving for altering functions: Kitchen, Cupboard, Bed and Privacy, and Bathroom. He planned altering patterns of use, such as night, breakfast, living, breakfast-work-living, or party, and configured possible combinations of allocation.[224]

The fourth proposal for the part “Design as Postulation,” was the contribution of Alberto Roselli (1921-1976), another Milanese architect and designer.[225] Roselli’s design was a “mobile house.” The mobile house as a theme, for Roselli, directly invoked the idea of transforming or expanding space.[226] The house-object he designed, in this sense, had an “intrinsic mobility” that came with the mere proposal in which two specific conditions—“movement and repose”—were recognized as the basic parameters for an object’s disposition.[227] The idea “movement” was the parameter that affected the physical form of the mobile-house, compliant with the requirements that stem from the action of transportation, of its being a vehicle in a sense. The idea of “repose,” on the other hand, triggered the idea of expansion for meeting all the daily needs of its inhabitant. Roselli, therefore, designed his environment by transforming a vehicle into, in his words, “the miniature form of a real dwelling, with all living functions reduced to the very meager scale demanded by the road.”[228] Professing his house-object as a new scheme for land use, Roselli introduced his object as a critical alternative to the solid block.[229] At first sight, Roselli’s prototype seemed as a white compact rectangular prism. However, due to its very potential of extension in two axes, it had the capability to present alterations in different sizes. During its transportation by a vehicle, the container functioned as storage of all the necessary appliances of interior space. When it took the state of reposition, the prism was expanded according to need. The prototype, in its broadest sense, was Roselli’s criticism to the solid blocks of Modernism, and its restraint upon one’s freedom.[230]

The fifth proposal for the part “Design as Postulation,” was the contribution of Marco Zanuso (1916-2001) and Richard Sapper (1932).[231] The prototype was of a container, capable of multiple assemblies in vertical or horizontal axis. The theme of their work was summarized as “complete and fully equipped habitations easily transportable and ready for immediate use.”[232] Zanuso and Sapper designed their mobile environment with an aim to minimize the dwelling’s risk to harm nature. The mobility in this proposal, however, was associated with mobility in “urban level,” rather than the mobility of a single family, which meant; the mobile container of Zanuso and Sapper was a single part of a complex set of containers, of which resided colonies and communities. By multiplying the very prototype and organizing it on top of another, or one next to the other, various combinations for a complex set of housing might be achieved. They aimed to dwell on any piece of land on the world, in a sense, construct permanent mass housing by means of

mobile miniature habitations. "Once," they wrote, "the unit has been placed on the desired site, it takes only a few minutes to make it ready for use: the time needed is to open two lateral doors and slide the two alcoves out along them horizontally."[233] Regarding these units as "provisional living quarters," Zanuso and Sapper emphasized their autonomous feature providing temporal localization of a particular site desired by its user, which ascertained a high regard to its surrounding.[234] Their environmental approach, in a sense, was an alternative to concrete housing complexes, and the environmental pollution they caused.

The last proposal for "Design as Postulation" was the contribution of Mario Bellini.[235] The name they gave to their prototype was Kar-a-Sutra. Kar-a-Sutra was actually an ecological automobile. The criticism beyond was rather reactional against the ultimate threat of automobile upon nature, and natural environment. Therefore, his mobile environment was designed as an alternative to automobile. Bellini's major concentration, therefore, was particularly on the "automobile" in connection with man. He, however, reinterpreted the parameters of this transaction, and included several functions besides its transporting function. Calling it a "mobile human space, intended for human," Bellini planned Kar-a-Sutra as a green car, in which one could sleep or chat face-to-face, for example, briefly as a domestic space which met the essential needs of human.[236] Bellini was concerned about automobile's being a prestigious tool for consumer society, and by his prototype, he, in a way, intended to rewrite its social meaning: "a human space in motion."[237] In the 1970s, according to Bellini, to propose futuristic models was the trend. Bellini's prototype, however, was proposed for present, not for future. Its being a proposal for real time was crucial to understand the reason why he resisted giving any references to the "concept of trailer home," or a "transportable state."[238] Kar-a-Sutra was designed as a totem; it was a criticism of present capitalist developments. It was, in Bellini's words, "a substitute for the urban way of life" and "a way of reproduction, anyhow and anywhere, the same impenetrable domestic rites."[239]

Kar-a-Sutra was the last proposal in this section. In fact, an overview of those contributions gave the clues of what Ambasz meant when categorizing them as postulation. As the main entry of the term "postulation" is to postulate, which meant, "demand, require as a necessary condition, claim, take for granted," one could understand that Ambasz's use of the term contents a delicate apprehension of the conditions that lead

the designers to such proposals. Aulenti's flexible and free organization of space, aimed at the liberation of its user, Sottsass' ugly comportments, criticizing consuming society, Colombo's total furnishing unit, comprising all the necessary functions of daily life in altered configurations, Roselli's mobile house, functioning as the miniature of real dwellings, Zanuso and Sarper's provisional living quarters, to liberate the citizens from the solid blocks of modern city, and finally Bellini's Kar-a-Sutra, criticizing the status quo of automobile in the service of consuming culture, were all alternative and innovative attempts toward the environmental problems. But beyond it, they masked an ideological posture, which was new, and might be called challenging, for the American intellectual society. To understand the nuances between the two intellectual postures is important: the Americans were in pursuit of new notions concerning the discipline. Italians, on the contrary, were in pursuit of a societal change, engrossing all the privileges of their discipline as an agent of social change. Americans were in pursuit of a new identity for individuals, but Italians were already aware of the impossibility to develop such an identity unless a revolution occurred in terms of systemic structures. They used architecture as a tool for anarchism.

Environments: "Design as Commentary"

The second subtitle of the "Environments" was "Design as Commentary." The only proposal in this section was that of Gaetano Pesce (1939).[240] In the explanatory notes, he defined the subject as "the discovery of a small subterranean city, belonging to the epoch known as 'The period of Great Contaminations,'" and the location as Southern Europe (Alps).[241] The proposal was a trial of "Commune for twelve people." It was a conceptual proposal, a model, as he called it, to represent their "hypothetical reconstruction of a city."[242] With the term, "great contaminations," Pesce referred to a science-fictional period, when, in his words, "the communities exploited underground cavities for their settlements, having first drained of mineral oils, water, etc."[243] Pesce's conceptual model was designed to illustrate such a catastrophic condition.

Environments: "Counterdesign as Postulation"

The third subtitle of the "Environments" was "Counterdesign as postulation." The contributions to this section were not physical designs as former, but rather polemical statements about current problems, such as the concept of metropolis, urban life, mass-communication, man's freedom and so on. The first contribution to this section was that of Ugo La Pietra (1938).[244] The title of his contribution was "The Domicile Cell: A Microstructure within Information and Communication Systems." The work had rather a political text, provoking the liberty of a society. Indeed, La Pietra was critical of the consumption culture, organized by productivity-oriented system and man's unconscious participation to this hegemony. The subject was entrapped in an illusory state for La Pietra, in which his existence was founded on an ostensible and fake free will, processing within the imposed limitations. Since the audio-visual objects of information and communication generally activated as the "mediating filters" of this illusory state, the "reproposition" of La Pietra, to rephrase his terminology, strove for the stipulation to divest oneself of "intermediatory tools" for an ultimate comprehension of reality; to reject the imposed acts of behavior and to react against the imposed forms of use." [245] Or, in other words, it aspired to eliminate the tools of domination on a society. His Domicile Cell, therefore, was not designed as a domestic environment, but as a device to "unbalance" the "organized" system, by subverting the so-called "barriers" between the individual and the reality.[246] His intention was to operate a reverse logic, and to provide the necessary tools of rediscovering the concealed levels of liberty and the subordinating forms and behaviors. In this context, the Domicile Cell was represented by six comprehension models to experience certain themes of man's blackout. The first one was a metallic container with protective methacrylate coating, to experience the theme "immersion." The second one was a perspective chamber, instrumented with lens and mirror, to experience the theme "new perspective." The third one was a folding triangular volume, stuffed by the instruments of information and communication, symbolizing a control mechanism by concealing the tools of intermediation. The last three were symbolic representations that interrogated the notion of privacy in urban system. The first was a model that recorded all the private telephone calls, and offered the possibility to be listened to by everyone in the public space by a phone. The second was the reverse; it offered the users of private properties the possibility to listen to the messages recorded in

the urban area. The third one was a model that collected all the recorded audiovisual documents, either private or public use, and offered the possibility to be watched either in the privacy of a home, or in public spaces by big television screens. As understood from the comprehension models, La Pietra's Domicile Cell symbolized a processing place of collected data for its recirculation, "a microstructure that can intervene in the information system by enlarging and multiplying exchanges among people, with everyone participating in the dynamics of communication."[247] All were to assume the control over the intermediatory tools of communication and information, and in La Pietra's words, "to raise the possibility of bringing about the direct participation in, and awareness of, the physical, behavioral, and mental characteristics that develop[ed] within the texture of the city."[248]

The second contribution, displayed among the proposals of "Counterdesign as Postulation," was that of Archizoom.[249] Their environment, or better to define it as an installation, was a cubic space equipped with a sound system, and in it a prerecorded tape, describing the physical specifications of an environment, was being replayed over and over. What did this mean? This meant that the proposal, in its broadest sense, had one physical construct: words. They refused to make a model, refused to translate a single utopia into physical design, since it meant to ignore infinite number of other utopias. Instead, they decided to narrate an environmental model, and left the visualizing process to the imagination of the listener. There was a political manifesto behind their decision. In their words:

> Creating culture today is no longer – at least, it should not be – the privilege of a few intellectuals, who provide users with the critical apparatus with which to explain the world and organize the form of their environment too. The right to go against a reality that lacks 'meaning' (because it is a reality produced by a system that is "meaningless' itself) is the right to act, modify, form, and destroy the surrounding environment. This is an inalienable right, and a capacity each one of us possessed.[250]

Archizoom was critical of the liberticidal compulsion of "official culture," by obscuring reality with attached "values" and "meanings."[251] Repudiating the menace of imposed behaviors, Archizoom strove for eliminating the moral value of imposed patterns of religion, aesthetics, and culture.[252] To Archizoom's political pose, the citizen's "private models of behavior" had already been delimited by political powers. In this context, the

design act had reached a deadlock; therefore, the designer was entrapped in the vicious circle of repeatedly designing similar houses for individuals, but according to the demands of others. The problem of house and the problem of city, therefore, had been Archizoom's major concentration. Their standpoint was decidedly conspicuous: The city, in "middle-class ideology," functioned as a civilized "natural" organism, sustaining the harmonious equilibrium of divergent supremacies. Thus, it functioned as an "ideological superstructure, a screen between the individual and the hierarchical systems of society," which provoked the "ideology of Consumption," but underestimated that of production.[253] The middle-class city, by which they referred to Modern, compelled the citizen to adopt its consuming nature via several tactics, such as "violent conflicts, uncontrolled disorder, and the spontaneous growth of means of communication."[254] The metropolis, a level beyond modern city for Archizoom, had overreached those tactics, and with the use of programmed electronic media, it certified the "deeper" infiltration of Consumption patterns into social reality. As understood, the meaning of this for Archizoom was catastrophic: the city's memory, its amalgamated image, and its experiences had changed to an ultimate degree of alienation, lacking any kind of production, but compelling only consumption. In such context, Archizoom's assertions on avant-garde architecture seemed as the declaration of a new mission,

a) To challenge the middle-class ideology of city,
b) To denounce a new role for city, other than manifesting social relations,
c) To rediscover new means of city planning, other than the *Modular* of modern.

Signifying their activity as a parallel endeavor, Archizoom claimed that:

> It is to this end that our efforts are directed: to see and understand the city no longer as a cultural unit, but rather as a structure to be used; a homogenous ensemble of services, upon which is superimposed a mesh of scenic happenings, of spatial episodes, that give this ensemble of functions a unified cultural meaning. The street, which divides and serves this compact mass of facilities, becomes a dynamic sequence, in which the flat surfaces of facades of individual buildings allow the growth of an architectural language, whose forms serve to verify the various functional organisms.[255]

Archizoom's avowal of this situation as a "make-belief unity," I believe, concealed an extreme critical upheaval against the ideological impositions of other powers on the citizen. By the phrase of "growth of architectural language," they certainly referred to the current interest on semiotics, which as a result they found as naïve attempts, provoking

similar ideological postures with criticized political impositions. Quite the opposite, Archizoom put a different approach in operation: to conquer the "planned" relationship of citizen with city, to reject its imposed forms both socially and architecturally. Consequently, they believed that the only possible way of such a rebellion was to go beyond the ongoing processes of design, and to redefine the use of architecture as a "neutral system," that stopped mediating the so-called mission to organize society, but processed as a "hollow space," providing the ultimate freedom for any "individual and collective dwelling."[256] Their cubic installation, in this context, could be regarded as an ingenious illustration of that hollow space, providing the ultimate freedom for the listener to create his own domestic space.

The third contribution was that of Superstudio.[257] Their proposal was also a solid cube with an entrance, or as they named "a room with walls." The ceiling and the floor of the cube were covered with black felt, the walls were covered with chequered laminated plastic and, by thin luminescent lines, and the corners of the space were set off. In its center, they placed a second cube diagonally, dimensioning 180 cm x180 cm, on a platform of 40 cm high. The three facades of the second cube, except the one facing the entrance door, were of polarized mirror. With the help of a little machine, a three-minute film was projected to plastic borders; meteorological events, such as sunrise, storm, clouds, night, and so on, were projected to the ceiling; and a sound track on the original concepts of the model was played. The lighting of the room also modified according to the event that was being projected. On the second cube, covered with mirror, the phenomena processed on the walls were repeated to infinity. In Superstudio's words, their model was a "critical reappraisal of the possibilities of life without objects." It was a "reconsideration of the relations between the process of design and the environment through an alternative model of existence, rendered visible by a series of symbolic images."[258] Superstudio summarized their endeavor to reify a three-dimensional model of a critical-mental attitude toward design.[259] Stressing the cross-disciplinary sphere of current design activity, Superstudio mentioned the necessity of present condition to unveil the significant data from other related disciplines to visualize a guide for design, and added that:

> The final attempt of design to act as the 'projection' of a society no longer based on work (and on the power and violence, which are connected with this), but an alienated human relationship.[260]

According to Superstudio, since the 1920s, the tendency to eliminate the formal structures due to extra emphasis on nature had obstructed certain social and cultural phenomena and led to their transformation. Among several modifications, they singled out the following three conceptions as systemic factors, dominating current design activity. The first one was "the destruction of the objects." By this, they referred to the object's loss of the ability to attribute a "status" for its users, its reduction to disposable elements by the powers of consumption. The second one was "the elimination of the city." By this, they referred to the city's becoming a new free democratic state, which no longer accumulated the prescribed structures of power or any hierarchical or social model. The third one was "the disappearance of work." By this, they referred to freeing oneself from work, which was foreign to his nature. Those three systemic factors, for Superstudio, were the logical imperatives of creating a "new revolutionary society," in which man would achieve maximum freedom to act in proportion to his capacities. To construct this revolutionary society, to Superstudio's mind, was possible only if "a radical concrete criticism of present society, of its way of producing, consuming, and living" was accomplished.[261] In their words:

> Once clarified that:
> a) Design is merely an inducement to consume;
> b) Objects are status symbols, the expressions of models proposed by the ruling class. Their progressive accessibility to proletariat is part of a 'leveling' strategy intended to avoid the conflagration of the class struggle;
> c) The possession of objects is the expression of unconscious motivation underlying their desirability may be reached;
> … then it becomes urgent to proceed to destroy them… or does it?
> Metamorphoses become frequent when a culture does not have sufficient courage to commit suicide (to eliminate itself) as has no clear alternatives to offer, either.
> The theory of intermediate states is the book of changes?[262]

At that point, Superstudio raised a hypothesis: "to reconstruct the object through its metamorphoses."[263] Classifying present processes attributing multiple meanings onto objects as analogous to such premises, they proposed that such a reconstruction required its psychological analysis. Indeed, for Superstudio, the metamorphosis of object necessitated its reloading "with the values of myth, of sacredness of magic, through the

reconstruction of relationships between production and use, beyond the abolition of the fictitious ties of production consumption."[264] In this context, Superstudio's microenvironment provoked the projection of a life with the symbolic images of objects by eliminating their physical existence. It, in a sense, was an animation of the radical criticism they mentioned: Superstudio's virtual reconstruction of objects through their metamorphosis.

The fourth proposal for the part "Counterdesign as postulation," was the contribution of Gruppo Strum. Yet, to call it a contribution might be misleading, since they only distributed newspapers during the show. In the catalogue, Ambasz introduced Gruppo Strum (Group for Instrumental Architecture) as an independent union of architects, not for practicing architecture, but for implementing it as a means of political propaganda.[265] As indicated by Ambasz, a majority of the group members were instructors at selected universities; therefore, their major problem was teaching in architectural schools, its organization, and political regulations at the universities.[266] Another obstacle, as they manipulated for INDL, was the control of political powers on housing, and the "struggles of bourgeois city."[267] In their introductory statement, they cited they had made intense discussions on the subject, when they first received the invitation to design an environment for INDL. The final decision was not as prospected. They gathered around the idea that to "invent" any physical forms that would represent their philosophy was a futile endeavor. Rather than a single image, they preferred to express their philosophy with text. In this context, they prepared three newspapers, or as they were called, three "photo-stories with documents," and used their exhibition area to dispatch them.

The three photo-stories were specialized on three different aspects of design that they saw problematic for the moment. The first newspaper, which was white in color, was entitled as "The struggle for housing." With specific illustrations and texts, they configured a selected flow of political events, assaulting the "capitalist information of the territory" and the "symbolic values" of the city.[268] The second one, which was green in color, was entitled as "Utopia." In this paper, Gruppo Strum intended to "rediscover UTOPIA as an act of provocation, and as a negation of objectivity of the present-day system of production."[269] The utopia, they craved for, was a tool to interfere, to resist against the "programmed reorganization of the capital."[270] In this context, Gruppo Strum analyzed

the current “utopia” of political powers and by unveiling the objectives and ideological constructs behind its development; they provoked the possible actions of a counter utopia.[271] The final one, which was red in color, was entitled as “The mediatory city.” In this paper, Gruppo Strum analyzed the patterns of behavior, imposed by bourgeois city, and provoked the new patterns of resistance against the impositions of a capitalist system.[272] The aspiration was to liberate the inhabitants of city from the imposed coercions of the bourgeoisie, and if possible, to find the tools of liberation for a revolutionary organization.[273] For the group, to develop an action that frustrated the ideological interpretations of bourgeois and to identify its suitable mode and priorities were possible by reconsidering the mechanisms of the city.[274] This was, in a sense, to learn how to use physical reality for the most feasible strategy of revolutionary action.[275] The mediatory city, in this context, was conceived as, in their words, “a complex set of old and new tools for use, places to be conquered, and objects to be altered; a great storehouse available to proletarian creativity, enabling those who have rejected the capitalist city, and who are struggling to destroy it, to survive.”[276]

The fifth proposal for the part “Counterdesign as postulation,” was that of Enzo Mari (1932).[277] Two aspects of perception, “ambiguity of interior tridimensional space” and “the analogy between serial systems of natural phenomena and the programming of the phenomena of perception,” constituted the core of his attention. Several objects, he had formerly designed, were presented at the first section of the exhibition. Nevertheless, in the present condition, to continue designing objects for mass production had lost significance, for Mari.[278] As Ambasz was aware of Enzo Mari’s reactional position, he invited Mari “*not* to design an environment.”[279] As claimed in the catalog, Mari appreciated Ambasz’s liberality, and wrote a paper provoking “the sphere of communications” as the “only valid sphere of action for designers” and raised “the strategy of renewing language,” even the “alphabet,” as the “only honorable strategy open to him.”[280]

As the opening sentence of his article, Mari wrote, “All human activity is, first and foremost, communication.”[281] For Mari, communication was among the imperative factors in the evolution social relations, and the most suitable determination of social evolution in that day’s reality was through class struggle. In this context, regarding communication as the formative component of this struggle, Mari declared that any revolutionary activity

against it had direct relation with communication. However, for Mari, the kinds of strategic choices that were required for that revolutionary activity were "less clear."[282] Mari saw "this lack of clarity" as the hidden agenda lying beneath the "diversification of current ideological and political research."[283] His priority was on political research, due to his belief that the justification of any research could only be achieved through a political framework. In this respect, Mari accredited the mere necessity of a specified demarcation of the means of political communications for linguistic research. He addressed two states of mind in the present artistic activity: those who believed in "the cause of subjugated class," and those who still acted according to the "privileges of ruling class."[284] According to Mari, there was no difference between the former and the latter activities. Therefore, if the intention of the former party was to distinguish their actions from the latter, for Mari, they had to develop a consciousness of the latter: "their research for an idiom should be a valuable ingredient in the class struggle."[285] Nevertheless, Mari blamed his colleagues for their lack of information about its adversary, and for not deriving benefit from them.[286] Claiming such defects as the consequences of a mechanical mood, Mari proposed that the task of designing objects had lost its significance, thus had been transformed into an apposite instrument for the ruling class's "own cultural vainglory."[287] The designer's emancipation was masked, to Mari's mind, within the means of communication; a critical examination of its systems had the power to disclose the genuine strategy for liberation. At the end of his article, Mari proposed a scheme through which the restructuring of "all communication of the artist's own 'artistic' or critical activity" could be figured:

I. Enunciation of his own utopian vision of the development of society.
II. Definition of the strategy deemed fitting for the attainment of this ideal.
III. Statement of what tactical moment of this strategy he has now reached.
IV. Synchronization of his research with that tactical moment.
V. Communication of the work of research in question (being at pains to remember that this should be with special reference to the foregoing points).[288]

Cautioning the reader against the misunderstanding of his claim as the propagation of aloof and intangible professional statements, Mari emphasized the necessity to correlate a critical work with both the real constructs of daily practice, and the free ideological posture of its creator.[289] Mari, in fact, defined his paper, or better to say his manifesto, as an attempt. An attempt that was open to any manipulation and by the agency of those manipulations, his arguments could be resolved clearly. Or, he stated, it would be ignored

by a majority, in his words, by "many of those to whom it is directed." He continued: "this may well be suspected; but precisely in the sense that what is suspected is not so much their avowed adherence to the dominating class, as their feigned adherence to the class that is dominated."[290] Such conclusion was ironic, but thought provoking, to be the end of environmental proposals.

With Enzo Mari's proposal, the section dedicated to "environments" ended. Regardless of their being named as design or counterdesign, the political language spoken by designers was the common feature of all the attempts. All were concerned about the crisis of design in present conditions. All had sensitivity towards past practices. All were conscious endeavors, critical about the tenets of Modern architecture. Indeed, all were critical attempts, influenced by post-Marxist philosophy. Thus, it was visibly apparent that the background of all designers had been subjected to strict political ventures. As previously mentioned, the architectural activity in Italy operated as a fundamental tool of political action and revolution in their intellectual history. Starting from the first modern period until that day, or even before that, the architectural activity served to express certain ideologies of either state, or any avant-gardist stance. In fact, architecture as a discipline had always been regarded as an autonomous and absolute realm in Italy, covering theory, history, and politics and had refused any dislocations of its integral fields. The design act, therefore, had provoked a kind of critical look towards the realities of the era. Seeing the role of a nation's intellectual development and the motivating and formative effect of the political views on the powers of a discipline was remarkable. To define the profession as a tool for social project and to define its tasks in this vein were new notions for American intellectuals. In Ambasz's brief overture of those designs and the articles, one can also see that the importance of Italian design was highlighted for the first time in terms of its incompatible development regarding other countries in Europe, due to apparent ideological positions it presented. This incompatible development of Italian architecture seemed as a significant accomplishment to Ambasz. Thus, he criticized the American architectural milieu for underestimating this situation. He, therefore, set this situation as the major devotion that both "the present exhibition and publication seek to rectify."[291] Ambasz's amendment was imperative for the period. It was an attempt to rewrite the "history" of Italian architecture for the Americans. It was an attempt to introduce the current developments in a European country to the Americans. It was an attempt for

dislocation, or displacement of a “style”, and maybe invocation of that “style” as new for the Americans. All sections “indispensible” for his project, therefore, were a “doubling” of a country’s traditions, or better to use Tafurian terminology, its “ascertainable realities.” The historical project, therefore, required the deconstruction of those that might trace back to even its education.

3. 3 - DECONSTRUCTING “HISTORY”: A CONTEXT

As previously claimed, the following sections of INDL catalog were textual contributions of selected Italian academicians and theoreticians. As the catalog of any exhibition was issued with an aim to introduce the displayed visual material, and then to contextualize them with texts, the preparation of INDL catalog in a similar vein was a familiar attempt for American intellectuals. Yet, the difference of INDL catalog from others was due to its going a step further. Indeed, Ambasz clearly stated his aim when putting historical and critical articles within the contents of the catalog: to provide a context for the exhibited design pieces. Moreover, he mentioned that historical articles would provide a context for the critical articles that followed. In fact, this illustrated the higher degree of significance Ambasz attributed to critical articles. Even though it can be interpreted, it may be an over interpretation, that the critical articles were regarded in an analogous significance with the original, displayed design works. In this context, the overall picture might lead one to interject a remark on the utilization of history and comprehend its operating character for both the design practice and its criticism in Italy. The deconstruction of the “context” provided by the historical articles, therefore, required a deeper cross sectioning on the ascertainable realities of the “history” as an architectural domain, consequently its education in Italy.

In Italy, history as an architectural domain had always been an active field in its education. Even in the times of orthodox modernism, when history was banned from the practice in all other European countries, the curriculums in Italian architectural schools continued to instruct courses on history with an ascending emphasis. Despite its being one of the predecessors of Modernism’s dissemination, Italy assimilated the tenets of Modern Architecture, more unique and more provocative than any other European country. The first infiltration of modern paradigms into architectural practice corresponded to the beginnings of the 1920s, but its infiltration to academies corresponded to the 1950s. Rixt Hoekstra, in her thesis, entitled *Building versus Bildung*, defined the atmosphere in Italy during the 1950s with the phrase: the “fight between modernities.”[292] If we accept that the number of ‘modernities’ was multiplied in time as a verity, then to acknowledge that each modernity referred to a different conception, ruled or governed by a significant actor or group of actors, stood as essential. Another certainty was that the modernities of those

Italian actors had a nuance: History as a constant "value" had always remained as an integral part of nearly every method of modern approach. What caused the indispensability of this sensibility was absolutely the concrete perpetration of education patterns, advocating the bind to the national roots. A crucial motive, then, behind such a fight, appears as the intellectual background of each figure, or better to call their education, especially in the dominating academic centers of Italy.

Until the 1920s, architecture had not been taught in specialized schools. Thus, architectural education was not autonomous. Architecture as an area of specialization was taught either in the engineering schools, or in the fine art academies. Yet, each had its own conceptualization of the "identity" of architect. As to the disciplinary differences, two dissimilar concerns transpired for the education of architects. In the engineering schools, the emphasis was mostly on the technical and scientific character of the architectural discipline as the identity of an architect for them implied "technical and scientific" knowledge, whereas, in the fine art academies, the architect was regarded as an "artist." The first architectural school, *Scuola Superiore d'Architettura,* was founded in Rome in 1920 by Gustavo Giovannoni. The scope of this new school was "to reconcile these two attitudes towards architecture" and to instruct a comprehensive curriculum for the education of architecture as an autonomous discipline. The critical objective was to train an 'architect,' fully equipped by both technical and artistic intelligence and to educate qualified professionals for the discipline. According to Giovannoni, an engineer-architect and historian, the division between engineering and architecture was a cultural bias. Embracing the "old style of architect" as an archetypal model, he envisaged the rebirth of the old, but with a new identity, created according to the artistic and humanist aspects of current socio-cultural condition and built by technological means of the contemporary times.[293]

The first architectural faculty, on the other hand, was founded in the Sapienza University of Rome in 1935 by setting the scheme of *Scuola Superiore d'Architettura* as model. The curriculum in the *Facoltà di Architettura* of Sapienza University was initiated according to the ideals of Giovannoni. It was set to cover a wide spectrum of architectural subjects, including both technical and artistic issues. The courses concentrating on scientific subjects, such as construction and material science, supplemented others focusing on 'artistic' matters such as ornamentation, model making, and drawing. Further, with the

addition of courses, focusing on the material and spatial aspects of buildings, the program was supported architectonically. Nevertheless, "architectural design" as a course was never included in the curriculum. This was due to a conviction: The common characteristic of the period was based on the idea that the "true design" was hidden in the compositions of past constructions. Therefore, the perfect design of the day required a comprehensive knowledge of past traditions and styles. The common consciousness was such that the contemporary architect should have achieved the competency to quote the appropriate forms of the past in the new constructions with contemporary material, regarding the contemporary needs. The contemporary "reconstructions" of the period, were created as the derivations of the built-form, which had found place in the architectural history. The major issue under consideration was the architectural "styles" of the past. The prerequisite for a reconstruction, therefore, was the scientific analysis. All were due "historicist convictions." The approach was briefly "art-historical," rather than "architectonic." Not coincidentally, the dictum of the architecture faculty in Sapienza University was "No need to teach architectural composition."[294] Due to such historicist convictions, the courses on architectural history, such as *Storia dell'Architettura* and *Stili dell'Architettura,* formed the core of the educational program. The accent derived from the analysis of architectural styles was similar to that of the Roman Architecture, and dominated the teaching at the faculty. Later, by the inclusion of the courses such as 'city building' and later 'city planning' into the program, the state of architectural history gained a different significance. The analytical survey on the architectural styles amended into that of a conceptual interpretation of architectural history as "an historical process." [295]

The main subject of the discussions at that period was the practice of design and the historicist methodology lying beneath its creation. On one side, there were those who believed that, "architectural history would have always been essential to the formation of the architect." There were two-contrasting dogmas about the way of considering "operative history" in the beginning of the 1920s. A major group pleaded that "an extensive knowledge of architectonic past" was crucial for the architectural design of the present.[296] According to them, the objective of architectural education should be to form the student with the architectonic and decorative values of the past "styles," and the methodology obviously required the reproduction of its drawings, and models.[297] Whereas, there was a selective group of architects and educators who favored a modern

system, rejecting the "direct use of history for the practice of design."[298] For them, architectural production that did not go beyond an act of imitation appeared as an obstacle. Their belief was that history for architect should constitute "a general cultural basis," whereas the architectural practice should provide the flexible ground for the architect for any modern approach in terms of contemporary design.[299]

Vincenzo Fasolo, who was the professor of art history at Sapienza University, was a member of the first group. He was a conservative academic figure who was responsible from the architectural history courses, together with his son Furio Fasolo. He was coming from a Violet Le Duc tradition, and believed in the necessity of the reuse of "fixed architectonic types" of the past, since his definition of the contemporary practice obliged the selection of the appropriate style. His conservative teaching methods were severely criticized by the succeeding architectural historians who gave the same course at Sapienza after his retirement, such as Leonardo Benevolo and Bruno Zevi.

The academic literature on modern architecture was prohibited by Giovannoni with an advocacy to improve "the sense of *Italianità.*"[300] Regarding the "design of spaces" as the primary essence of architecture, Fasolo's approach for the evaluation of architectural history specifically compelled a historicist methodology, which yielded an analytical investigation of the masses and volumes of historical buildings. The suggested method was the reproduction of their architectural drawings. Fasolos' understanding of design practice might seem to be conventional, because of the exclusion of pervasive modern themes of the period. Whereas, the way they looked at the past, their methodology, could be certainly deemed as modern, due to a slight nuance in emphasis: the concentration was on the architectural value of the spaces, or in Hoekstra's words, they were in search of "the essence in the architecture of historical past," rather than the pronunciation of stylistic archetypes.[301]

Due to similar historicist convictions of the tutor team with that of Fasolos, the architectural school of Sapienza was named as "Roman School of Architectural History" until the mid 50s. After Fasolos' resignation in 1956, the responsibility of the courses *Storia dell'architettura I e II* were assigned to Fasolo's assistant, Leonardo Benevolo. Yet, Benevolo had a contradictory conception of architectural history. He realized a

revolution was occurring outside the academia. For Benevolo, there had always been continual changes in the conception of architectural history in connection with the oscillations of thoughts regarding cultural, economical, and sociological issues. However, the changes, which occurred at the start of the twentieth century, were disparate from former oscillations. While, architecture and history had been connected with the practice since fifteenth century onwards, the avant-garde of the twentieth century broke with the chronic tradition. The orthodox modernist architects banished history from their studios; they even reprobated the use of historical reference. Unlike its neighbor countries, the pages of *Casabella*, however, motivated the debate on "history." As it is impossible to erase a nation's memory, its solidified "elitism," the habits of its "high-culture," consequently, the claim about "the relationship of discipline and politics," Italians followed a different track. The erasing of history as reference was a threat to chronic tradition of historicist manipulation of design; while it, at the same time, distressed the mere status of architectural history within the macro picture. What Benevolo succeeded in doing was to convert the negative judgment to a positive provision ingeniously and attributed an operative function to architectural history, "purified from totalitarian purposes."[302] In Hoekstra's words:

> … the moment had now come to see Renaissance architecture, for example, for what it really was. The revolution of the artistic avant-garde also had important consequences for the work of the historian: the true identity of architectural history as a social history was now revealed.[303]

The belief was that the conception of history had to be altered; the debate had to survive its narrow body, which encompassed "an unproductive eliticism." Beyond the expressions of *tendenza*, the debate needed to find an ideology. As for Tafuri, the "insistence on methodological problems and on a commitment to resolving larger problems presented by the reality of Italian society was in curious contrast to the works of these architects who, with a few exceptions, could only agree on minor abstractions and who were ready to disband upon collision with contemporary politics."[304] Benevolo belonged to this party. Benevolo's ideas and his teaching methods were considered as reactionary for its time that ran against the perennial unity of the faculty, starting from its first foundation. What Benevolo established was a new architectural approach, which kept the track of ideological changes in the society, even the prohibited Modern Movement. Thus, the inclusion of Modern architecture within the contents of architectural history courses was

a revolutionary input to the syllabus, which was up to that time focused on the themes of Roman Architecture. Thus, it definitely triggered an intensifying awareness for the students about the debates on Modern Architecture, growing outside the academy. As Hoekstra mentioned, the reactions were bilateral. The academic faculty of Sapienza rejected it with disapproval and regarded his act as an attack to their solid unity. Several selective groups in the international arena, on the contrary, received Benevolo's revolutionary act for its time with approval, which supplied the new blood to relieve the essence of Modern architecture against the threats of traditional propagators. To quote Hoekstra:

> In England the architects of the New Brutalist movement produced skeptical and provocative designs aimed at the 'tradition of the modern', and the international platform of the modernists, the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), had fallen into a profound crisis. In this climate, Benevolo expressed a 'rappel à l'ordre' in an attempt to conserve the essential message of the Modern Movement. Internationally, Benevolo's plea was met with approval, and in fact, the intention of authors such as Ernesto Nathan Rogers, Reyner Banham and Peter Collins was not to reject the Modern Movement but to correct it.[305]

Actually, Benevolo's revolutionary conception did not only enhance the recuperation of the modern project, but he also situated a solid basis of architectural history as an autonomous discipline in the architectural education, at a time when history was strictly prohibited by orthodox modernists at any design practice. Referring to Hoekstra, Benevolo's conviction about the teaching of Architectural History stemmed from his unique confidence in its being an "ethical and normative act" that was "directly related to the future social performance of the architect."[306] For Benevolo, the change in the meaning of architecture in different social contexts was the major point of interest. The mandatory peculiarity for an architect to perform a proficient professional activity, yet, could only generate through a strict commitment "to a social and ethical cause and engaging with society."[307] As to Hoekstra, the innovative teaching methods, revised by Benevolo, expanded the limits of architectural history to various directions. Once, it was preceded by an analytic concentration on experiences. With Benevolo, however, it started to be advanced with an additional projection towards future. It proposed a complex input into the "notion of architecture" with social, cultural, economic, and political histories of both past and present together.[308]

The courses started to be processed with full participation of students who conducted the discussion groups, guided by Benevolo's assistants, such as Mario Manieri Elia, Italo Insolera and Arnaldo Bruschi.[309] Rather than a haphazard approach, Benevolo created a discursive platform in which the students were encouraged to formulate questions and to interrogate the social and cultural context of their present as critically observant individuals. The key text Benevolo based his whole argument on was from the passage written by William Morris in 1881: "Architecture embraces the consideration of the whole physical environment that surrounds human life: we cannot withdraw ourselves from it, because we are a part of civilization . . . Nor can we entrust our interest in architecture to a little group of skilled men."[310]

Benevolo believed that no book including Zevi's "*Storia dell'architettura moderna*" was proper enough to be a reference book for the lecturers in the history of Modern architecture. The major objective lying behind the minor installation of discussion groups was, for Hoekstra, to reshape, or in other words, to "re-invent" the discipline of architectural history by transforming it into a "Discourse," or in Hoekstra's words, into "a logical argument" that had the power to convince the audience.[311] For Hoekstra, the anathema of Benevolo's lessons was based on the stimulation of the students. Two main issues were to be drawn from architectural history: first, "the 'standards' of modern architecture and urbanism" due to their obvious connection with current architectural design; second, "the 'operative dimension' of ancient studies," which, for Hoekstra, was a significant construct of the student's cultural development, due to its probable role in the creation of their critical attitude, with a radical conception towards their own time.[312]

The class discussions had always been fertile to trigger further dispute. All were gathered in the 1960 book of *Storia dell'architettura moderna*. The title was identical with that of Zevi's book, published a decade earlier, but Benevolo did not give any references, due to the following assertion: his book, with its chronological and systematic method, "was to reinvent and reshape the discipline of architectural history."[313] Hoekstra drew attention to Benevolo's introduction of his book to the architectural society: "the only proper guide of modern architecture."[314] As Tafuri stated, "this historical project was based on a desire to clarify, even at the cost of oversimplification, and on a need to draw a coherent and progressive line comprising the 'tradition of the new'."[315] For him, Benevolo's work had solidified Pevsner' theorization of the Modern Movement. The project for Tafuri was far

beyond being a manipulative set of "one language against another," but it rather demonstrated the coherent body that the "modern movement began and developed as a complex project intended to relocate human activities within the context of a reformed collective life."[316] Manfredo Tafuri spoke of Benevolo in the following words:

> Benevolo's *Storia* stood, in 1960, as a kind of dam against all deviance, but also as a *rappel à l'ordre* and a calming *summa*. The sociological and political perspectives that informed Benevolo's work were equally vague. What counted for him, as he stood on the thresholds of a new historical phase in the country's development was that architects should free themselves from the debt to Zevi, Rogers, and revivalists. Benevolo's method was even more indebted to post-neorealist reductionism that it appeared to be at the time.[317]

In the beginnings of the 1960s, there was a chaotic and troublesome atmosphere both for the political lobbies and for the academies, including Sapienza. In 1961, Benevolo left the Sapienza University to become *professore ordinario* in Palermo. Two years after his leave, "the occupation of students" for forty days occurred with a demand for a reform in the faculty: a change in the curriculum, a change in the faculty members with a revolt against their didactic teaching methods.[318] Therefore, the year 1963 marked significant changes on the structuring of the faculty, starting from its course program and their contents, prolonging to the change of the instructors who had been guiding those courses. As a result, a new curriculum was prepared, and new professors were assigned and invited to instruct. Bruno Zevi was one of those professors who was invited to give the *Corso di Storia dell' Architettura I e I.*[319] He had rather a prominent respectability within the academic circles. With the book he wrote in 1945, "Towards an Organic Architecture" (*Verso un'architettura organica*), he had made a radical contribution which attacked the conservative tendencies of Italian architects. Through this book, he drew the attention of various avant-garde circles, and the same year he was invited to become the professor of architectural history at the IUAV, by the director of the school Guiseppe Samonà. There, he wrote two seminal works, each of which were regarded by a majority as reference books: the 1948 dated book of "How to Look at Architecture" (*Saper vedera l'architettura*), and the 1960 dated book of "History of Modern Architecture" (*Storia dell Architettura Moderna*). He was a modern and innovative figure and with his 1960 book "*Storia dell Architettura Moderna,*" he earned enormous reputation in both national and international architectural society.

With the transfer of Zevi to Rome, the faculty tried to gratify the students and to minimize their dissatisfaction. However, it did not disclose the expected efficiency or help to ease the students' disappointment. The students' protest was accurate: Zevi was a member of the current system. Despite his highly innovative and revolutionary oeuvre until that period, he was a model belonging to the beginnings of the 1950s, but an outmoded model for the 60s. As noted before, Zevi was an exemplary figure of a new trend in Italy. Referring to Llorenz, he and his followers perceived the mere changes in the International Style after the Second World War as an indispensible part of a natural process, which proved that "Modern Movement is still alive and well."[320] Yet, as the "continuity with the classical avant-garde" was a demand of "History" in their mind, they transmuted history to a mediating device for the legitimization of their own notion of modernity. Opposed to Zevi and his followers, there was another tendency that denied the possibility of any continuity with the Modern Movement. According to this group, a break in architecture had already occurred because of the classical avant-garde. This party condemned "the principal tenets of Modern Movement" and proposed a research that aimed "at reestablishing in the basic principles which history had validated in the past, before the break brought about by the classical avant-garde."[321] "History," for the second party, appeared as a tool that had to be reassessed in order to derive a renewed definition of the boundaries which were necessary to "validate any new creation mode," a tool to legitimize the "movement" they proposed, a tool to "fulfill the gap between the negative and constructive sides of avant-garde."[322] The second party with an objective to look into the past for a renewed definition of "the boundaries of architecture" had become the predominant force in Italian architectural culture after the early 50s.[323] The students were in search of such a figure in the staff of the faculty, not for Zevi. The first year of Zevi's tutoring experience in Rome, therefore, collided with the cyclical tension of the university reforms and student revolts against the existing system. Therefore, Zevi put into practice a completely different course in architectural history, with a completely different methodology, which Hoekstra regarded as "a radical innovation" that could be marked as a "reform."[324] According to the program Zevi published in Metron in 1947, for a reform of architectural history, there had to be four main concerns that should not be overlooked:

1. The history of architecture should include the history of the city.
2. The history of modern architecture should constitute an integral part of the course in the history of architecture.
3. The history of architecture should be the history of international architecture and not only the history of Italian architecture.
4. The teaching should concentrate more on the specific field of architecture in the spatial sense of the word and considerably less on architectural decoration.[325]

Zevi's ideal was mostly adopting "an interdisciplinary approach," that could contribute to the infrastructures of modern culture—such as modern painting, modern literature, modern sculpture and so on—and encompass other related disciplines with architectural design.[326] His motto was "architecture as culture."[327] Along with this enterprise, he insisted on regarding "architecture as the art of constructing spaces" and insisted on the transmission of the themes of other disciplines to the practices of architectural design. Hoekstra explained Zevi's inclusion of other disciplines to the domain of architectural history as: "Architectural history grew," and continued that with enclosure of the "subjects that were akin to history, such as *Letteratura artistica*, [and] later also the subjects that were directly concerned with architectural design" to architectural history, the "operative history assumed its most explicit form."[328] As the Neopolitan philosopher Benedotte Croce was an important inspiration for Zevi, he was highly convinced with the fact that "history should always be contemporary and actual; always an inextricable part of daily life."[329] Therefore, despite the common belief that the permanent object of "history" was the events and happenings of the past, Zevi's primary concern stood as the present. The past, on the contrary, was regarded as a databank of "things" to be learned from: "Architectural history should always start from and end with the object, the thing itself, and not drift about in the sea of society or civilization without this anchor."[330]

The focus of Zevi's history, for Hoekstra, was definitely the avant-garde tradition of twentieth century. Zevi was interested in the "cultural revolutionary movements" and the causality lying beneath the deviation of one tradition to another. The "masters" and their "prophetic insights," therefore, gained more importance in his analysis for Hoekstra so as to grasp the power that triggered the revolutionary changes for specific time-periods. Yet, what were the concealed motives of Zevi's reform in architectural history that encompassed an extensive cultural and disciplinary horizon? To quote Hoekstra: "It derived from an incredibly intense engagement with the theme of modernity, with its reasoning, its message, and its forms."[331] One can easily state that the theme of

"modernity" formed the anathema of Zevi's contemporary debate; it was, in a way, to "assess the past with the rules of present."[332] As this was nothing other than an "operative" intention, Hoekstra's reading that "with Bruno Zevi, the operative paradigm of the School of Rome reached its climax" was very important. [333] In fact, it was the radical and innovative rebel against the traditional Roman-based architectural history and his operative, but reformist reading that distinguished Zevi from other historians. Nevertheless, this respectable stance did not prevent Zevi from being attacked by students, along fascist instructors, at the big student revolution, held in 1968.[334] The student's unfair categorization of Zevi was due to political reasons: His teaching was lacking political aspects; this apolitical approach was highly criticized by the students. This attack affected Zevi enormously, and led him to isolate himself entirely from the political atmosphere after the beginnings of the 1970s. He only concentrated upon his lectures on architectural history. He totally altered the structure and process of his courses and preferred to focus solely on architectural history, omitting their present consequences. The course structure he developed was flexible in nature, which allowed a continuous alteration of the themes under consideration. Due to the highly disturbing demands of the students having political compulsions, he compulsorily chose the themes among the ones that were immersed in the present discourse. The disposition was simple, and closed to any provocation. Every lesson, a lecturer was invited who introduced a unique subject and opened it to discussion. An extended variety of contributors, including architects and artists, psychiatrists and social workers, designers and historians, critics, urbanists, structuralists, linguists, sociologists, and so on, participated in those discussions and presented their views in the predetermined perspectives.[335] Tafuri, later in his book *History of Italian Architecture*, defined the year of 1968 as the year of "rebellious explosion."

The history of Sapienza University of Rome, in a way, represented the history of how architectural history was transferred to the students of an era in architectural schools. As Hoekstra mentioned, the first generation by the father and son Vincenzo and Furio Fasolo, and their anti-modern resistance, later the second generation with Leonardo Benevolo (1923-), and Bruno Zevi (1918-2000) the break of this resistance represented the translation of architectural history as vision in time. A revolutionary and highly different approach to architectural history came from Manfredo Tafuri. He was a student of Fasolos. As a student and later as a teaching assistant, Tafuri had the chance to

observe the teaching methods of both Benevolo and Zevi. This continuum obviously determined Tafuri's disciplinary prospect, yet in an insubordinating manner. Because, for Tafuri the entire discernment was an "operative, 'useful' outlook on architectural history."[336] According to him, "this was the history of a discipline seen as plaster, bricks, reinforced concrete, without men, without society, and without real history."[337]

Due to the ambivalence of the architectural historians' composite duty of being both a historian and a critic, the character of architectural history writing was speculative. Tafuri's reaction to all flux was atypical of current performances in his own discipline. So as to collapse "the insular attitude" of most architectural historians, he preferred to analyze the "real lack" of architectural history in the works of "great masters of historiography", such as Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre of the Annales School and the Italian historian Delio Cantimori (1904-1966), who did not deal with architecture at all, but with the "history of mentality."[338] From those works, Tafuri uncovered the use of "artifice" or "construction" as a rudiment of making history and their way of dealing with the "artifice", or better to say "construction" diverted the course of Tafuri's look at architectural history.[339] When he started his research on modern architecture for his book *Teorie e Storia dell'architettura,* this harvest, yet innovative look at architectural history made him direct his research to different sources of literature, such as the writings of Walter Benjamin who was first introduced to Italy in 1962 by Renato Solmi, Roland Barthes, Max Bense, and Umberto Eco. Those sources of inspiration naturally deviated Tafuri's *Teorie e Storia* to an intensity focusing on cultural themes, rather than the secular look at modern architecture as in any earlier study on the subject, such as that of Benevolo and Zevi, which took Pevsner and Gideon as sources of reference.[340] According to Hoekstra, Tafuri's *Teorie e Storia dell'architettura* caused a "tremendous shock" at the time it was published. It was opposed to the "unanimous" choice of history, it objected to the "strong consensus about its positive role."[341] It exposed a "radically different view of modernity."[342] It announced a unique conviction that the only way for architectural history to promise a "future" was to "distance itself from actual design practice."[343] It showed how certain themes, such as "the structures of language in the history of modern architecture," might well address specific "*problems,*" and had the power to donate "history" with a "constant series of crises."[344] It posited that "the history of modern architecture was centered on a crisis of meaning: a semantics that was enforced

by ‘theory’ and weakened by ‘history’.”[345] By this position, it annihilated the “positive” connotation of the term “history,” and displayed the “danger” behind it. While the earlier works never saw the position and the task of historian as a problem, *Teorie e Storia* rejected the standard position of an historian, an “enlightened teacher, a prophet, a missionary, a part of avant-garde,” and dedicated much of its pages to place them “in an historical and analytic setting that was completely unheard of.”[346] It rejected Zevi’s concession of Renaissance to be a salvation for Modern Movement for the “institutionalization of architectural language” that had failed any institutionalization. It portrayed the architectural history of that period, as stated by Hoekstra, “as being dominated by a movement in which solid architectural meanings become unstuck—foundations dissolve and fixed social orders, in which everything takes its appropriate place, disappear.”[347] It positioned “history” to a location far from being an apparatus that provided “stability and order” for Modern architecture, but could only be a “library providing ideological support.”[348] It came on to the scene with full criticism of Benevolo and Zevi’s understandings of the “history” in their books on Modern architecture and discussed their work in terms of the contradictions each attributed to the period of Enlightenment. Hoekstra spoke of Tafuri’s approach as follows:

> [Tafuri] considers the work of Benevolo, just like that of Siegfried Giedion, to be dominated by what he refers to as ‘the myth of orthodoxy’, whereby the historian constructs a simplified and coherent ‘Modern Movement’. It is this that keeps Benevolo from including some of the most relevant architectural projects of recent times in his history. Tafuri’s judgment of Zevi seems even harsher. Zevi is considered to have started from the conviction that the audience was incapable of grasping the complexity of historical events. According to Tafuri, the attempt to ‘actualize’ history by molding it into an attractive didactic format failed at each extreme. It failed to do justice to history, to the verification of historical facts, but it equally failed architects working in the present, because it could only produce myths that were irrelevant to them. In this way, Tafuri openly condemns Zevi’s studies of Biagio Rossetti and Borromini, stating that ‘the myth is always against history’.[349]

It was a fact that with its revolutionary and negative tone Tafuri’s *Teorie e Storia* came on to the scene of Italian intellectual world with full assertion. Indeed, Tafuri became a mythical figure of the architectural world for several significant academicians and architectural theoreticians across the world. His two eminent books, *Teorie e Storia* and *Progetto e Utopia* were accepted by a majority as “*the* starting point,” in Cuicci’s terms, for many consecutive inquiries. Yet, this was a reputation, in other words, fame, gained in

a decade-lap. Nevertheless, the question is, regardless of any time-lap, what was the reason of this reputation? Was it due to his work's full comprehension? If it was not, could one state that it was because of its provocative tone? Did this provocative tone fire several mechanisms that American theoreticians focused at that time? Several interpretations were made for Tafuri's writings, from the time they were published in English until today. Some accepted his theories without hesitation, yet a majority thought that they were complex texts that lacked a didactic tone for the reader to execute a complete apprehension. Thomas Llorenz, as an illustration, stated that: "*Teorie e Storia* should be approached as a palimpsest, a document where the successive and often contradictory discourses of a crisis are superimposed rather than fused."[350] Regardless of such open-ended questions, it was fact that Tafuri opened a decade in the theory and history of architecture by his explosive and provocative tone. He instigated "the beginning" of a new "discourse," he opened the "critique of ideology" into debate, which was utilized by many successive phases as a fixed point or reference. Cuicci, in his essay about Tafuri's "Formative years," assessed the situation as a defect of English-speaking world. According to him, the Tafuri interpretation of American architectural society was mystified version of Marxist and anarchist Tafuri. And, the reason of this mystification, for Cuicci, was the disordered translations of his published works, in other words, the variation of the period and order between the originals in Italian and the English translations, for example the publishing of new works in translation before that of older ones. Alternatively, it might be because a majority accepted those two significant works as "*the* beginning" of Tafuri's work, but did not trace back to his former studies, to how his intellectual formation got shaped, to the context they were written. To quote Cuicci, "this prevented many from being able to fully grasp the developments, the changes, abandonments and renewals of focus that characterize Tafuri's incessant research."[351] This statement, which is hard to object, led us to forward our inquiry into Tafuri's "formative years." Who was that man who opened a new horizon for the architectural world? Who was Manfredo Tafuri?

3. 4 - DECONSTRUCTING A NEW HORIZON: MANFREDO TAFURI, THE MAIN ACTOR OF A NEW ERA

Manfredo Tafuri was a Jewish architectural and art/social historian and theoretician who transmuted the philosophy of a period by his eminent and innovative writings.[352] He was born on 4 November 1935 in Rome and died in 1994 in Venice. He was the only surviving child of the Jewish Tafuri family. At the interview he made with Luigia Passerini published in the *Any* magazine, Tafuri narrated his mother and father as two different personalities: His mother was a very active and intellectually developed woman, his father, on the contrary, was an engineer with no intellectual interests. Due to his mother's enlightened personality, Tafuri was brought up with a very secular attitude. Despite his cult about Jewish religion and customs, Tafuri never became a religious person. It was assumed that the sense of solitude he was in during his adolescence was because of the opposing ideals in his family and his illiteracy about his roots.

Tafuri's childhood years were the times of a transition for Italy from Fascism to German occupation. Due to their Jewish identity, his family faced difficulties during the war and German occupation. His encounter with fear and death with a bomb falling in their neighborhood, the family's subjection to discrimination, the increase of danger during German occupation, and Tafuri's separation from his family to hide in a safe place were among several traumatic experiences, which he faced prior to his maturity. The major dilemma was the state of "exodus" which deeply embedded the sense of isolation in his memory. It was a consequence of such distressing sequence that he later mentioned the influence of those days on his personality and future work in the following words: "at that time, the problem was exodus. It is not by chance that even today, I keep vacillating between Rome and Venice. I can vacillate on everything, yet I need a strong sense of roots."[353]

As Tafuri mentioned, the atmosphere in Italy was highly autocratic at that time. Having experienced a war, the public body was overwhelmed by the supreme power and was assimilated intellectually. His complex engagement to politics and philosophy originated in those years. At a very young age, he started to interrogate the causes of war—philosophically and politically. This growing interest discriminated him among others

whom he defined as "A terrible generation, of total idiots," who were not competent enough for intellectual contact. [354] His cyclical discussions with the members of his family and his friends never provided the sufficient explanation he sought. He therefore searched for alternative sources about ongoing issues. Via the radio program of Enzo Paci (1911-1976), he first encountered the existentialist theories of French philosophers, such as Kierkegaard, Sartre, and Camus, when he was sixteen.[355] With the help of Paci, Tafuri began to read the first Italian translations of Sartre and Camus, published in 1951 and the philosophies of these significant French figures remained as important works of reference throughout his adolescence. In the interview, he expressed, "I was fascinated by thought, and therefore, the history of thought, philosophy—whatever I could understand of it at that time."[356]

Manfredo Tafuri became a "voracious reader of philosophy" from that time on.[357] He formed a reading group, with the students having similar intellectual intentions. During their leisure time and vacations, it became a ritual to read the texts on philosophy, art, architecture, and history, and had debates on the well-known texts of the period. His secondary and grammar school years passed with intense discussions on philosophical issues with significant figures around him who had parallel aspirations. His discussions either with his reading group friends during vacations, or with teachers at private meetings blazed new horizons nourishing Tafuri's formation by alternative subjects, such as art, architecture and history. The first time he was introduced to Karl Marx and his philosophy was in one of these discussions. To quote Hoekstra:

> Manfredo Tafuri, who came from a petit bourgeois background, was introduced to Marxism and Socialism by way of the alternative lessons organized by Widmar in his garden. Widmar advised his young students to discard the common philosophical handbooks and undertake a reconsideration of the history of philosophy from Kant to Marx. As Tafuri recalls, Widmar did not speak of a revolutionary Marx, but of a philosophical Marx who remained in the shadow of the Master, Hegel. For Widmar, Marx was part of an historical development that started with philosophical icons such as Kant and the philosophers from the time of the French Revolution. Widmar presented a unified body of thought, which, to Tafuri's surprise, was not consistent with the ideas expressed by Paci and the Existentialists. [358]

His invention of a new body of thought, accumulated by the Marxist philosophy in particular shaped Tafuri's ongoing intellectual development. In November 1953, Tafuri decided to sign up as a student of architecture and enrolled in the architectural school of

Sapienza University in Rome. The time he enrolled to the University of Sapienza as a student of architecture was when his Marxist intentions were at its peak level. Eighteen years old, entirely self-educated, politically over accumulated Tafuri, had high expectations from the academy. Yet, when he saw the existing situation, his prospect was reversed with a deep disappointment. In fact, the first years of his education in architecture corresponded to "the years of *L'epurazione.*" The war had ended, and new authorities instigated to enforce a process of purification to deactivate the fascist elements off the society at any level.[359] Academy turned out to be the refuge of several practicing architects who had a fascist profile and were exiled from the professional life due to purification. The problem was briefly the companionship of two "sharply distinct generations" under the roof of the university: "a young, emerging generation of post-war architects and an older generation carrying the burden of the past."[360]

Young Marxist Tafuri was bored of the apathy of fascist academicians, and their apolitical and non-intellectual teaching methods of architectural education. The dreary situation bred the negative response of the several fellow students as well and they formed a protest group, led by Tafuri. The first members of this protest group were Giorgio Piccinato, Sergio Bracco and Vieri Quilici, in Hoekstra's words, "all of whom later became established members of the historical and architectural community and, moreover, were to remain Tafuri's lifelong companions."[361] Their aim was to present a political attitude against the professors' apolitical policy in education. Claiming the current progression as "non-educative," they proposed alternative policies which originated from the intellectual and political environment that was propagated by the partisan journal *Il Mondo* (The World), founded in 1949 by a group of liberal democrats.[362] Until it was ceased in 1966, the magazine acted as an "active advocate of the civil rights movement in Italy, publishing critical assessments of the government and its clientelist practices, the Catholic Church and its influence on society, and other aspects of Italian culture and society."[363] For that time, Tafuri was attracted by the "aggressive and polemic writing" of Antonio Cederna (1921) in *Il Mondo*, who criticized the "urbanist strategies" in Italian cities after the war and encompassed "a kind of partisan social criticism."[364]

Their goal, in its broadest sense, was “[t]o become familiar with the world and to become familiar with the modern architectural dimension of that world.”[365] During their undergraduate studies (1956-1961), they traveled around Europe looking for modern and contemporary works of architecture: not in search of elegant, aesthetical architecture, but in search of architecture that ‘spoke’ with a violent, aggressive tone. From this sentence, it may be grasped that their major concentration was on the “violent, aggressive” architectural works that voiced a disapproval of abstractionism, generated largely after 1930 modernism. Whether or not representing a break with architectural modernism, for Hoekstra, Le Corbusier’s chapel at Ronchamp was suitable to this kind of changing embodiments due to Tafuri’s belief that it expressed “the crisis of rationalism”, and “the collapse of the enlightenment dream of providing people with a better life through the force of reason,” and “ giving evidence also of the dark sides of human being, dimensions that cannot be traced by the reductive language of logic.”[366] Tafuri later admitted that via those trips he arrived at a point that he finally “understood” architecture. Having considered that the first part of the project had finalized, there followed the second part of the project: “gaining further understanding at a political level of what was happening at the university and in Italian society at large, and subsequently translating of this knowledge into resistance and protest.”[367]

Tafuri’s protest was particularly against the teachings of two major chairs at the faculty: the history of architecture and the architectural design. According to the protest group, the professors of both chairs were apathetic to events occurring outside the academy in the related fields of architecture, such as urban design, politics, philosophy, and fine arts. The common consciousness among the students was that due to the alienation of fascist professors from current practice, their “authoritarian practice of schooling and education” was obviously inoperative in the present socio-political condition, and should be deprived of validity. The actively generating modern strategies of building had already rebelled against this authoritarian policy in the current practice and, therefore, the education of the academy necessitated the enunciation of the innovative principles of Modern architecture. Briefly, the major concern of the protest group was “to be educated” according to the values of the period. The only way to enhance the quality of education for them was to “protest:” to take the initiative and organize their own instruction. In fact, the aim was to improve an innovative and revolutionary model of instruction based on the contemporary

changes in the field of architecture, which was ensued by a new ideology called: Modern Architecture. An expanded theoretical prospect, which covered the profound resources of postwar debate about Modern Architecture, was a major necessity, having priority. A complex list of figures and their innovative works that accentuated the changes in the twentieth century took crucial place in Tafuri and his friends' theoretical horizon during those years. For example, the work of Enzo Paci, specifically his article published in *La Casa* in 1959, entitled "La Crisi della cultura e la fenomenologia dell'architettura contemporanea" was a significant text for Tafuri. Through Paci, he developed interest in the themes of phenomenology of Husserl. Thus, the work of Ernesto Nathan Rogers, such as *Esperienza dell'architettura* of 1958 and especially the journal he edited *Casabella Continuità* was of great importance for the period. Moreover, the writings of Guilio Carlo Argan, such as his 1957 article "Architettura e ideologia," published in *Zodiac* 1, and particularly his 1951 book, entitled *Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus*, were among the most innovative achievements, since they focused, to state in Cuicci's words, the "ideological crisis of modern movement without neglecting a moral legacy of its political commitment." The works of Giuseppe Samonà, on the other hand, specifically his 1959 dated book of *L'urbanistica e l'avvenire della città negli Stati europei*; the writings of Franco Fortini, especially his 1962 essay of "Astuti come colombe" published in Menabò, which analyzed the "culture of the left in Italy" had been important influences. Besides all, several books and essays, which appeared in Italy between 1957 and 1962, such as *Minima Moralia* of Adorno, the *Dialectic of Reason* of Lukács, *Man without Qualities* of Musil, *Angelus Novus* of Benjamin, *Social History of Art* of Hauser, *Opera aperta* of Eco naturally gave shape to the discourse of the period.[368] All above-mentioned intellectual production determined the antagonistic aura of the 1960s due to the highly leftist and Marxist point of view they propagated.

The first student protest happened in 1958 when Tafuri was twenty-three years old. The fact that Tafuri played a fair part in the first student protest at the Faculty of Architecture of the Sapienza University of Rome was not hard to predict. The students occupied the university buildings to protest against the government's decision of a university entry examination for architects. The theme of the occupation was "liberty of education."[369] Hoekstra spoke of the context of the period and the causality of Tafuri's activities in the following words:

> Tafuri's activities during this period should be seen against the background of the development of the university during the years of reconstruction. Traditionally, the university system in Italy had been based on a strong individualism. This was due to an extremely centralized administrative structure on the one hand, and a total freedom for individual professors within local institutes on the other. This situation prompted the widespread expression *baroni delle cattedre*—chair barons. Professors easily felt threatened in their little paradises and so were inclined to react against any introduction of collegiate bodies. In the years of the reconstruction, education was not a priority. Around 1958, the time when Tafuri was studying at the university, things began to change. The number of students rose dramatically and there were no substantial transformations to accompany this expansion. The fight that Tafuri is caught up with in this period, is the confrontation between an archaic academia and a society which is undergoing rapid changes and modernization.[370]

The first student protest was suppressed but no transformation occurred that would meet the increasing demands of the students. The number of the students who criticized the quality of the education increased "dramatically," but the problem was the lack of any constructive action by the authorities. Hoekstra defined Tafuri's fight within this period as "the confrontation between an archaic academia and a society which is undergoing rapid changes and modernization."[371] The second student protest occurred two years later when Tafuri was twenty-five (senior). The dispute behind the upheaval was intensified, targeting at multilateral predicaments. The minor target was the out-of-date education policies of the professors, whereas the major target was the overall policy of architectural faculty. The big opposition between Tafuri and the administrative staff re-germinated at the course of "Architectural Composition." Saverio Muratori was conducting the studio with the support of young assistants such as Paolo Portoghesi, Gianfranco Caniggia and Paolo Marconi, who later became eminent figures of Italian architecture. Muratori's teachings that resisted against any "modern" proposal, idea or credence was the primary source of Tafuri and his friends' disobedience. Accordingly, in Tafuri's words:

> And we found that we had in front of us at a certain point Saverio Muratori… He was someone unique, someone who had a strong intellectual resonance, someone who could really think . . . Muratori . . . was against everything that was modern. This is the point. He thought that true modernity meant that everything should start all over again. This was fascinating from a certain point of view . . . But Muratori was the person we wanted to confront because he was invulnerable. He refused to talk with us because his way of thinking only functioned if it remained closed to dialogue.[372]

In 1963, there occurred a third wave of occupation due to the dissidence between Muratori and the students. According to Hoekstra, the theme of this occupation was beyond the theme "liberty of education," but rather "liberty of acquisition."[373] This was the most drastic protest that lasted for sixty days. The critical postulation beyond was "a change in curriculum—the enforced renewal of the didactic system."[374] Despite the brutal atmosphere, the result was affirmative for students since the faculty offered a change in staff for serenity after sixty days of occupation. To quote Hoekstra, "new professors were brought in who were thought to be more progressive and appealing to the younger generation," such as, Bruno Zevi and Luigi Piccinato who were invited from Venice, and Ludovico Quaroni who was called from Florence.[375] Concerning the core of opposition, the curriculum committee of the department decided to institute a "parallel" course to that of Muratori that would be guided by Saul Greco, and conducted by Aymonimo, with Tafuri, Piccinato, Bracco and Quilici among the assistants.[376] Tafuri recalled an "elite circle" within the faculty, who had rigid communist attitude. Those were figures belonging to a certain elite, for Tafuri, but always compelled to remain at the level of assistantship, because of the fascist majority in the senior staff of the university. Carlo Aymonimo, Piero Melograni, Michele Valori and Leonardo Benevolo were the well-known figures belonging to these groups, which were called "'left-wing Catholics' or even 'cato-communisti.'"[377] The objective of communists and that of Tafuri had slight differences in origin: whilst Tafuri's intention was to "renew the existing curricula," communists' were much more "insular." They found the attempt of Tafuri and the ones close to him as useless and irrelevant, and thought that something larger was needed in the attempt of the revolution, which must be more political, even "in a militant way."[378] The relationship of Tafuri with communists was two sided: on one side, they were Tafuri's "constant partners" in discussions, lectures, courses, and they were "a fixed part of his frame of reference." [379] Nevertheless, on the other side, he had a doubt and distrust "for their insularity and their unquestionable faith in the Soviet Union."[380] Having the authority to develop courses, Tafuri and his friends had a certain reputation among the students and those who endorsed their opinion expanded their group. Naming themselves as Gruppo Assistenza Matricole, they organized "student training centre" to aid the junior students who just entered architectural faculty. Cuicci later talked of his apprenticeship days and how he contributed to the lectures of Tafuri on modern movement for the first year students held each evening at six after the classes were over.[381] According to

Hoekstra, the real agenda was innocent: “they were committed to the idea of doing a better job than the university; to counterbalance the ‘deformation of education’. They wanted to focus on all those issues which had become anathema to the university hierarchy, principally the history of modern and contemporary architecture.”[382]

After graduation, they continued their intellectual corps under an official name: *Associazione Urbanisti ed Architetti,* (AUA).[383] As an officially recognized association, their aim was to continue their political activities in an official form, and “to be able to voice an opinion within the large protest battles that were being fought in Rome and on a national level.”[384] Besides the university battle, they had played a vital role since their undergraduate years; they had the aim to “battle for political reform in town and regional planning.”[385] According to the researchers, even though AUA had some recognition, they mostly remained in the shadow of big associations, having extreme political standings. The *Società di architettura e urbanistica* (SAU) was one these associations in which various significant names, professed as extreme left wing and communist in character, were collected. Leonardo Benevolo, Arnaldo Bruschi, Mario Manieri Elia, Carlo Melograni and Alberto Samonà were among the most reputative ones.[386]

As already noted, Benevolo was one of the forerunners of the debate on modern architecture and instructing the History of Architecture course in Rome University. Arnaldo Bruschi was one of his assistants. He wrote an important essay on E42 in La Casa, and one of the initiators of the research on Bramante. Mario Manieri Elia, who later edited Tafuri’s book on William Morris, and studied the Baroque in the Lecce area with Calvesi at that period, was the one who invited Tafuri to participate in the architectural competition for the National Library, with Giuseppe Vaccaro in 1959, for which they won the first prize.[387] Although both AUA and SAU were leftist associations, their differing priorities in terms of political targets impeded Tafuri and his friends to join them. As Hoekstra claimed, AUA’s prior target was a “pragmatic reform and the improvement of the existing situation,” whereas SAU was more radical. They were in pursuit of grabbing the absolute power for a “revolution and the subsequent acquisition of professional instrumentalities.”[388] Hoekstra denoted the conception of architecture that arose from these and other activities as, in her words:

> Architecture was now a relative fact, as a specific dimension of a general political fight. During these years, architectural faculties were lively centres of student politics and most architects regarded their profession as having strong political connotations. This was due to a keen interest in the centre-left experiment, for which planning and building programmes served as standard means of implementing political power. In this context, Tafuri cites the concrete activities of the AUA. For example, throwing stones at the police escort of the Minister of Education, was to Tafuri exactly the same as studying Le Corbusier or Gropius: both activities were part of the same project.[389]

Nevertheless, the Tambroni affair, at the beginning of 1960, convinced Tafuri and the AUA about the impossibility of executing an ample political mission outside a political party, and they became members of the socialist party, the *Partito Socialista d'Italia* (PSI).[390] The following years, for Hoekstra, had great significance for the intellectual development of Tafuri, since new political journals emerged that promoted a "new movement among the left-wing intelligentsia." *Quaderni Rossi* that embraced the articles of the ex-members of the Socialist Party was noteworthy among many for Tafuri, since they stood for the exigency of a "renewed working class militancy" against the compulsion of "Fordist factory system," and a "re-reading of Marx and a return to the revolutionary and militant character of his politics" to "confront the reality of a neo-capitalist society."[391] All were like a return to his youth for Tafuri, his days when he was first introduced to Widmar. However, he was neither a student, nor a young architect anymore. Something had to be done. The problems were extensive and all were awaiting a resolution. The atmosphere outside was under the influence of Lukács, whom he totally disagreed.[392] This was the moment for Hoekstra that made Tafuri enter into "another phase of transition, which always meant undergoing what was practically an existential crisis" and his "historical turn" occurred.[393]

In fact, there were two important figures who affected Tafuri's ultimate choice to devote himself only to history. One was Ernesto Nathan Rogers and the other was Ludovico Quaroni.[394] Both had developed an esteemed historical interest in the field. Hoekstra denoted Tafuri's encounter with those figures as follows: In 1961, Tafuri had written an article about the architectural and urban history of Rome in a sequence from postwar years until 1961, and this text was published in a marginal architectural magazine, *Argomenti di Architettura and Superfici.*[395] Those were his less known articles, yet they instrumented Quaroni to discover Tafuri. According to Hoekstra, as Tafuri remembered,

Quaroni and Rogers went to visit Tafuri, and Tafuri's interest in the "attitude of engaged architects" was triggered by this first contact. Quaroni was rather a pessimistic figure. Though he worked for Mussolini during years of fascist regime, after the war he became a protagonist and gained reputation with his critical reflection against the policies of the State and its "engaged" architecture. Instead of being interested in the current debates concerning "super-productivity," Tafuri's interest in Quaroni increased from that day after. He even edited Quaroni's book upon his own request. According to Hoekstra's text, with Tafuri's editing, the book turned into something different. Quaroni appreciated his account vastly and became determinative of Tafuri's return to university after the fierce fights he had given against the authorities a few years ago. To quote Hoekstra:

> Quaroni was one of the new professors of design appointed after the didactical exchange of the early 1960s, as one of the outcomes of student protest. His chair consisted of two duties: one was teaching contemporary architectural history and the other was the more classical task of teaching architectural design. Quaroni requested that Tafuri give a number of seminars on nineteenth- and twentieth-century architectural history.[396]

As already mentioned, during the 1960's, two different trends gave form to the "dialectics between history and modernity." One that believed "history" itself demanded "continuity" and the other that believed a break had already occurred in architecture because of the classical avant-garde. They, therefore, condemned "the principal tenets of Modern Movement" and proposed a research that aimed "at reestablishing in the basic principles which history had validated in the past, before the break brought about by the classical avant-garde."[397] They conceded history as an instrument of politics. For the second party, "history" was a tool that had to be reassessed in order to derive a renewed definition of the boundaries which is significant to "validate any new creation mode," a tool to legitimize the "movement" they proposed, a tool to "fulfill the gap between the negative and constructive sides of avant-garde." Quaroni was one of the founding fathers of the second party whose objective was to look into the past for a renewed definition of "the boundaries of architecture," as termed by Vittorio Gregotti. As a reminder, Gregotti was the editor of Casabella, the main publishing vehicle of this trend, during that period. Gregotti, Rossi, and Canella, members of the editorial board studied the "theoretical program and didactic tools of the movement." Manfredo Tafuri joined the second party in the early 60s. In those years, the growing awareness toward the causal problems in any political positions had revealed, "the pact between progressive intellectuals and social

change no longer worked."[398] The failure in politics, the failure of the centre-left government was the sign of a threat on the nucleus of architectural practice. Therefore, there appeared the necessity to find a different societal role for the architect and to develop a different viewpoint for its root, better to say to reinterpret its own history.[399] All were, for Hoekstra, instrumental in Tafuri's conviction to develop a different kind of identity with a different approach to architectural history.[400] Contrary to the first party's arguments, Tafuri stood for the necessity to take more radical steps, as the modern dream of the architect for a better world had already been damaged. Therefore, the historian after all could hardly persist to act as a "proactive contributor to society;" for Tafuri: "[his] position was that history is not an instrument of politics. History is history."[401] Hoekstra put this position against any model of the "operative" history, since to create an alternative was Tafuri's basic concern. In Hoekstra's words:

> The first group modeled their history on the concerns of the present; the second group simply extended the methodology of art history to architecture. A model for the historian who was deeply involved with architecture, yet chose to separate historical practice from actual architectural concerns, did not exist. From this point onwards, Tafuri faced the challenge of building a discipline and a new type of architectural history. The insecurity of this choice is indicated by Tafuri's words: 'butto qualsiasi compasso' – I will throw away any sort of compass. However, there is also a deeper meaning to these words. For Tafuri, the passage from engaged to 'non-operative' history also meant a departure from a certain ethical code, which would be followed by the search for something different. The need to do justice to history, to distinguish between 'false history' and 'true' history, was already clear to Tafuri. In the years following, the elaboration of a different kind of ethics became central to Tafuri's quest for a different kind of architectural history.[402]

Cuicci, when talking about Tafuri in his Casabella essay "The formative years," put emphasis on Tafuri's early years of formation. For Cuicci, Tafuri's early work was as much adolescent as it was highly protagonist due to the complex web of his cultural, social, and political interests. As well as Tafuri's passion for history, as could be observed through the "rigorous" essays to be peculiar examples of a meticulous historical study, Cuicci recalled attention to his critical mind that escalated, in his words, "problematic issues concerning the role of history in the crisis of contemporary architecture."[403] He stated that Tafuri was a "participant in the legacy of modern movement," yet without ignoring a "critical testing of the precepts of rationalism in the light of the 'tragic present condition'." He reminded Tafuri's stance as a designer, his assistantship in Rome University for the course of Architectural Composition, conducted

by many important names such as Saul Greco, Libera, and Quaroni respectively during Tafuri's years in the faculty and then his resolute conviction of the necessity of architectural design in the curriculum, and so on. During all those years, according to Cuicci, Tafuri showed his genius in handling the issues by several essays in which he analyzed "the architecture of the period of Frederick in Sicily, the architectural situation in Rome during the last fifteen years, and the city-territory (all in 1962), on the thinking of William Morris (1963) and on the Baroque in Rome, on modern Japanese architecture, on Ernst May and on Quaroni (all in 1964)."[404] Cuicci defined the young Tafuri in following words: "A Tafuri who accompanied these wide ranging concerns with many interests which went beyond architecture to include urban planning and history, politics, literature, art, philosophy, semiotics, cinema, grand opera theatre;" and defined this complexity as the mark, in his words, "in the years to come, his way of 'doing' history, in pursuit not of an all-inclusive knowledge, but as a preliminary arrangement of materials upon which to base the unavoidable complexity of the studies."[405] For example, Cuicci denoted a passage of Tafuri from his essay on the architecture of Frederick style, as it clearly illustrated Tafuri's critical approach that led to the interpretation of the subject via specific cases. In Cuicci's words, "the 'dramatic search for new modes of action' which marked the moment of passage between the extreme limit to which the Frederickian tradition could be taken, and the new course of the entire Italian culture."[406] Thus, Cuicci stated, "the past observed, at the outset, by Tafuri in its most significant moments, of passage and crisis, but was also seen, at the same time, as a critical support for the present."[407]

The book on Quaroni that was published in 1964 was Tafuri's first book. A year later, in 1965, his second book, entitled as "L'architettura Moderna in Giaponnese" was issued. Three major themes were analyzed throughout the whole text: first and the main theme was the "design process and its methodology;" the second was "city as the process providing architecture with its meaning;" and the third was "architectural language as a means of architectural communication." In fact, the architectural world was familiar to all those themes, as Casabella had devoted its pages to prove the advanced significance of these themes for architecture since the late 50s. Tafuri's commitment to them, for Cuicci, "underlined the political and practical commitment to which architects were called, at the time, in Italy, while rereading Morris implied not only exposing the contradictions and weaknesses of his thinking—unlike the interpretations of Pevsner, Zevi or Benevolo—but

also, above all, confronting the relationship between ideology and architecture, directly entering the debate in progress on revision of the modern and the demise of rationalism."[408] The issue that was discussed at that time in the pages of Casabella was "the entire legacy of modern movement—no longer considered as a compact unit—and therefore, the timeless or obsolescence of the 'rationalist method'."[409] According to Cuicci, in his words:

> This led to the necessity, on the one hand, to rethink the "extremely composite character of the architecture of the last two centuries", and on the other to employ a new "methodology of intervention" based on a planning which would permit flexibility at lower levels, creating an "open architecture" as a special structure capable of accepting increased levels of freedom, within itself, than those possible in traditional architecture. The reference was not to the "opera aperta" of Umberto Eco, but rather to the open system of phenomenology, which encompassed and critically formulated, as problems, the closed systems of various specific spheres. [...][410]

Cuicci added, "Tafuri's contribution to the debate organized by Casabella also contained some explicit historical notations, which, in the years to follow, he further developed."[411] In fact, Tafuri's first interaction with Casabella group was due to a lecture series in *Instituto Universitario d'Architettura di Venezia* (IUAV), to which he was invited by Samonà in the academic year 1964 - 1965.[412] Among the contributors of the seminar, there were Canella, Cappa, Gregotti, Rossi, Semerani, Samonà, Scimemmi and Tafuri. Yet, Tafuri's contribution with the title "Le strutture del lingaggio nella storia dell architettura moderna", for Llorenz, was an inquiry "to fulfill the role of professional architectural historian within the common enterprise." With the text, he expounded the "symbolic form" in a certain historical period as a complex combination of that period's specific "control parameters," a concept with which he referred to the principles changing in time "within the creative process of design itself." Until that time, he had already finished his third book "L'architettura dell manerismo," which was issued in 1966. According to Llorenz, this book occupied a significant place among Tafuri's works, since his unique discussion on Hegelian subjects like "humanist ethics" and "rational scienticism" might have been taken as a sign of Tafuri's steady links with the "idealist Art History." Yet, for Llorenz, through this idealistic component, Tafuri connected history to design methodology, and, as claimed by Llorenz, "to test the operative potential of general historical concepts on the drawing board of the architect" evidently denominated Tafuri's principle tendency as a stable problematic even for his latter

studies. To illustrate, Llorenz spotlighted an approximate parallelism with Tafuri's final comments on the character of Brunelleschi's architecture with that of Rossi's contemporary work in terms of certain conceptions. He stated that, for Tafuri, the design methodologies of both Rossi and Brunelleschi were identical, whereas due to differing "control parameters" of two periods, 1400 and 1960, they showed variation. In Tafuri's two latter articles, entitled: *"Borromini e l'esperienza della storia,"* published in Communità in 1965, and "La poetica Borrominiana: mito, simbolo e regione" published in Palatino in 1966, for Llorenz, there was a continuation of various lessons from the past for the use of the architects of the present. Whereas, the two books Tafuri published in 1969 "*L'architettura dell'Umanesimo"* and "*Jacapo Sansavino e l'architettura del'500 a Venezia*" announced a completely reverse state of mind. In "*L'architettura dell'Umanesimo*," Tafuri described the "historical attitude" of Brunelleschi as "Pragmatic realism," a scrutiny that was surrendered by the "limits of architectural form." In "*Jacapo Sansavino e l'architettura del'500 a Venezia*," on the other hand, Sansavino's attitude was suspected by Tafuri as an upshot of the "rhetorical (ideological) demands of the Venetian State." Llorenz saw slight differences in these two "historical attitudes." Although these two postulations seemed to neglect the former thought that defended the parallelism between the design methodologies of architects living in different times and geographies, relying upon the controlling parameters of their era, the dialectic of design methodologies and history in a way, there were no big differences between the former and latter standpoints. For Llorenz, the same argument remained implicitly between the lines in two books, since as for him, those were the "echoes" of the ideas that recurred on and on in the pages of Casabella by Gregotti and Rossi during the late 50s throughout early 60s. His 1972 book, *Il metodo di progettazione del Borromini* was a product of this kind. For example, the well-known book *Teoria e storia dell'architettura* that Tafuri had written between 1968 and 1970 was woven around the same criterion that displayed a conflicting, in a way irrational, notice of acceptance. While it, on one side, declared history as a guide that helped the architect for a "programme," it, on the other side, attacked the ones who used historical analysis at the service of design. According to Llorenz, "*Teorie e Storia* should be approached as a palimpsest, a document where the successive and often contradictory discourses of a crisis are superimposed rather than fused."[413] This was a generalization of Llorenz for the crisis of the European culture and Marxist theory of the period.

Llorenz marked the year 1968 as a critical moment, a "crisis in European culture and Marxist thought," which in a way simultaneously portended the "end of a cycle of modernism" and the "victory of neo-avant-garde attitudes in every field of art." Architecture was among them. According to Llorenz, a transformation in Modernist thought to a "humanist modernist" state, and in Marxist thought into "humanist Marxist" emerged with the adherence of Italian intellectuals to left-wing parties after 1945. Due to changing conjecture, Tafuri's ideas had altered accordingly. As well as those, 1968 corresponded to Tafuri's assignment for the chair of History of Architecture in IUAV. The student movements, the changing political trends of Marxists in Italy were all a data of influence on Tafuri's later formation. To quote Llorenz, "the change in Tafuri's thought can be grasped between the first and the second edition of *Teorie e storia*." For example, the analogy that Tafuri had made between the "class critique of political economy and class critique of architecture" in the notes of the second edition, for Llorenz, was highly Marxist due to the "unique epistemological status" of the "critique of economy" that negated any transfer to any other level in Marxist thought. Tafurian analogy for the "class-critique of architecture," however, justified the possibility of transferring some concepts of architecture into the essentials of economic domain. Therefore, Llorenz presented the second edition as a mirror of Tafuri's raw intellectual approach that still lacked some details. The 1969 article *"Per una critica ideologica"* was a scrutiny to overcome those deficiencies, which was later expanded as a thin, yet ample book under the title *Progetto e Utopia* that still is admitted as "his major theoretical statement." The basic argument of the book for Llorenz was:

> The history of architectural ideas (of architecture as ideology) can be traced down to the development of economic rationality— the latter seen as the model of capitalist society. The relations between architectural ideology and capitalist rationality however do not follow a smooth linear path. Ideology projects and distorts the needs of economic development into the realm of illusion, and this creates a tension between the two levels that produces apparent contradictions, both between ideology and rationality and between alternative conceptions that seem to conflict with each other. Thus, there comes a point in time at which ideology (or certain ideological formations) becomes a hindrance rather than to help the development of bourgeois economy. According to Tafuri, this is also the case with architecture (he does not however indicate any particular period in which this formation took place; rather it seems that it is a sort of endemic threat inherent to the nature of architecture itself). The area, in which the ideological link between architecture and capitalist rationality is most open to analysis, lies in its dependence upon the city.[414]

The use of "*e* (and)" as a "conjunction-disjunction" in the title of *Progetto e Utopia* was, for Cuicci, telling the ongoing apprehension of certain conceptions as being autonomous items creating a tension. According to Cuicci, Argan had already treated this tension in his book *Progetto e Destino,* written in 1965. Tafuri's sentient use, however, for Cuicci, transformed this tense correlation by attributing "*e*" an "explosive critical meaning" to a level in which the two terms instigated to declare the "negative charge of the critique of ideology," rather than a "positive declaration of the crisis of ideology."[415] In fact, Llorenz also conceded the crisis in Marxist thought of that period as an influence that motivated the transformation of Tafuri's intellectual position after 1968. The tense atmosphere that influenced Tafuri's intellectual change, for Llorenz, was parallel to the changes in the horizons of some Western intellectuals, who tended to unify certain cultural conceptions, but lacked the necessary political connotations for developing certain methods of approach.

According to Louis Martin, Llorenz's text appeared as a perfect manual for an enhanced comprehension of Tafuri's *oeuvre*. Llorenz briefly analyzed Tafuri's argument in *Progetto e Utopia* as follows: Emphasizing that the work was a study, specifically on the "ideological link between architecture and capitalist rationality," Llorenz put emphasis on Tafuri's warning about the basic provision of an analysis on such a dichotomy. According to Tafuri, such act of analysis necessitated to develop the argument in relation with the city. Although the source of references behind such an assumption was vague, Llorenz correlated this provision with two major influences in Tafuri's development of thought: the "Weberian view of *the city as a structure,"* and "the Casabella positions," which regarded the 'city' as "both the prerequisite for the existence of the architecture and the ultimate scope of its striving form." So the "concept of the urban form" and its historical development seemed as Tafuri's primary object of research. Yet, for Llorenz, his basic object was conceived behind the path he executed for the analysis. The path, he preferred to analyze for the concept of urban form was that of avant-garde practice from Enlightenment to the contemporary period, but what was dissected was the "crises" behind their progress in time. The starting point was Enlightenment, due to Tafuri's belief, for it was the period that the "origins of the avant-garde thought" could have been traced back, and therefore its own potential to give the possible reasons behind the "degeneration of architecture into an ideological obstacle for the development of

economic rationality."[416] For Llorenz, these two major themes, "the seeds for avant-garde and its crises" and "the degeneration of architecture into an ideological obstacle," provided Tafuri the basis for his argument on the "analysis of architecture as ideology."[417] As the ideals of capitalist rationality and the ideals of architecture, in Llorenz's idea, failed to match on a pragmatic level ontologically, architecture could act neither as a mechanism stipulated by the capitalist hegemony, nor could propose a course of action for a new social order that repudiated the laws of capitalism. All were due to the impositions of the period, because the superstructures of society had already based their being on an "ideology" relatively installed upon "false-consciousness," and aggravated by capitalist rationality. Accordingly, Llorenz interpreted Tafuri's text as a philological study that showed the desperate degree of the 'dilemma' architecture as discipline was in due to the capitalist rationality.

Llorenz's depiction of the aura helped to understand in which context Tafuri spoke of "architecture's death," rather than its "*bildung*" as his colleagues did.[418] In its brief sense, whole argument on avant-garde thought, for Llorenz, merged into Tafuri's exposition of the demand to make a "class-critique of architecture" which necessitated, in Marxist sense, to "look at architecture as institution" by nature. If architecture was to be taken as an institution in Marxist terms, then Tafuri's aim, for Llorenz, in *Progetto e Utopia* and *Teorie e Storia* was to dwell on the "concepts and ideas" that make up architectural doctrines, or in other words the "theory of architecture." This had strict parallelism with some principles in Marxist thought. According to Marxists, neither institutions nor ideas with their "explicit content" had a binding force to determine and define certain social parameters. They, therefore, had to be, in Llorenz' words, "understood ultimately by the role they play in forming social reality," which in a way necessitated to analyze how they "functioned" in social reality.

According to Llorenz's interpretation, "the concept itself and the approach from which it derived still constituted the main focus of the argument." Tafuri regarded "concepts and ideas" as "institutions", or as phenomena that contributed to the "nature of institutions." Yet, the intellectual atmosphere of the period had influences on Tafuri's concern in *Progetto e Utopia* and *Teorie e Storia*. As Llorenz claimed, to define "institutions" or "ideas" among the "superstructural phenomena" was not so common for Marxist

tradition until the beginnings of the 1960s. Nevertheless, afterwards, as previously mentioned, to discover new "concepts" to enlarge them to the "metalanguage" of social phenomena became a prevalent tendency among European intellectuals. This tendency triggered the Marxist thinkers to develop new approaches to explore the hidden political meanings behind cultural phenomena. In this regard, Tafuri's work, for Llorenz, reflected those philosophic influences, especially was influenced from those of German social philosophers, like Tönnies, Sombart, Simmel, Scheler, the two Webers, Spengler, Mannheim and an analytical approach to merge those themes into architectural concepts. In his analysis of *Progetto e Utopia*, Llorenz noted Tafuri's intention to show "how the attitudes that were to evolve into the doctrines of the avant-garde related to the social character of the bourgeois city, which was in its turn, the privileged *locus* for the revelation of the spirit of capitalist rationality." He drew attention to two major themes from this complex intellectual body. The first was the "city," or in other words the "metropolis," as the "stage used by history to play the drama of the birth of the modern man." The second was the role of intellectual elites in "disclosing and facilitating the forces of history," which had direct relation with the identity of the "concept of avant-garde in artistic circles."

Tafuri's research after his IUAV experience had slightly rotated to the "rise and development of avant-garde architecture in Germany, together with the study of Russian avant-gardes" and this change, for Llorenz, became clearly visible at *Progetto e Utopia*, by the nuance of the additions made to the 1969 essay "*Per una ideologica.*" This article was Tafuri's first article published in the periodical, *Contropiano*. Although it was a newly issued periodical of the time, its influence on Tafuri's formation and the influence of Tafuri on the periodical's development were reciprocally remarkable. As well known, in 1968, Giuseppe Samonà, the director of IUAV at that time, asked Tafuri to come to Venice and to assume the professorship of History of Architecture at the *Instituto*. Until this time, Tafuri was studying the "phenomenological Marxism of the philosopher Galvano Della Volpe, and the writings of art historian Guilio Carlo Argan" in Rome University. He also developed design projects with a team of young Roman colleagues, focusing on a theme introduced earlier by Samonà: "new urban dimension;" subsequently, he wrote a book on "modern architecture in Japan."[419] Besides, he initiated his "major study of the Renaissance" during those years. In Venice, according to Joan Ockman, he

continued his research activity on those specific themes, Renaissance and modernism, with an aim to map the "ideological critique of architecture in the broadest possible historical context."[420] Once Benevolo departed IUAV and went back to Rome, Tafuri founded a department under the title "Institute for Historical Research," and gathered several accomplished figures of the time in its academic staff, such as Giorgio Ciucci, Francesco Dal Co, Mario Manieri-Elia, Marco de Michelis, and the philosopher Massimo Cacciari.[421]

According to Andrea Guerra and Cristiano Tessari's article in *Casabella* on Tafuri's teaching, from the very beginning of his Venice experience, he dedicated his intellectual activity to "the character and the very meaning of the 'craft' of the historian."[422] The focus of the program in the faculty during those years was mainly the Soviet architecture, including its avant-gardes, the concept of the city, urban planning, and American architecture, including "service industry structures, skyscrapers, the New Deal."[423] According to the authors, to identify historical problems, rather than any "phenomenological interpretations, often marked by dogmatic maximalisms" was typical of the period. To quote literarily: "In both his teaching and his research, Tafuri encouraged collaboration and dialogue among scholars, in order to provide his students with the opportunity to evaluate, through courses planned in relation to one another, the range of instruments necessary to deal with the complex issues in hand."[424] There, the agency of Massimo Cacciari and Francesco Dal Co acquainted Tafuri with the leftist studies of the periodical *Contropiano*, who were among the first editorial board of the periodical with Alberto Asor Rosa and Toni Negri. The first issue of the magazine was issued in July 1968 with a pretext dedicated to "Party as a problem," as announced in its second issue. Despite some divergence of the opinion in the editorial board, *Contropiano*, as claimed by Alberto Asor Rosa:

> … took on the violent and exhilarating overtones of the movement then underway, truly unique since days of liberation and resistance against fascism, and from that moment on, and for all the four years of its life (until 1971, when it was voluntarily suppressed by its founding members) it insisted on two fundamental lines of research: on one hand, the analysis of the questions to do with class struggle, both at an historical-theoretical level and at a contemporary-militant level, and on the other hand, the analysis of the ideal and cultural superstructures of mass capitalistic society (which in Marxian terms we called "critique of ideology").[425]

Those lines of research were familiar to Tafuri, thus beyond being familiar, they were what Tafuri had dedicated his complete intellectual activity on until that period. During this short period, with a full adoption of its definitive structure in principle, Tafuri made passionate contribution to the journal with several essays on both determined lines of research. Even years later, in the articles they wrote in *Casabella* for Tafuri's memorandum, the members of the editorial board mentioned their appreciation to Tafuri for his unique and in Asor Rosa's words, "precious participation to the editorial work and discussions."[426] The titles of Tafuri's essays did symbolize the focus of his research during this period in every respect. To rephrase each respectively: *"Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica"* (For a critique of architectural ideology, 1969: no1), *"Lavoro intellettuale e sviluppo capitalistic"* (Intellectual work and capitalist development, 1970: no 2), *"Socialdemocrazia e città nella Repubblica di Weimar"* (Social democracy and cities in Weimar Republic, 1971: no 1), *"Austromarxismo e città. 'Das rote Wien'"* (Austromarxism and cities. "Das rote Wien," 1971: no2). As well as those writings, the events Tafuri organized in the *Instituto* was a symbol of another emerging interest of Tafuri. The seminar series on Soviet architecture, which was later collected in the 1971 book of *Socialismo, città, Architettura, USSR 1917-1937*, was a worthy example of this type. For Asor Rosa, the contribution of Tafuri under the title "*Il socialismo realizzato e la crisi della avanguardie*" (Accomplished Socialism and the Crises of the Avant-Gardes) was in line with the arguments in *Contropiano*.

As Asor Rosa claimed, Tafuri's discourse was based on a single conviction: architectural activity, from Enlightenment to present, including modern architecture, was in Rosa's words, "accompanied by a constant production of ideology." And, the intellectual activity always had a clear intention: "to fill-in the gap which had opened between an *effective* functionalization of discipline with respect to the laws of capitalist production, and an *illusion* of permanence of autonomy and creativity at times also 'alternavistic'."[427]

This position, for Rosa, was clearly explicit in the opening paragraph of his 1969 "Per una critica dell'ideologia" essay and was "almost an explicit programmatic manifesto."[428] According to Asor Rosa, the text apparently showed that Tafuri's sources of reference were extremely wide-ranging, and his careful examination of them was almost "scientific." Almost every ascertainment in the thesis was due lucid rationales. His interpretation of Le Corbusier, for example, as the malefactor of Modern architecture's

"tragic destiny," specifically because of the Algiers' town-planning project was for Rosa due to its being the representation of "the most advanced hypothesis of contemporary bourgeois culture."[429] Asor Rosa explained the relation as follows: The ideology-free individuality of Le Corbusier as a designer compelled the "*total failure* of the project," for Tafuri, because the "utopia" presented by the project was far away from being practical and realistic to operate with the substantial mechanisms of economy. According to Rosa:

> Tafuri's position is very clear and could schematically be considered as a battle on two fronts.: first, against that architectural thinking which represents itself as an ideology and as an instrument of civil cohabitation, and thus becomes the secular arm of capitalism; second, against that architectural thinking which derives from certain aspects of urban proletariat organization (especially in Central Europe between the wars) and elaborates an "alternative ideology", this too submitted to the guidelines of capitalist development, in this second version necessarily misinterpreted and consequently misgoverned.[430]

To propose the significance of those years, and the collaborative studies for *Contropiano* in the formation of Tafuri's manifestations would not be an over interpretation. Yet, according to Llorenz's text, one can understand from the preface of the 1973 book *Progetto e Utopia* that the collaborative research in the *Instituto* contributed to Tafuri's work in several senses. As in the *Instituto*, the program was as well built upon the attempt to explain "the dialectics of avant-garde in the light of the development of capitalist rationality," all the studies transformed into a diagnosis that sought for the possible ways of developing an analytical account on "the 'negative' side of the avant-garde."

As well known, and as Tafuri mentioned, Massimo Cacciari was a significant contributor to Tafuri's research. According to Llorenz, with his essay "*Note sulla dialectica dell'negativo nell'epoca della metropoli,"* Cacciari developed the most clear approach on the problem. In the essay, Cacciari referred to several significant sociological and philosophical works, such as Simmel, Benjamin, Nietzsche, Lacan and Derrida. The nucleus of the whole essay, for Llorenz, was the "schema of negative thought." He analyzed Simmel's social theories on city or metropolis, and how he explained the "metropolitan way of life and that of bourgeois rationality," then he proposed: "The significance of his thought comes from his acceptance of the company of negative

principle."[431] In this sense, Cacciari based his "negative principle" on that of Simmel and nourished it by the theories of Benjamin and Nietzsche. Besides its being a good article in Llorenz's mind, he defined Cacciari's essay as "inconclusive" due to the irrational gap in the argument while referring to Lacan and Derrida, and added that:

> Cacciari seems to have set out to analyze the concept of metropolis as ideology — i.e. 'false consciousness'— and then, having found in its core the schema of 'negative thought', he concludes that there is no true alternative and therefore places his own search for truth under the aegis of that same schema. There is an element of self-contradiction here, which cannot but affect the conclusion drawn from the analysis. This is also, as we shall see, the central difficulty underlying Tafuri's analysis of architecture as ideology.[432]

Nevertheless, while the focus of Cacciari was the "genesis of negativity," the focus of Tafuri was the moment at which 'negativity' is 'positivised'," the moment of crises that gave rise to "utopias," which he sought for within the entire history of avant-garde tradition. According to Llorenz, Tafuri executed his analysis on a "general level," recalling certain works of reference, "from Simmel to Weber and Mannheim, from Dadaism and surrealism to constructivism and Russian formalism … from leftist communists of the early 20s to the social- democratic doctrines of planification," and from Lukacś and his humanist Marxism."[433]

The complete avant-garde attitude was covered with a convinction that they all entailed an essential component of 'negative thought.'[434] Then, he did not only analyze the moment of crises, but also the "manner" that positivised the negative thought to make their "historical judgment." In Tafuri's words: "Negative thought had a role to play as an ideological force at the service of capitalist rationality; namely that of getting rid of bourgeois culture."[435] It was regarded as an institution for "survival." In Llorenz's words, "And yes, the spirit of capitalist rationality may not be the ideology of capitalism, at least not in the ordinary Marxist sense of being related to the mode of production. It is the *spirit* of Plan (capital is Tafuri's) and its abodes are in Sovietic and capitalist grounds alike. Its logic, however, —as Tafuri unequivocally suggests in several passages—is that of the interests of intellectuals and artists as a 'class' struggling for its own survival."[436] This was an argument based upon the "value free scientific approach" of Max Weber to "social reality," which constructed for Llorenz the "first step towards such a 'utopian' 'construction of future'." It was characterized and enlarged by Mannheim's "rather

mystified version of the functioning and reality of utopia" that was "capable of breaking the confines of existing reality to leave it free, to develop itself in the direction of the successive order."[437]

Although Tafuri and Cacciari's object of studies varied, and although while Cacciari was analyzing the "dialectics of negativity," Tafuri was analyzing "the dialectics of utopia," the moment when the negativity was positivized, Llorenz claimed that *Progetto e Utopia* as a whole had the implications of Cacciari's "negative thought" that was revealed by its method of "inverting everything inside out."[438] As a result, Llorenz claimed that Tafuri's work might be regarded as, in his words, "a struggle to get rid of his position" and "*the* guide of a generation of Italian architects," which at the end, in its last chapter, recalled the "doom of architecture."[439] Yet, was this "doom" a prophecy anticipating the "death of architecture," its end in a sense, or something different? Tafuri complained that it had been misunderstood and misinterpreted by a majority, in Italian intellectual lobbies, and he was accused of being the wicked figure who desired the death of the discipline in a sense. He was, however, as claimed by Llorenz, only trying to figure out a "diagnosis" that was fed by the Marxist criticism of ideology, as to him, this was the only way that could provide to adjudicate the position of architecture and its future. Only this way, it could imply a judgment on "society," social development.[440]

3. 5 - WHAT IT MEANS TO BE CRITICAL

In Tafuri's book *History of Italian architecture*, Tafuri narrated how architecture and its education were in a crisis that necessitated settling new strategies for the period. To quote:

> The vague title of architect, especially after the events of the sixties, seemed an anachronism dear only to those afflicted by incurable nostalgia. Nor did the opening of graduate courses in urban planning … respond to an analysis of the concrete situation of the discipline. But while the latter was being dismembered and new sectors of intervention were being opened, the notion of town planning celebrated by those graduate courses fossilized a section of discipline that should have been the object of ruthless critical discussion. Meanwhile professional outlets remained compromised by the fact that the title of studio received little professional recognition. If one also considers that in the meantime the percentage of public building relative to private, passed from 25 percent in 1951 to 6 percent in 1968, …one can better understand the structure of the sector compared with the formal contortions of architects 'who designed in order not to think' and with the rebellious explosion of 1968.[441]

So what were the results of this explosion? How did it change the condition discipline was in afterwards? Tafuri answered these questions as follows:

> … that explosion in so far as the architecture schools and the cultural institutions connected to architecture were concerned, only resulted in superficial modifications, hasty reflections, and demagogic attitudes resolved in collective débâcles. The protests directed against the INU and Milan Triennale, not to mention the block of teaching activity, only revealed the fragility of those institutions and their functions.[442]

If the block of teaching activity had to be mentioned, as, I believe, it was equally important, Tafuri continued as:

> … the most disinterested analysis of the 'Marxism of the sixties,' of new waves of struggle in the worker's movement, of the new forms assumed by those struggles followed paths had nothing to do with the ruling demagogic programs in the architecture schools. Yet in the wake of 1968 and its palatable slogans, movements delineated in the preceding years took root and soon occupied the spaces left vacant by a culture that had become the object of more immediate protest. Once again there was an appeal to the avant-garde, this time for its desecrating power.[443]

Those paragraphs were of great significance, since Tafuri both situated himself and his contemporaries to certain bases. Significant figures, such as Ugo La Pietra, Ettore Sottsass, and groups such as Archizoom, Superstudio were categorized under the mere appeal that defined the thesis of "Radical Architecture." The novel approaches of radical architects reflected, on one side, the "destructive desires alive in Florence since the early 1960s," and on the other hand, reflashed the "anti-institutional goals, appealing to the 'negative' block of the recent avant-gardes."[444] According to Tafuri, their intention was "to haul a mythical proletariat on the stage of psychedelic action." For him, Archizoom and Superstudio's works were of that kind, materializing "the transformation of project into dream material transcribed with an irony 'that made nobody laugh'." This trend of negative block, for Tafuri, was founded on the "intellectual playfulness," created by those selective figures. As the achievements of this trend were the deductions of the same group from the readings of "new-left" reviews, such as *Quaderni Rossi, Classe operaia*, and *Contropiano*, the "ironic vein" that they inserted into the design, was a phenomenon, typical of the time. Therefore, the achievements of this "negative block, in Tafuri's words, or better to call "counterdesign positions," as Ambasz did, signified an Italian phenomenon, thus far the reputation of this Italian phenomenon in the United States was by an international event, that we know well. It was due to the 1972 MoMA exhibition, "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape."

To return to our major concentration, one can claim that by this exhibition, Ambasz transplanted an Italian phenomenon to the United States. This study assumes that by the "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape" exhibition, Ambasz strove for the disclosure of a meaning or a style for American architecture. Referring to this assumption, then, the succeeding prevision is not extravagant: the deliberate importation was mostly unveiled from the intellectual playfulness of the so-called negative block. Indeed, from the remarks of Ambasz, one might understand that his plan was to expose the proper technique, required for amending the denigrated view on mass production into a positive one. Alternatively, one might consider the exhibition as an industrial parade behind which laid an intensive study on large commercial companies, such as Olivetti, Poltronova, and others, or as the promotion of Italian industrial design on this side of the ocean. All might be genuine interpretations. Yet, what remained in the minds of American intellectuals was completely beyond those anticipations. It was rather a revolutionary stance. It was rather a political manifesto. It was rather a renewed ideology.

Actually, what Ambasz displayed was a set of design paradigms, prevalent in Italy. A paradigmatic totality founded on the dialectics of positive and negative manners toward the act of creation. He was competent enough to comprehend the tension between the opposite poles and to develop a crisis from this opposition. INDL became the scene of Ambasz's drama representing this crisis, as if an oxymoron that gave the sentence its literate character. Indeed, the major motive behind Ambasz's prioritization of the crisis in thought was, I believe, due to his intention to import a political action that would trigger the constants of design practice and theory in the United States. Here, reminding Tafurian definition of "historical project" as the "project of crisis," to define the character of Ambasz's INDL show, in an analogous vein, would not be superfluous. Due to this critical capacity of Ambasz's project, therefore, one does not hesitate to use it as the proper tool of a historical criticism, as this study conceived it, since the project itself was already anticipated in this sense.

Herein, it is important to state that Ambasz's project was a conscious performance. Because, he was completely aware of the potential polemics beneath the so-called notions, generating the crisis. He was aware of the ideological and political premises, enacted as their prior motivation. He was aware of the possibility to prompt a radical and revolutionary upheaval against the commands of consuming culture within disciplinary limitations. All could be understood from his writing instructions, submitted to the authors for the critical articles. He asked them to examine analytically the role of the formal and ideological attitudes in the structuralization of the Contemporary architectural theory and practice in Italy. Thus, he solicited to map the critical history of ideological developments in Modern and contemporary Italian design and to define the metamorphoses in the ideology of Italian design due to the aesthetic and socioeconomic pressures throughout the particular time-period.

In this context, in the first essay, Ruggero Cominotti analyzed Italian design practice in relation to social and economic planning. It scrutinized the role of design in the economic development of Italy, portraying its historical processes. Actually, Cominotti summarized the scope of the exhibition perfectly, and delineated his aim accordingly:

> Just as the present exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art seeks to spot a new trend and look to the future, rather than to evaluate past critically, so with respect to economy we should also look to the future and assess the challenges and possibilities that confront Italian planning and design, now that the great 'spontaneous boom' of the 1950's and early '60s has collapsed.[445]

As this sentence of Cominotti revealed the ambition of Ambasz, it was important to note. In this context, Cominotti concentrated on the economical planning of Italy, and raised the positive and negative consequences of the 1971-1975 plan into debate.

In the second essay, Italo Insolera focused on the housing policy and the objectives of design practice in Italy. He analyzed the production and consumption of domestic furniture in relation to housing and urban planning. Insolera, as mentioned before, was one of the assistants of Benevolo in Rome University. He mapped the functional changes in the planning of houses, starting from its dimensional requirements, extended to its formal appearance, due to new furniture of the capitalist market. Thus, he put the current design practice in Italy into an ideological vein that carried the elitist character of a quality market, and criticized this eliticism. This high culture, for Insolera, was the major reason of its appreciation by the United States, and its elitist intellectuals.

In the third essay, Guilio Carlo Argan analyzed the philosophical and symbolic developments in Italian design on an ideological level and sought to unveil the external and internal influences of certain philosophical notions, which had triggered notable transformations in modern Italian design.[446] Argan, as mentioned before, was one of the key influences on Tafuri's intellectual formation, and through his meticulous book, entitled *Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus,* published in 1951, he had triggered the revolutionary and Marxist stance in Italian architectural discourse of a period. Involved directly in politics, Argan was among strict communists and sincere propagators of Marxist philosophy. In his essay, Argan examined the hidden rationale behind the appreciation of the so-called "Italian style." According to Argan, it was due to the perpetuation of analogous ideological goals of mass production and the politics of Italy: In the 1960s, the reality of mass production had forced the industrial design activity to establish an international style. Simultaneously, the postwar reconstruction of the Italian society, with a desire to raise it from a provincial guise to the level of international life and culture, pushed the ideological constructs of design to establish a modernized and international style analogously. Actually, this meant that Italy infiltrated the

modernization project, more than any other European countries, including Germany and France, thus assimilated it as its “style,” representing the new face of their national identity. In this context, Argan analyzed the influence of ideological and political motifs on the formation of Italian design theory and practice historically, starting from the years of high modernism until contemporary years.

The fourth essay, written by Alessandro Mendini, was also a historical study, manifested upon similar political guises. In his essay, Mendini developed two definitions of design; one was formal, whereas the other was rather political. In the formal one, he defined design as a conscious “process” of man to create symbolic and functional environment. However, in the political one, design was defined as a “conflict,” triggered by certain political groups’ drama for domination, shaped by the ideological demands of a capitalist world. Signifying the second one as the main impact on the formation of present environments, Mendini analyzed the manipulations in the thought and practice of design due to so-called ideological demands, and mapped the problems of designers in this light. Mendini, as mentioned before, acted as the editor of the periodical *Casabella* between 1965 and 1970 and was an advocate of leftist sway. He was concerned about the narrow confines of national boundaries, and believed in the necessity to overcome them by operating strict control mechanisms for egalitarian privileges in terms of material, prices, and quality.[447]

The fifth essay on “Radical Architecture,” written by Germano Celant, was rather a manifesto on contemporary design practice, focusing, thus propagating the counter culture positions of radical designers. Celant, just like Ambasz, was acting as a curator at the Experimental Museum of Contemporary Art in Turin. He was rather critical of the art and architectural practices in the last decade, mentioning that the idea of giving design a new ideological and operational dimension had failed to go beyond a superficial level. Blaming the so-called Italian style for its being the self-justification of a “moralistic, reformist, and middle-class” ideology, Celant proposed a more radical act that materialized the idea of crisis into the concept of artwork. Celant, in his 1969 book, entitled *Art Povera,* had criticized a comprehension of design activity focusing only the final product as the symbol of a status. There, he united a group of artists, who were against the “present order of art” and represented their works, that he called “poor art,” with photographs and written documents, in fact represented their attempts to “flank

(both life and art) as accomplices" of behavioral changes in their existential evolution.[448] There, he refused to make any interpretation on the works, since he thought that it was superfluous. His work was a thesis against modernism, and its centering of the final product, irrespective of any contextual or conceptual feedbacks from daily life. An analogous rebellion against the present order of architecture, propagating anti-modernism, was the main thesis of Celant's article, analyzing the formal and ideological attitudes behind Contemporary Italian art and architecture. Moreover, for Celant, the counterdesign positions of Archizoom and Superstudio, for example, had asserted similar aims regarding conceptual and behavioral previsions, in their "radical and reactionary" architecture.

The seventh and last essay, written by Filiberto Menna, identically, was an analytical study on the aesthetic and political achievements of the counterdesign groups. Menna, as mentioned before, was an academician, who studied the relation of architecture and its related fields with society. In his essay "A design for new behaviors," he elucidated his purpose under two major items. The first one was to identify the crisis, mentioned by the previous articles on consumption culture, and the ideological shifts in certain sectors of design as its consequence. The second one was to discuss both the theoretical and the operative criticism in architecture, which he saw as the critical pose of any modernized society, operating within the prearranged limits of capitalism.[449] For him, the experimental searches in other aesthetic fields, such as autonomous works of art, body art, and conceptual artworks, triggered certain shifts in design paradigm.

The author of the sixth essay was Manfredo Tafuri. In need of providing a frame of reference for the objects and environments presented at the exhibition, Ambasz asked Tafuri to figure out "the metamorphoses in the ideology of Italian design that have resulted from aesthetic and socioeconomic pressures."[450] He defined the overall postwar Italian tendency as "surreal," and addressed the eccentric interior designs of Franco Albini and BBPR between 1936 and 1940 as the origins of this surrealism. Albini's controlled functional distortions in Man's Room at the sixth Milan Triennale of 1936, Living room in a villa at seventh Milan Triennale of 1940, and BBPR's pavilion at Paris Exposition of 1937 were the unique examples of Tafuri that illustrated the liberated attempts of a time, drifting the object into an "autonomous" realm that Tafuri defined as dangerous. Although the principal objective was to escape from the political pressures

that directed the design activity for that time, Tafuri defined them as malfunctioned attempts for the "revolt of the object" due to an unexpected consequence: They alienated the object from its context, and forced it to become an introverted entity. Tafuri's point was accurate; Italy was familiar to such kind of "unrealistic alienation of design," thus Italian design from the mid-1930s onward had repeatedly experienced similar attempts to transform, in Tafuri's words, "the conditions caused by the backward system of production into an ideology."[451]

Tafuri's main problem definition was the so-called derivation of "ideologies." For Tafuri, beneath all, there lay a sense of "nostalgia." For the first postwar years, the reconsideration of the high modernist mythologies had been adopted as the operative research method in design, not only in Italy, but elsewhere, and its culminations, for Tafuri, were signified as the main custody of the ambiguous, thus paradoxical condition of Italian contemporary design in the 1950s, corresponding to the years of reconstruction.[452] The cause of the crisis in the early 1950s was socio-economical: "Finding no support for a policy oriented toward the concept of the house as a product for mass consumption, Italian industry logically turned to a market that required no fundamental technological innovations, and that corresponded in a very positive way to the traditional values inherent in the 'quality object' produced by craftsmen."[453] The outcome of the crisis, on the other hand, was rather exclusive, identified with "consumer elite": a rupture from design for home to industrial design. This was a "decisive break" for Tafuri, the moment that the Italian capital decided its adaptive strategy: "to make of its qualitative contribution to industrial production, a privileged field for mass education."[454] All, for Tafuri, identified the condition that yielded the backwardness towards the 1930s and 1940s' prevailing tendency of research into form. Moreover, he claimed:

> Given an industrial program that allows a considerable margin for 'quality' production, the solution of Italian design was to accept these backward conditions and attempt to overcome them by a magical sublimation. Thus the goal come to make the object 'eloquent' and frequently to have it reveal the level of craftsmanship that produced it.[455]

Tafuri defined those tendencies of Italian design as the result of the mere reconciliation between a cherished historicism and the disfavored avowals of the devotion to the "orthodox-heterodoxy of the modern movement." And, he raised the "pseudo-movement,

wrongly called 'neo-liberty'" as a reaction of some Milanese and Turinese architects to the "nostalgic flirtations" of the former. Rooted in the development of the modern Italian architecture, which Tafuri denoted as "ambiguous," the new generation in the North introduced several themes, such as "play and magic," the "mystique of eloquence," and the "ambiguity of the object." The introduction of the thematic point of view to design activity for Tafuri was one of the main motives that enabled alternative declarations on object design from the late 50s until early 60s. In addition, he stated that:

> For Vittorio Gregotti, the problem was to introduce into design, 'the uncertainty of shadow rather than the brilliance of light … Who, while seated in one of my chairs, could ever weep? To make an interior design as possible as to paint a picture to decorate a room — impossible at least for an honest person to do so without a sense of shame'. Guido Canella called for 'absolute openmindedness' as the psychological attitude most capable of 'provoking the recreation of existing images, as illusions that enable one to penetrate beyond reality, or the degradation of stylistic schemes so that they can be adapted to contemporary life. That is to say, the *dolce vita*, or the *Adelchi* performed in a circus'. Highly significant is this identification of the suspension of judgment called for here (we should not forget the manner in which the phenomenological 'vogue' infiltrated Italian culture during the 1950s) with the intention of immersing oneself in the dense complexities of reality through a planned program of an ambiguously desecrating nature. What neither Italian nor foreign critics have grasped in the phenomenon of 'neo-liberty' is just this process of a contemporary rediscovery and ridiculing of 'values'.[456]

Tafuri signified *Osservatore delle arti industriali*, held at Milan in 1960 as the illustrative event of this thematic-originated phenomenon. Regarding the works as "a sadistic evocation of emblematic forms," which were indications of "the subjective eruption of deeply rooted Oedipus complexes regarding the tradition of modern movement," Tafuri delineated them as the signal of the crisis that they currently experienced. Registering the works of significant figures, such as Gae Aulenti, Guido Canella, Roberto Gabetti and Aldo Rossi, as typifying endeavors, connoting a rupture within the realities of the design practice, he accused them of being subjective satisfactions, rather than being fertile proposals for design's development. From his denomination of the culminations of such venture as "scandal," one can understand how critical Tafuri was of those so-called historicist activities: "that equivocal historicism, laden with nostalgia and prone to equate autobiographical confession with the opening of a road to salvation from alienation…is indicative of a crisis within the discipline, concealed precisely by the desperate course of taking refuge in the limbo of individual

reactions."[457] In this context, Tafuri claimed the individual works of the young generation as a "retrogressive" departure from the canons of Modern movement, which signified a refusal to its illusionary prospects, contradicting the reality, by subjecting themselves as the actors of the drama, demonstrating its opposite that enabled an alternative, or better to call outward look to the very issue. Or, they took the role of a spectator who reconsidered the whole process with irony. For Tafuri, those activities that stood out with the irony inserted into "historical revivals" or "vague allusions" found place only in the industrial production, espousing a backward system of artisanry; thus, due to them, the capital was directed to industry, and due to them, its economical policies were determined. For Tafuri, this was the indication of design's decisive role in the creation of a sector's ideology. And, referring to the announcement of Guilio Carlo Argan, in the Golden Compass awards, held at Rinascente Center in Milan 1960, he objected the mere concentration on the "peripheral and superficial themes." The phrase was that of Argan, and by this phrase, he referred to the accelerating meditation on product design or interior decoration, rather than a concentration on the "major methodological problems," regarding the building trade and its industrialization. This shift in meditation, highlighted by Argan, was the major custody of the crisis for Tafuri that forced design activity to lack "a wider context of social aims."[458] Furthermore, the influence of linguistic studies, such as semiology and structuralism, had a decisive role, for Tafuri, in this catastrophic situation:

> Analytical studies on the theory of communication, meanwhile, avoided complete elucidation of the indissoluble links between technological aesthetics, the theory of symbols, and the capitalistic theory of development, to take on the role of an ideology of compensation. Analyses of the relations between communications and consumption, between the theory of technological innovation and the theory of linguistic innovation, almost always contain a suggestion that, given the premises, is wholly gratuitous. As an extensive information system directly involved with the world of advertising, design stands out as one type of activity in which indeterminate efforts at semantic restructuring could successfully regain for the discipline itself a 'social,' 'humane,' and even revolutionary role, to counteract 'distortions in consumption.'[459]

The impact of linguistic theories in design field was an irrefutable fact. Yet, Tafuri was critical of such endeavors. Despite the difficulty to delineate the degree of its impact on Italian design particularly, Tafuri was sure that it was a "convenient alibi" for contemporary designers, due to its facilitation of certain objectives, like the object's

“resemanticization,” and the “recovery of its myths.” Thus, the terminology that he preferred for defining the final condition of such object creations, was the indicator of how he regarded the postmodern establishment: “surreal,” “the field of willfully unresolved formal ambiguities,” and the “gratuitous.”[460] Besides those objects, adopting linguistic theories, Tafuri proposed that the revivalist approaches of “radical” design, as in the ironic works of Gregotti, Sottsass, Aulenti and Canella, had aggravated a “historical paradox” in Italy. While the condition in object design was so delimited, the environmental planning as a field, or in Tafuri’s words, “the composition of architectural microcosms,” offered a more fertile sphere to “neo-avant-gardes” for a “subjective liberation,” rooted in a more peaceful relationship between man and his objects. “Liberation” was a binding keyword for Tafuri’s correlation of contemporary design with Surrealism “or” Pop. For him, the same theme was also in the ethics of Surrealism “or” Pop, which naturally certified the direction of current design practice towards surreal. Nevertheless, they were of another for Tafuri, as “foreign experiments,” as unique indications of imported paradigms.

Tafuri saw the international success of Italian design as the result of the important shift of “ideological responsibility” from urban planning to small-scale after the 1960s. As already mentioned, the political pressures on designers by planning policies had yielded to direct the concentration to more uncontrolled fields. Tafuri was rather critical of this condition. He stated, “the more design is used to redeem, a posteriori, urban or building systems dominated by production methods that are completely out of phase with the present stage of the development of capital in Italy, the more its theorists tend to regard as permanent what is obviously a transient state of affairs. Or rather, they tend to distort the situation and see in it a crisis within the production of objects.”[461] And, continued:

> Thus, unconsciously, they reject the only prospect that could restore a context to design and give it a basis rooted in reality, and the material conditions of production, but which would at the same time require them to restrain every desire to make design itself the new horizon of a mankind freed from its own contradictions.[462]

All led, on one side, to the reformation of the production system, on the other side, to the integration with the economic cycle. Those were desired outcomes, but created “cloudy ideologies.” Yet, while it, on the one hand, provided the suitable platform for the survival of avant-garde ethics, it on the other hand confined the artistic practice in a total

abstraction. The majority of exhibited objects and environments were illustrations of this standpoint. The counter approaches, such as those of Enzo Mari and Archizoom, for Tafuri, sought for dissociation from this industrial system. The "reconciliation" of technology and aesthetics was the main objective of such activities, which Tafuri called as "neo-objective." Enzo Mari was a perfect example for him, that indicated, in his words, "urgent necessity of wiping out every *mémoire involontaire*, every semantic residue."[463] And continued, "To present the 'sign as sign,' estranged from its physical context, and with all its coordinates referring solely to the all encompassing horizon of technological universe, means…a direct adherence to the theory of communications, coincided with what Max Bense has defined as the tension between the 'form-product' and the horizon of 'technological determinism'."[464] For Tafuri, Mari's ideas were on a similar level with Joe Colombo or the theories of Tomas Maldonado. However, Tafuri's proposal was different:

> Rather, a systematic control of the links between production and information, with an entire program for reintegrating communications and technology, could operate as the surest means of incorporating the domestic environment within the urban landscape. The most important consequence of the discovery of the extent to which communications can be controlled lies precisely in the production of forms contained within the world of self-regulating systems. By leading experimentation in form and its uses back into the sphere of a process of collecting multiple information, design has found a suitable, independent field for development, closely intertwined with those of 'repatriation' of subjectivity in that realm of artificiality par excellence, city.[465]

In this paragraph, for Tafuri, there concealed the meaning of the "anguished and protesting literature of 'radical' designers." For Tafuri, the "institutional crisis of design" was "only a pretext." The Radical designers realized certain facts. For example, they realized that the time had come for taking the control on large scales, such as urban planning, thus that the role of being a planner was analogous to that of an "ideologist," a term by which he referred directly to the historical avant-garde, and their accomplishment in translating a utopia into reality.

All meant that the essentials of avant-garde sensibility were directed to the thorough consideration of the city and its dynamics. The query of Tafuri was whether the two standpoints, the theses of Radical architecture, and the ones around "resemanticization of the object," were conflicting in nature, or not. Albeit they proposed contradicting pretexts

in regard to design practice, they both rooted in 1930s practices, therefore conveyed historical references. Referring to this peculiarity, Tafuri claimed, “the avant-garde tendencies for Italian design have chosen for themselves the field of an ongoing and planned ‘semantic distortion’,” with an aim to “lament, in a moralistic way, the present mechanisms for inflating the consumption of consumer goods by the process of ‘styling’.”[466] Herein, could one state that, irrespective of alternative pretexts, Tafuri categorized the overall practice as stylish? If we remember the major proposal of the study, that Ambasz’s aim was to import a style, did not this claim of Tafuri prove Italian designs’ proper alibi for this purpose? Obviously, yes. However, Tafuri totally disagreed with such stylish strategies, but also regarded the “intellectual anticonsumer utopias” of radical designers as abortive attempts, which, in his terms, tended to modify the production system, but instead, “redressed” its “conflicts.” It was in this context that Tafuri raised his following claim: “[T]hat is why every judgment of contemporary design—and of Italian design in particular—should disregard the self-justifications of the designers, in order to explore without prejudice beyond that ambiguous incline over which glide their allusive metaphors, as full of ill-concealed autobiographical references as of an uncontrollable sense of guilt.”[467] Comparing the recent works of Gae Aulenti, Sottsass and Archizoom, with the “shock therapy” of Albini, Zanuso and BBPR’s works, he categorized the most contemporary practices as experimental studies, representing either the “utopian” phases of “Pop environment,” or the allusions of “minimal art,” or some other style, but mostly evoking the sway of “communication,” which was, for Tafuri, “filled with a desire for deconstruction.”[468] Tafuri related the latter one to the “technique of the ambiguous image,” provoked by Aulenti and Gregotti, thus the allusionary objects of Archizoom and Sottsass those Tafuri defined as allusions to a “veritable utopia of liberation, attained through a succession of shocks to perception.”[469] For Tafuri, the sources of reference were clear:

> Marcuse + Fourier + Dada: the designer absorbs all the ingredients for a systematic reconnoitering of techniques whereby the spectator can be reconciled with the future—since the present is condemned. Utopian space, often constructed without any irony whatsoever, leads directly back to the urban environment, sublimating its chaos, its multiplicity of dimensions, the constant mutability of its structures. These new *Merzbauten* offer the promise of a non-work continuum, guaranteed by the most guaranteed by the most advanced form of technology, and consequently, by the world of development.[470]

Influenced by the Frankfurt School, Dadaist practices, the major desire of those designers, for Tafuri, was to operate structural changes in productive sector, in the "institutions" of design, and "to dispel the prevailing ideological mists." All were with a minor intention to entail new activity realms for designers, exceeding beyond traditions, by assigning a leading role for designer in the production cycle, a role to develop strict control mechanisms for its planning and control by new techniques. This was a demand for the shift in job description, from being an employee, to a status that decided the prevailing ideology, a shift in designer's role which Italian industry totally disagreed. The industry, on the contrary, computerized their managerial system; Olivetti was an illustration of those big computerized companies, which entailed the introduction of numeric control. The criticism was against the emphasis that overestimated quality, but underestimated quantity. This was related to object production, but the building industry was in a similar condition for Tafuri. With the participation of economic experts in the cycle of building trade, the structure of it naturally transformed. This condition and its consequences, for Tafuri, might cause significant problems.

In other words, for Tafuri, the object was consciously isolated. This claim was covering both its form and production. The building program, which necessitated the design of house as a consumer good, unified the activities of design and building, which up to that time seemed as totally distant ventures. He stated, "[o]bviously, this will not necessarily lead to the realization of the urban utopias propounded at the highest ideological levels of modern movement. But it is equally obvious that the difficult process of capitalist restructuring now underway, obliged to disentangle a sector bogged down in backward systems as building has been, cannot fail to have irreversible consequences in the field of 'design' as well."[471] Tafuri continued his Marxist reading as follows:

> Design planned as a product for mass consumption and united with the processes of renewal in the building trade — that is the prospect opening up before us today, a prospect to which Italian industry, in particular, seems called upon to respond in a concrete way. To go any further in predictions would be to enter upon the slippery terrain of ideology. It is certain, nevertheless, that this is the road that this is the branch of capitalistic development must inevitably take, and that these are the new systems which architects and designers will soon have to take into account.[472]

All indicated that neither solitary design approaches, nor revolutionary counterdesign positions, were developing an appropriate solution for the big picture, in regard to capitalistic restructuring of institutions, related to design for Tafuri. Thus, liberation from the terrain of ideology was not succeeded yet. Having portrayed such a pessimistic picture, he concluded his words with positive connotations, at first seeming as optimist expansions, but in fact ironically filled with harsh criticisms against his contemporary colleagues:

> This does not mean that there will still not be a wide margin for the production of objects and environments that will allow designers bent on 'saving their souls' to carry out their solitary rites of exorcism undisturbed. The nostalgic longing for magic, for the golden age of bourgeois mystique, still continues to be cherished, even at the most highly developed levels of capitalist integration, as a typical method of compensation. And this will be the case, as long as the magicians transformed into acrobats (as Le Corbusier himself finally realized), agree to the ultimate transformation of themselves into clowns, completely absorbed in their 'artful game' of tightrope-walking.[473]

The end of Tafuri's article was stimulating, thus highly provocative for the time being. It subverted all the common beliefs. As previously mentioned, this was, referring to Martin, Tafuri's first text, published in English. And, with its provocative tone, that underestimated all so-called creative, thus revolutionary endeavors, had marked a beginning for a new era, in which "ideology" in Marxist sense was denounced as the political agenda that shaped all design activity. Extending the major aim of Ambasz, which was to derive out a revolutionary style from the overall Italian design practices, Tafuri's critical look towards the clowning of his contemporaries, his condemnation of ideological powers, institutions, and his Marxist polemics certainly attracted the notice of American intellectuals, tending to sanctify themselves as the new avant-gardes of the period.

Notes

[1] Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di). p. 11.
[2] Ibid., p. 11.
[3] INDL: Press Release Drafts, p. 1. Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[4] Emilio Ambasz, 1972, "Preface," in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di). p. 11.
[5] INDL: Press Release Drafts, pp. 1-2. Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[6] May 1, 1972 dated letter of Emilio Ambasz to Professor Raquel Funes from Mendoza, Argentina. Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[7] Until her retirement in 1972, she worked for MoMA and wrote numerous books. However, she was best known by her book, entitled as "An Invitation to See," which is still regarded as a guide to the works of MoMA.
[8] INDL: Press Release Drafts, Department of Architecture and Design Files 1004, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY: PI II.A.548
[9] Emilio Ambasz, 1972, "Introduction," in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di). p. 21.
[10] Ibid. p.21
[11] INDL: Press Release Drafts, Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[12] The critical history, which would be written by Guilio Carlo Argan, shifted to the section of critical essays. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco wrote the Futurismo part instead of Calvesi. The articles of Italo Insolera and Alessandro Mendini were included to the critical section and the essay, which was planned to be submitted by Adalberto Dal Lago, was excluded.
[13] Emilio Ambasz, 1972, "Preface," in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di). p. 21
[14] Ibid., p. 21.
[15] Ibid., p. 285.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Moreover, the correspondence with the writers of specific periods enclosed of "a portion of the Design program given to the designers of the Environments to be shown in the Exhibition (Part1)," with a letter of agreement from the Museum and the publication schedule. The design program is to make understand Museum's point of view on the particular issue and could be considered as their contextual approach on "certain themes of design attitudes."INDL : Authors, June 15, 1971 dated letter of Ambasz to Guilio Carlo Argan; Department of Architecture and Design Files 1004, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY: PI II.A.548.
[18] Emilio Ambasz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, p. 285.
[19] Ibid., p. 285.
[20] Ibid., p. 285.
[21] Ibid., p. 343.
[22] Ibid., p. 343.
[23] Ibid., p. 343.
[24] Ibid., p. 345.
[25] INDL: Cominotti, September 28, 1971 dated letter of MoMA to Ruggero Cominotti; Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[26] Emilio Ambasz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, p. 343.
[27] Ibid., p. 352.
[28] INDL: Insolera, October 19 1971 dated letter of MoMA to Italo Insolera; Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[29]Emilio Ambasz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, p. 343.
[30] Ibid., p. 358.
[31] Ibid., p. 343.
[32] Ibid., p. 370.
[33] Ibid., p. 343.
[34] Ibid., p. 380.
[35] INDL: Celant, June 18, 1971 dated letter of MoMA to Germano Celant; Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[36] Emilio Ambasz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, p. 343.
[37] Ibid., p. 405.
[38] INDL: Authors, June 18 1971 dated letter of MoMA Filiberto Menna; Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[39] Emilio Ambasz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, p. 343.
[40] The Department of History of Architecture (dSa) of IUAV University of Venice was founded in 1982 by Manfredo Tafuri. Paolo Morachiello was Director of DSA from 1988-1993 and was succeeded by Ennio Concina in 1993-1994. From 1994 the Director has been Francesco Dal Co. Originally housed in the traditional home of IUAV in the Convent of the Tolentini, DSA was transferred to its new location in the Palazzo Badoer in 1982. The definitive restoration of the palace meets the needs of the Department, its library, the slides library, and of the L.A.M.A. (Laboratory for the analysis of ancient materials). The information is retrieved from the URL page,

http://www.iuav.it/Ricerca1/Dipartimen/dSa/english-ve1/index.htm at 15.04.2004, 14:11.
[41] The information is retrieved from the URL page, http://www.iuav.it/Ricerca1/Dipartimen/dSa/english-ve1/index.htm at 15.04.2004, 14:11.
[42] Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di). p. 388.
[43] INDL: Tafuri, June 18, 1971 dated letter of MoMA to Manfredo Tafuri; Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[44] Emilio Ambasz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, p. 343.
[45] Louis Martin, 2002, *The search for a new theory in architecture: The Anglo-American Debates*, 1957-1976, Unpublished Thesis, Princeton. p. 771.
[46.] Emilio Ambasz, Script for the documentary of the exhibition, p. 4. INDL Book: Press Release, Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[47] Ibid., p. 4.
[48] Ibid., p. 4.
[49] Ibid., p. 4.
[50] Emilio Ambasz, 1972, "Introduction," in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di). p. 19: The chairs and armchairs of Cesare Leonardi and Franca Stagi, Tobia and Afra Scarpa, Rodolfo Bonetto, Cini Boeri, Joe Colombo, Mario Bellini, Group G 14, Alberto Roselli, Vico Magistretti, Giancarlo Piretti, Gaetano Pesce, Marco Zanuso, Silvia Coppola, Gae Aulenti, Richard Sapper, Giorgio Decurso, Jonathan De Pas, Paolo Lomazzi, Donato d'Urbino, Silvio Coppola, Angelo Jacober, Pirengela d'Aniello, Sergio Mazza and Guiliana Graminga; the tables and desks of Joe Colombo, Angelo Mangiarotti, Anna Castelli, Ignazio Gardella, Giotto Stoppino, Mario Bellini, Sergio Asti, Rudolfo Bonetto, Ettore Sottsass, Jr., Giancarlo Piretti; storage units, shelves, bookshelves of Anna Castelli Ferrieri, Franco Cantelan, Joe Colombo, Enzo Mari, Ugo La Pietra, lighting fixtures of Giancarlo Mattioli, Sergio Asti, Giampiero and Giovanni Basti, Eleonore Peduzzi Riva Vico Magistretti, Achille and Pier Giacomo Castiglioni, the vases of Enzo Mari, Sergio Asti, the dishes and ashtrays of Eleonore Peduzzi-Riva, Roberto Arioli, Angelo Mangioritti, Ennio Luccini, Giorgio Soavi, Enzo Mari,Studio TG, Studio OPI, the kitchen flatware of Massimo Vignelli, Enzo Mari and Guiliana Gramigna, Roberto Mango, Roberto Sambonet, Studio OPI, the valentine typewriter of Enzo Mari, the Grillo telephone of Marco Zanusso and Richard Sapper, the timers and clocks by Rodolfo Bonetto, Gino Valle, Pio Manzu, the radio and record players by Mario Bellini, Marco Zanuso and Richard Sapper, the television sets of Marco Zanuso and Richard Sapper, Hi-Fi set and the speakers of Mario and Dario Bellini was among the objects on display representing the previously mentioned designers having a conformist attitude.
[51] Emilio Ambasz, Script for the documentary of the exhibition, p. 4. INDL Book: Press Release, Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[52] Ibid., P. 4.
[53] Ibid., p. 5.
[54] Ibid., p. 5.
[55] Ibid., p. 5.
[56] The "Golem Chair" of Vico Magistretti (1969), the "Cholette Chair" (1968) and the "Démodé Vase" (1969) of Sergio Asti, "*Pipistrello*: Adjustable Lamp" (1965) of Gae Aulenti were the illustrations of previously mentioned concern.
[57] Archizoom's three products, entitled "*Superonda*: convertible sofa bed" (1966), "Safari: two part composite sofa" (1968), and the miniature models of the "Beds" that were never produced were signified as the illustrations of this conception.
[58] Ambasz defined them as kitsch objects. The gigantic boxing glove shaped "Joe sofa" (1970) designed by Paolo Lomazzi, Donato D'Urbino, and Jonathan De Pas, the a huge pill shaped "Pillola: Lamp" (1968) by Cesare Casati and Emanuele Ponzio, and the "Moloch Floor Lamp" (1970/71) by Gaetano Pesce were the illustrations of enlarged-scale objects of daily-life use. Emilio Ambasz, 1972, "Introduction," in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di). p. 20.
[59] Pierro Gilardi's set of rock shaped seats "I Sassi" (1967), Giuseppe Raimondi's cirrus shaped triple mirror "Cirro" (1970), Marcello Pietrantoni and Roberto Lucci's cloud-like ceiling lamp "Nuvola" (1966), Gina Marotta's "Dalia: wall or ceiling lamp" (1968), Superstudio's passion flower-shaped floor lamp "Passiflora" (1968), Archizoom's "Sanremo Floor Lamp" (1968), and Gruppo Strum's "Pratone: Big Meadow" (1970) were the products of such a conception.
[60] Ibid., p.20.
[61] Emilio Ambasz, Script for the documentary of the exhibition, p. 4. INDL Book: Press Release, Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[62] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[63] Ibid., p. 7.
[64] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[65] The objects displayed in the third section which were "selected for their implications of more flexible patterns of use and arrangement" might be considered as unique indications of such a environmental conception, compromising flexibility for multiple usage. Some objects that represents this title was as follows: Internotredici's All-in-one single block unit bed (1971), Alberto Seassaro's Central Block containing bed table wardrobe, toilet and shelves (1969), Bruno Munari's "Cockpit" habitable structure (1971), Giancarlo and Luigi Bicocchi and Roberto Monsani's component wall and ceiling system with kitchen, convertible bed, cupboard bookshelves, ceiling unit with lighting and loud speaker (1971), Luigi Massoni's (Studio BMP) A1 component wall system, wardrobe (1970), Angelo Mangiarotti's Cube 8 component wall system with closets doors, shelves, drawers, bed, folding desk and bar (1966), Alberto Salvati and Ambrogio Tresoldi's "Little table- Bed" (1969), and "Wardrobe bed" (1967), and so on.
[66] Vittorio Gregotti, 1968, *New Directions in Italian Architecture*, (New York: George Braziller). p. 9.
[67] Manfredo Tafuri, and Francesco Dal Co, 1976, "Nationalistic and Totalitarian Architecture in Italy and Germany," *Modern Architecture/2* (Milan: Electa Editrice), p. 256.
[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.
[70] Gregotti, 1968, p. 9.
[71] Ibid., p.10.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., p.13.
[74] Alan Colquhoun, 2002, "From Rationalism to Revisionalism: Architecture in Italy, 1920-1965," *Modern Architecture*, (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 183.
[75] Tafuri and Dal Co, 1976, p. 256.
[76] Colquhoun, 2002, *Modern Architecture*, p. 184.
[77] Tafuri and Dal Co, 1976, p. 256.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid., p. 258.
[80] Doordan, p. 63.
[81] Ibid., p. 258.
[82] Tafuri and Dal Co, 1976, p. 258; and Colquhoun, p.184.
[83] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p.184.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Gregotti, 1968, p. 16.
[87] Ibid., p.16.
[88] Tafuri and Dal Co, 1976, p. 261.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Gregotti, 1968, p. 17.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Tafuri and Dal Co, 1976, p. 261.
[94] Ibid., p. 259.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid., pp. 259-261.
[97] Gregotti, 1968, p. 17.
[98] Ibid., p. 26.
[99] Ibid., p. 31.
[100] Tafuri and Dal Co, 1976, p. 264.
[101] Gregotti, p. 31.
[102] Ibid., p. 31.
[103] Ibid., p. 33.
[104] Ibid., p. 36.
[105] Colquhoun, p. 185.
[106] Ibid., p. 186.
[107] Gregotti, p. 38.
[108] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p. 186.
[109] Gregotti, p. 38.
[110] Ibid., p.43.
[111] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p. 186.
[112] Gregotti, p. 43.
[113] It is a quotation of Gregotti from the declarations of A.P.A.O. See ibid., p.43.
[114] Gregotti, p. 47.
[115] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p. 186.
[116] Gregotti, p. 47.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Tafuri and Dal Co, 1976, p. 333.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Gregotti, pp. 47-48.
[128] Ibid., p.48.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ernesto Nathan Rogers was the editor-in-chief of the architectural magazine *Casabella Continuità*. The magazine was famous with its being the representative of the post-war debate about modern architecture. Casabella was one of the magazines, which was famous in the architectural world. During the war, its issuing was paused for some time, and in fall of 1953 it reappeared with its new issue "No: 199" and with a very different editorial board. The date gains importance because it almost coincided with Tafuri and his friends' enrolment in the faculty of architecture. Ernesto Nathan Rogers, who was the editor-in-chief of the magazine, added the subtitle "*Continuità*" in its return. The term "*Continuità"* which means continuity

was a term that was introduced to the architectural world by Rogers "*Continuità"* which means continuity was a term that was introduced to the architectural world by Rogers. The magazine was first conceived by Rogers as "a magazine of tendencies*,* supported the work of the masters of the Modern Movement on one side, and the new Italian design on the other. The polemics that emerged from the issues of *Casabella-Continuità* clearly showed the problems generated by the reexamination of the legacy of the Modern Movement after the Second World War, with the call both for an ecumenical internationalisation and for a re-discovery of the national and regional characters. The debate was moving between the definition of the modern style as a statement of a new, modern world and the design process as an expression of a methodology based on a strong ethical consciousness." The rebirth of the magazine was a signal of the changes in debates among the Italian architectural world with its new editorial board (new methodological character represented by the terminology theorized by Rogers (*Continuità* Dis*continuità*). The first editorial board was first composed of Giancarlo De Carlo, Vittorio Gregotti, Marco Zanusso. "Thus Rogers' editorial direction (and not so much Marco Zanuso, Giancarlo De Carlo and Julia Banfi who came from the first *Domus'* experience) also became a fundamental 'school' for two generations of Northern Italian young architects like Vittorio Gregotti, Aldo Rossi, Giorgio Grassi, Gae Aulenti, Luciano Semerani, Francesco Tentori and Guido Canella, who would be considered in the 1960s and 1970s to be among the most influential architects in Italy." Rogers was introduced as the "critical guardian of the modern movement". As could be understood from the debates around the concept "*Continuità*," there occurred a "generational opposition" between two important figures and their interpretation of the post war modern architecture: that of Rogers and De Carlo. "between Rogers, critical guardian of the Modern Movement which was he redesigned as an alive, changing process, and De Carlo, supporter of the generational intolerance that considered the end of pre-war rationalism as a prerequisite to radical reform." This information was from the Papers from the conference 'Team 10 - between Modernity and the Everyday,' organized by the Faculty of Architecture TU Delft, Chair of Architecture and Housing. June 5-6, 2003. This was the second preparatory meeting for the book/exhibition In Search of a Utopia of the Present. Luca Molinari, *Giancarlo De Carlo and the postwar modernist Italian architectural culture: role, originality and networking*, section "Team 10 and its Context," pp. 101-102. Retrieved from the URL Page: http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/molinari.pdf, in 06.04.2007.

[132] Gregotti, pp. 48-49.

[133] Ibid., p. 48.

[134] Ibid., p. 49.

[135] See the particular pages in Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, 1976, p. 333; and Gregotti, p. 58.

[136] Luca Molinari, *Giancarlo De Carlo and the postwar modernist Italian architectural culture: role, originality and networking*, Team 10 and its Context. p.101. Retrieved from the URL Page:
http://www.team10online.org/research/papers/delft2/molinari.pdf , in 06.04.2007.

[137] Gregotti, p.56.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Manfredo Tafuri, 1989, "The Museum, History, and Metaphor (1951-1967)," *History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 57.

[141] Gregotti, p.56.

[142] Wikipedia

[143] Hoekstra stated in her dissertation that Tafuri considered himself as a trainee of Argan in the original text of the interview he had done with Passerini, but this part was omitted from the English translation for the *Any* journal. In the original transcript, p. 12, Tafuri says: 'Quello che riuscivo a capire è un altro contatto, che per me è stato essenziale perché poi sono stato suo allievo diretto e indiretto, e che è proprio Giulio Carlo Argan.' See, Rixt Hoekstra, pp.55-57.

[144] Ibid., p. 57.

[145] See, Hoekstra, pp. 57-58.

[146] Ibid., p. 58.

[147] Ibid., p. 58.

[148] Ibid., p. 58.

[149] Manfredo Tafuri, 1989, "The Museum, History, and Metaphor (1951-1967)," *History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 56. As we will later see, this atmosphere affected Tafuri very much and be one of the motives that made him to study architectural history solely.

[150] Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, 1976, p. 354.

[151] Ibid., p. 354.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Tafuri, 1989, *History of Italian Architecture*, p. 59.

[154] Ibid., p. 59.

[155] Gregotti, p. 56.

[156] Tafuri, 1989, *History of Italian Architecture*, p. 55.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Tafuri and Dal Co, 1976, p. 354.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Tafuri, 1989, *History of Italian Architecture*, p.55.

[161] Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[162] Gregotti, p. 58.

[163] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p. 187.

[164] Ibid., p. 187.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Gregotti, p. 80.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid., p. 79.
[169] Tafuri, 1989, *History of Italian Architecture*, pp. 72-73.
[170] Gregotti, p. 79.
[171] Tafuri, 1989, *History of Italian Architecture*, p.76.
[172] Gregotti, p. 80.
[173] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p. 190.
[174] Ibid., p. 190.
[175] Gregotti, p. 80.
[176] Ibid., p. 82.
[177] Ibid., p. 80.
[178] Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture,* p.190.
[179] Tafuri, 1989, *History of Italian Architecture*, pp. 74-75; also quoted in Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, p.190.
[180] Gregotti, p. 84.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid., p. 86.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Tafuri, 1989, *History of Italian Architecture*, pp. 89-90.
[185] Ibid., p. 90.
[186] Ibid., p. 90: Tafuri wrote, "At the 1964 Triennale, dedicated to 'free time,' this expressed itself by overcoming the boundaries of the theme. Communication techniques overlapped on each other, especially in the introductory 'kaleidoscope' organized by Gregotti, Meneghetti, Stoppino, Peppo Brivio, and Umberto Eco, and in a series of explorations dominated by Luciano Berio's Omaggio a Joyce, Tinto Brass's films reflected in six mirrors, a soundtrack composed by Balestrini, and images by Achille Perilli. But the Italian sector, managed by a group led by Gae Aulenti and Aymonimo, also used a variety of techniques including collage, shock with multiple effects and happenings."
[187] Ibid., p.91.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid., p.92.
[191] Gregotti, pp. 91-92.
[192] Gregotti, p. 94.
[193] Emilio Ambasz, 1972, "Preface," in Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design* (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di), p. 21.
[194] Ibid., p. 12.
[195] Ibid., p. 137.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Ibid., p. 139.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Emilio Ambasz, Script for the documentary of the exhibition, p. 8. In INDL Book: Press Release, Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Emilio Ambasz (ed.), 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Florence: MoMA, Centro Di), pp.137-138.
[204] Ibid., p. 138.
[205] Emilio Ambasz, Script for the documentary of the exhibition, p. 4. In INDL Book: Press Release, Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
[206] Emilio Ambasz, 1972, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape,* p. 138.
[207] Ibid., p. 138.
[208] Ibid., p. 141.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid., p. 137.
[212] She was a Milanese architect and designer, and she acted as a member of editorial board of the magazine *Casabella Continuità* between 1954 and 1962. Her work had achieved numerous prizes, and published in both national and international periodicals. She started her explanatory notes, with a quotation from Jorge Luis Borges' book Fragments of an Apocryphal Gospel: *"Nothing is built on stone, all is built on sand, but we must build as sand were stone."* See, ibid., pp. 150-152.
[213] Ibid., p. 152.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid., p. 153.
[217] Referring to biographical information scripted by Ambasz, Sottsass came to Italy in his early twenties and received his architectural education at the Architectural School of the University of Turin. He produced preeminent works, "in a wide variety of mediums, and materials, including painting, architecture, ceramics, jewelry, furniture, and tapestries."[217] His major specialization after 1955 was in interior furnishings and in industrial design. He served as consultant for Olivetti and Arredoluce. Several objects exhibited in the first part were the designs of Sottsass. During 1972 exhibition, he was particularly active in ceramics. See, ibid., p.160.
[218] Ibid., p. 162.

[219] Ibid.
[220] He was a Milanese architect and designer. He died a year before the gala of the exhibition. As the designers of the environment, there noted Ignazia Favata as the collaborator of Colombo. According to Ambasz's biographical information, though Colombo was a prosperous figure in both Italy and in the international arena due to his well-known design objects, he spent his last years especially by contemplating on "problems relating to man's habitat." As indicated by Ambasz, to quote: "His researches on ecology and ergonomics led him increasingly to view the individual habitat as microcosm, which should serve as the point of departure for a macrocosmattainable in the future by means of coordinated structures created through programmed systems of production." For more information, see ibid., p. 170.
[221] Ibid., p.172.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Alberto Rosselli was Milanese architect and designer (Palermo 1921 - Milano 1976). with Gio Ponti, he created the Ponti, Fornaroli, Rosselli Studio In 1950. He was the responsible for the Industrial Design section in Domus magazine in 1949. He was the founder of *Stile Industria*, the first Italian magazine fully dedicated to industrial design, which he directed from its foundation in 1954 until 1963. He was the first president of ADI (Industrial Design Association). Since 1963, he acted as professor of Industrial Design at the Architecture Faculty of Polytechnic University in Milan. He was interested in modular design and researched alternative advanced technologies, which lead him to study and produce the Mobile House prototype, designed with Isao Hosoe and built by Fiat, Carrozzerie Orlandi, Saporiti and Boffi, that was selected for the exhibition: Italy - the New Domestic Landscape at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1972. According to Ambasz, during 1972, he had mostly concentrated on "the designing of transport vehicles and works for mass production, especially furniture and sanitary equipment." See, ibid., p. 180.
[226] Ibid., p. 182.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid., p. 183.
[231] Marco Zanuso (1916-2001) was a Milanese architect. He acted as editor in architectural magazines such as *Domus* (between 1947-1949), and *Casabella* (between 1952-1956.) He acted as a professor of architecture, design and town planning at the Politecnico from the late 1940s until the 1980s, and since 1970, he became the Director of the Institute of Technology of the Faculty of Architecture at the Politecnico. He was one of the founding members of the ADI (Industrial Design Association), with Alberto Rosselli. His designs won numerous prizes, and he was among the prosperous figures of "Modern Design" who had a distinct influence over the next design generation in Italy. Richard Sapper (1932), on the other hand, was a German industrial designer. He had worked in the design team of Mercedes Benz, before moving to Italy in 1958. He was the owner of the 1959 Compasso d'Oro design award. Zanuso and Sapper became partners in 1959. He had also worked with Gio Ponti. Richard Sapper had also acted as professor of Industrial Design at the Architecture Faculty of Polytechnic University in Milan after 1970. Their prototype for the exhibition was built by FIAT, with participation of Boffi and Kartell. See, ibid., p. 190.
[232] Ibid., p. 192.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Mario Bellini (1935) is an Italian designer and architect, graduated from the Architecture Faculty of Polytechnic University in Milan in 1959. He started his career as an architect by early 60s and after 1963, he started to design products and furniture. In 1972, as indicated by Ambasz, he was the , in Ambasz's words, "consultant responsible for industrial design in microcomputer, calculator, writer, and copying-machine sectors of Olivetti at Ivrea, besides producing exclusive designs for Brionvega, Cassina, Poggi, Flos, C&B, Bras, and Bacci." He quitted his chief consultant position at Olivetti in 1991. All through his career, he won eight Compasso d'Oro prizes for his product designs, a numerous international design and architectural prizes. His designs are being displayed in numerous museums today, and his architectural works are taking place all over the world. The prototype he designed for the exhibition with Dario Bellini, Francesco Binfaré, and Giorgio Origlia was built by Cassina, C&B Italia, with contributions of Citroën and Pirelli. Centro Cassina contributed to the design for its technical development. See, ibid., p. 200.
[236] Ibid., p. 202.
[237] Ibid., p. 203.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Gaetano Pesce was an Italian architect and designer, graduated from the School of Architecture as University of Venice. From that time on, he had professed as architect, interior designer, and industrial designer; and designed numerous objects and buildings that won various prizes. According to Ambasz's bibliographical information, he was among the founders of Group N, founded in Padua in 1949, of whose focus was particularly on the "study of programmed art," and "visual communication." See, ibid., p. 212.
[241] Ibid., p. 214.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ugo La Pietra was a Milanese architect, designer and researcher, who achieved reputation by several articles until 1972. As indicated at the catalog, his focus of research was particularly on a wide range of issues, covering the "practical problems" such as "mass production and the uses of new materials," and the "theoretical problems" such as issues regarding "morphology, and social role of design." Ambasz mentioned in the biographical notes about La Pietra that he had several one-man and group shows exhibited all over the world. During that time, he was the editor-in-chief in the periodical *IN: Argomenti e immagini di design*. The proposal he had submitted for the exhibition, under the title "Unbalancing System,"

was the extension of his former studies, which he had concentrated on two of his books, published earlier in 1970 and 1971, entitled as, respectively: *Sistema Disequilibrante* and *Sistema Disequilibrante II*. It was this same theory on "Unbalancing Systems" that he elaborated by the prototype he designed for the1972 MoMA show. The prototype he designed was produced by ABET-Print, with the collaboration of Silcon and Moro.See, ibid., p. 224.
[245] Ibid., p. 227.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid., p. 228.
[248] Ibid.
[249] As indicated by Ambasz, Archizoom Associati was founded as a group in 1966 by Andrea Branzi, Gilberto Coretti, Paolo Deganello, Dario Bartolini, Lucia Bartolini, and Massimo Morozzi. Between 1966 and 1972, they had been actively working in the fields of "product design, architecture, interior design and installation of exhibitions." The first exhibition they had organized in 1966, subsequent to their foundation, was "Superarchitecture;" their exhibition activity was pursued by the organization of another exhibition in Modena in 1967, and the design of a stand for XIV Triennial of Milan in 1968. For Ambasz, Archizoom had resumed "their polemical activities" by the proposals they had contributed to various exhibitions, or by the conferences and publications they had supported. The full quotation: "They have carried on their polemical activities through such exhibitions as 'No-stop City (Residential parking),' 1970, participation in the VII Bienalle, Paris 1971; and conferences and publications including the preparation of the special issue of the periodical IN (June 1971) devoted to "the destruction of object." Ambsz, *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, p. 232.
[250] Ibid., p.234.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid., pp. 234-235.
[253] Ibid., pp. 236-237.
[254] Ibid., p. 237.
[255] Ibid., pp. 237-238.
[256] Ibid., pp. 238-239.
[257] Piero Frassinelli, Alessandro Magris, Roberto Magris, Adolfo Natalini, Alessandro Poli, and Cristiano Toraldo di Franc founded Superstudio in 1966, the same year with the foundation of Archizoom. Their active work was in the fields of product design, architecture, and interior design. Besides, they participated to various exhibitions, such as "Superarchitecture", organized by Archizoom, VII Bienalle in Paris, 1971, and demonstrated their "Twelve Ideal Cities" to public by an exhibition at Rome in 1972, at the same year with INDL. Their prototype was constructed by ANIC- Lanerossi. See, ibid., p. 240.
[258] Ibid., p. 242.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid., p. 245.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid., p. 246.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid., p. 252.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid., p. 254.
[269] Ibid., p. 255.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Ibid.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Mari was a Milanese architect-designer and researcher. His works of design and research particularly focused on "the psychology of vision, systems of perception, and the methodology of design." The monograph he had published in 1970 under the title *Funzione della ricerca estetica*, (function of aesthetic research) represented the summary of his research, his theories on design and his work as a designer. See, ibid., p. 262.
[278] Ibid., p. 262.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Ibid., p. 263.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Ibid., p. 264.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Ibid., p. 265.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid., p. 285.
[292] Titia Rixt Hoekstra, 2005, *Building versus* Bildung*: Manfredo Tafuri and the Construction of a Historical Discipline*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 253 pages.

[293] Before 1925, the academic tradition, aggravated by architectural historian and theorist Gustavo Giovanni, on the other hand, substantiated the Roman Neobaroque movement in architecture, aimed for an "architectural renewal" which was "developed within a very heavy, eclectic, monumental tradition, which was oriented towards past." Defined by Gregotti as "the first attempts of architectural renewal," they stood out with their rediscovery of baroque architecture, "finding in it a style whose tormented, complex forms were suited to modern complexity as well as the value of a verbal architecture." These two attempts, both Milanese 900 and Roman Neobaroque movement were, for Gregotti, historicist endeavors "stemmed from a moderate avant-garde position." See, Gregotti, p. 10 and p. 71.
[294] Titia Rixt Hoekstra, 2005, *Building versus* Bildung*: Manfredo Tafuri and the Construction of a Historical Discipline*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, p. 80.
[295] Ibid., p. 81.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Ibid., p. 83.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid., p. 90.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Manfredo Tafuri, 1989, "The Museum, History, and Metaphor (1951-1967)," *History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), pp.69-70.
[305] Hoekstra, *Building versus* Bildung, p. 84.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid., pp. 84-85
[309] Ibid., p. 85
[310] Ibid., p. 87, quoted from Alessandra Muntoni, 'Due strategie innovative nell'insegnamento della storia dell'architettura: Leonardo Benevolo and Bruno Zevi', in Pardo, *La Facultà di architettura*, p. 86.
[311] Ibid., p. 89.
[312] Ibid., pp. 90-91.
[313] Ibid., p. 89.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Manfredo Tafuri, 1989, "The Museum, History, and Metaphor (1951-1967)," *History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p. 70.
[316] Ibid., p. 70.
[317] Ibid., p. 70.
[318] Gregotti, p.91
[319] Ibid., p.94.
[320] Tomas Llorenz, 1981, "Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History," *On the Methodology of Architectural History*, *Architectural Design Profile*, p. 84.
[321] Ibid., p. 84
[322] Ibid., p. 84.
[323] Ibid., p.84: This was a term studied by Vittorio Gregotti who was the editor of Casabella during that period. Casabella was the main publishing vehicle of this trend. Gregotti, Rossi and Canella, members of editorial board, studied on the definition of "theoretical program and didactic tools of the movement." Manfredo Tafuri joined second part in the early 60s.
[324] Gregotti, p. 94.
[325] Ibid., p. 94.
[326] Ibid., p. 95.
[327] Ibid., p. 94.
[328] Ibid., p. 99.
[329] Ibid., pp. 94-95.
[330] Ibid., p. 95.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Ibid., p. 99.
[335] Ibid.
[336] Hoekstra, *Building versus* Bildung, pp.75-76.
[337] Ibid., p. 77.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid., p. 78.
[341] Ibid., p. 100.
[342] Ibid., p. 101.
[343] Ibid., p. 100.
[344] Ibid., p. 102.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Ibid., p. 103.
[348] Ibid.

[349] Ibid., p. 104: According to Hoekstra's text, Zevi got frustrated by Tafuri's "harsh" criticism and replied to his attacks by an article entitled 'Myths and Historical Resignation,' published in the journal *L'architettura, storia e cronache*, in September 1968. To quote Hoekstra literarily: "The Modern Movement had now gained, in Zevi's eyes, an almost melodramatic quality, as he reproached Tafuri of throwing." And rephrased Zevi's sentences in her footnotes as follows: " … dirt on every ideology, on the aspiration to create, through a diverse human environment, more happiness, on the commitment to provide a house for every family, even if it is minimal and for a minimal price, on every demand and quality, on architecture as prophecy. (Bruno Zevi, 'Miti e rassegnazione storica', *L'architettura storia e cronache*, 155, September 1968, p. 3: Zevi is not strictly speaking of Tafuri's *Teorie e Storia* here, but of a wider environment of architects of which he feels that Tafuri is a part.)
[350] Llorenz, Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History, p.85.
[351] Giorgio Cuicci, "The Formative Years," *Casabella: The Historical Project of Manfredo Tafuri*, 619-620, Elemond s.p.a., Milano, p. 13.
[352] The biographical information about Tafuri was derived from Hoekstra's seminal work *Building and* Bildung. Therefore, it is important to state that the necessary links in this section were discovered by Hoekstra.
[353] Luisa Passerini, 1993, "History as a Project, an interview with Manfredo Tafuri," in *Any*, 'Being Manfredo Tafuri, Wickedness, Anxiety, Disenchantment', no. 25-26, 2000, p. 13.
[354] Ibid., p.47, quoted from Passerini, "History as Project," p.15.
[355] Hoekstra, p. 48: "He was a passionate listener of the radio program announced by Enzo Paci (1911-1976) who was a well-known philosopher and a representative of Neo-Marxist developments in postwar Italy. In the program, Paci were introducing the Italian public with the new French wave of philosophy such as Existentialism, which especially caught Tafuri's attention, and explained from Kierkegaard to Sartre. This was when Tafuri began to read the first Italian translations of Sartre and Camus, published in 1951."
[356] Passerini, "History as a Project," p. 11.
[357] Hoekstra, p. 48: As to Hoekstra, "Tafuri's aspirations were not so unique against the background of the strong humanistic character of secondary school in Italy. At a rather early age, the pupils were introduced to such heavy matters as history, culture, philosophy or the history of literature. At the age of 16, they would have already read Céline, or Proust, as well as having to try to understand Kant and Hegel." See, footnote number 22.
[358] Hoekstra, p. 49.
[359] Ibid., p. 52.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid., p.53.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid., p.53: He wrote books with titles such as: I vandali in casa (The Vandals in the House), Laterza, 1956; and *La distruzione della natura in Italia* (The Destruction of Nature in Italy), Torino, 1975. In 1957 Cederna founded the *Italia Nostra Movement*, for which Tafuri also worked every now and then. See A. Cederna, 1981, *Mussolini Urbanista, lo sventramento di Roma negli anni del consenso* (Laterza: Bari). See also Jan Kurz, 'Il Mondo', *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Italian Culture*, p. 374.
[365] Ibid., p. 58.
[366] Ibid., p. 59: See Cesare de Sessa, 'Le Corbusier e la dissonanza di Ronchamp', 2002, www.antithesi.info. *Giornale di Critica dell'architettura*.), p. 59
[367] Ibid.
[368] All information was gathered from both Hoekstra's thesis and especially the article of Cuicci, entitled "The formative years," pp. 19-21.
[369] Hoekstra, p. 60.
[370] Ibid., p. 59: Hoekstra continued that, "When the first post-war centre-left government came to power in 1962-63, a parliamentary committee was formed to initiate substantial reforms in education." See Giunio Luzzato, 'University', *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Italian Culture*, pp. 610-612; Mario Diani 'Student movement', ibid., pp. 565-566.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Passerini, "History as a Project," pp. 22-23; see, Hoekstra, footnote, p 60.
[373] Ibid., p. 60.
[374] Ibid., p. 60.
[375] Ibid., p. 60: Yet these changes in staff had not satisfied Tafuri and friends at all. Even though, these professors seemed to be the important figures in architectural society, the young generation thought that "they are ancient history" that was famous 20 years ago." See , ibid., pp. 60-61.
[376] Cuicci, "Formative Years," *Casabella,* 619-620, p. 15: According to the text, the "curricular" thesis material Tafuri and his friend Piccinato submitted did not involve any projects that were produced for Muratori. Cuicci named this as a scandal created by the two within the academic circle.
[377] Hoekstra, p. 61.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid.
[380] Ibid.
[381] Cuicci, "The Formative Years," *Casabella*, p. 21: In Cuicci's words, "some still recall Tafuri as a student as he began the "indoctrination" by showing, from Zevi's *Storia dell'architettura moderna*, the photo of Red House of Philip Webb for William Morris, declaring: "this is reorganized as modern architecture, but it is not, because in the equation out of *n* unknowns it resolves only *n-2*"; then he showed them the Maison du Peuple of Horta: "this is recognized as modern architecture, but it is not, because in the equation out of *n* unknowns it resolves only *n-1*"; finally he showed them Bauhaus edifice of Gropius: "there, that is modern architecture. So just, what is modern architecture? Now you tell me", leaving the

young students speechless at first, and then eager to discuss, during the months to come, just what he meant, to investigate and explore the modern architecture which was banned, back then in 1958, in the teachings of Faculty of Rome."

[382] Hoekstra, p. 63.

[383] See, Passerini, "History as a Project," p. 25.

[384] Hoekstra, p. 63

[385] Ibid.

[386] Ibid., p. 64.

[387] Cuicci, "The Formative Years," *Casabella*, p. 19.

[388] Hoekstra, pp. 64-65.

[389] Ibid., p. 65.

[390] Ibid.

[391] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

[392] The full quotation from Hoekstra was as follows: "At the start of the 1960s the publishers Einaudi decided to translate and publish Lukács' *Die Zerstörung der Vernunft* (1954), as *La Distruzione della ragione*, a book with which Tafuri profoundly disagreed. As Tafuri recalled, in this work Lukács fiercely attacked all that was important to him, including Kafka and the idea of an avant-garde. Tafuri indicates that this rejection of his ideas was more or less the subjective base from which he develops the idea of recommencing from the start, and this time dal *punto di vista politico*. It is at this point that Tafuri enters into another phase of transition, which always meant undergoing what was practically an existential crisis: 'Va bene, finora ho fatto questo perché ero uno studente universitario eccetera, ma adesso che faccio?Da grande che faccio?' (Okay, until now I have done this, because I was a university student etc., but now, what do I do? As a grown up, what do I do?)." Hoekstra, p.66.

[393] Hoekstra, p.66.

[394] Hoekstra, p. 67: To quote Hoekstra, "Ludovico Quaroni (1911-1987) was an architect, urban planner and a university teacher. In the late 1930s, during the Fascist regime, Quaroni worked amongst others on a design for the Foro Mussolini. After the war he was one of the protagonists behind the design of the exemplary new housing quarters in Rome, the so-called Tiburtino quarter, designed in 1950. He became well known for his self-critical reflection on these engaged topics, especially the article 'Il paese dei Barocchi' (The Land of the Baroque) published in 1957 for *Casabella*. He was also an active urban planner, addressing issues associated with the North-South dichotomy, especially within the framework of the Communità-movement, which he joined in 1956. The architect Ernesto Nathan Rogers (1909-1969) was also one of the intellectual protagonists who had a major influence on the direction of post-war architecture. He was the influential editor-in-chief of *Casabella* and took part in the architectural studio BPR, which before the war was known as BBPR. Rogers was almost an holistic thinker, who recognized a fundamental continuity between past and present and strong associations between architectural traditions, the city, the academy and everyday life. Significantly, he thought that even Italian rationalism could be continued if cleansed of associations with fascism – the fascists had actually taken the life of one of the members of the BBPR firm. The surviving members of the BPR studio restarted their activities after the war by designing a 'Monument to the Dead in the Concentration Camps in Germany' in a rationalist style, as both a continuation of rationalism and a memento of fascist and Nazi terror." (See Gordana Kostich, 'Ludovico Quaroni', *Encyclopedia of Italian Contemporary Culture*, pp. 485-486.)

[395] Ibid., p. 67: According to Hoekstra, "These magazines were positioned on the periphery of architectural culture and attempted to put forward an alternative to the monopolization of information by mainstream architectural magazines such as *Casabella Continuità*.". (See Manfredo Tafuri, 'La vicenda architettonica romana. 1945-61', *Superfici*, 5, April 1962, pp. 20-41.)

[396] Hoekstra, pp. 68-69.

[397] Llorenz, "Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History," p. 84.

[398] Hoekstra, p. 69.

[399] Ibid., p. 69.

[400] Ibid.

[401] Ibid., p. 71.

[402] Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[403] Cuicci, "The Formative Years," *Casabella*, p. 15.

[404] Ibid.

[405] Ibid.

[406] Ibid., p. 17.

[407] Ibid.

[408] Ibid., p. 19.

[409] Ibid.

[410] Ibid.

[411] Ibid., p. 19: Cuicci stated that the most significant example of this argument was the "experience of Red Vienna." To quote Cuicci literarily: "one of the most celebrated episodes of modern architecture was, for the first time, interpreted as a game of simulation on an urban scale, in which the dreams and practical reality are confused. The interpretation of this episode was instrumental for the condemnation of the 'indeterminacy […] which characterizes the working conditions of architects operating in capitalist societies,' as opposed to the 'pursuit expressive structures capable of reformulating the problem of the relationships between ideology and configuration.' This was made possible by the abandonment of the unity of method on different scales —of the 'rationalist method'—adopting, instead, different methods for industrial design , architecture, town design, urban planning."

[412] In 1968, Sonomà edited the texts of the contributors and published them under the title "Teoria della progettezione Architettura."

[413] Tomas Llorenz, 1981, "Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History," *On the Methodology of Architectural History*, Architectural Design Profile, p. 85.

[414] Ibid., p. 85.
[415] Cuicci, "Formative Years," *Casabella*, 619-620, p. 13.
[416] Llorenz, p. 86.
[417] Ibid., p. 86.
[418] Hoekstra used the *bildung*. Here I use it as an antonym of Tafuri's use of "death."
[419] Ibid. p. 449.
[420] Ibid. p. 449.
[421] Ibid. p. 449.
[422] Andrea Guerra and Christiano Tessari, 1995, "The teaching," *Casabella: The Historical Project of Manfredo Tafuri*, 619-620, Elemond s.p.a., Milano, p. 125.
[423] Ibid., p.125.
[424] Ibid.
[425] Alberto Asor Rosa, 1995, "Critique of ideology and historical practice," *Casabella: The Historical Project of Manfredo Tafuri*, 619-620, Elemond s.p.a., Milano, p. 29.
[426] Ibid., p. 29.
[427] Ibid., p. 31.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Tomas Llorenz, 1981, "Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History," *On the Methodology of Architectural History*, *Architectural Design Profile*, p. 88.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid.
[434] Ibid.
[435] Ibid., p. 89.
[436] Ibid., p. 90.
[437] Ibid., p. 89.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Ibid., p. 89-90.
[441] Manfredo Tafuri, 1989, "New Crises and New Strategies (1968-1975)," *History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), pp. 97-98.
[442] Ibid., p. 98.
[443] Ibid.
[444] Ibid., p. 99.
[445] Ruggero Cominotti, 1972, "Italian Design in Relation to Social and Economic Planning," in Emilio Ambasz, (ed.), *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design*, (New York, Venice: MoMA, Centro Di), p. 346.
[446] Emilio Ambasz, "Introduction to Critical essays," INDL catalog, p. 343.
[447] Alessandro Mendini, "A Land of Good Design," INDL catalog, p. 379.
[448] Germano Celant, 1969, *Art Povera* (New York: Preager Publishers), p. 5
[449] Filiberto Menna, "A Design for New Behaviors," INDL catalog, p. 405.
[450] Emilio Ambasz, Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design, p. 343.
[451] Manfredo Tafuri, "Design and Technological Utopia," p. 388.
[452] Ibid., p. 388.
[453] Ibid., p. 390.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid., p. 391.
[457] Ibid., p. 392.
[458] Ibid., p. 393.
[459] Ibid., pp. 393-394.
[460] Ibid., p. 394.
[461] Ibid., p. 395.
[462] Ibid.
[463] Ibid., p.396.
[464] Ibid.
[465] Ibid., p. 397.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid., p. 398.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Ibid.
[471] Ibid., pp. 399-400.
[472] Ibid., p. 400.
[473] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

THE "CONTAMINATION" OF IDEOLOGY AS THE CRITIQUE OF ARCHITECTURE

Nearly every contemporary theoretician noted once in their writings that after the "crisis year 1968," the architectural discourse and its related domains had been subjected to desperate change. The relationships of its subdomains, such as the co-existence of theory and history, design and criticism, had continually been redefined, retheorized, and reconceptualized especially in the United States. Some defined the "fluid" nature of the discipline's subdomains as "disciplinary dislocations"—a definition that Mark Jarzombek used for the positioning of architectural history in the last four decades— some named it a discourse, such as Goldhagen. Nevertheless, it was a fact that the postwar years became the scene of the self-evaluation and restructuralization of architecture as discipline, and the mere identification of its subdomains for supremacy. In the United States, the prevailing tendency was a "search for theory in architecture," yet, the query 'what was the starting motivation of all' had always remained unanswered. As several recent studies on the "search for a theory in architecture" validated, 1968 was the year of the paradigmatic break in the concatenation of the whole picture. 1990s' trend of "anthologies of architectural theory" publicized necessary instruments of evidence.[1] As already noted by Sylvia Lavin in her article "Theory into History: a Will to Anthology," published in *Assemblage*, through those anthologies, one could see how all "postwar theory" instrumentalized towards a more critical domain, and this criticality had left a significant mark on discursive platforms after the 1990s, leveling to a more scholar level, based on "critical theory." To illustrate, *Architecture Culture 1943-1968,* edited by Joan Ockman,[2] and *Architecture Theory since 1968*, edited by K. Michael Hays were published by Columbia University Press, respectively in 1993 and 1998. Thus, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-1995*, edited by Kate Nesbitt was published by Princeton University in 1996. Those three anthologies stood as the most authoritative ones among other recent anthologies of

"critical theory," not for the variety and the theoretical value of seminal texts they covered, but for their impact towards a re-theorization and re-conceptualization of past in the present. Today, some appreciate those anthologies, as they cover the historical terrain of the postwar years, and publicize the intellectual heritage of our discipline; some, nevertheless, blame them due to their ambiguous provisions of architectural theory.[3] Sylvia Lavin, for example, were among the protagonists that harshly criticized the consequences of these works and the ambiguous theorization of critical theory that generated from within. Stressing upon their similar intentions, yet provoking varying messages, Lavin claimed that:

> Nesbitt is interested in establishing a brute break with Modernism in order to support a vague pluralism under the name of the postmodern; Leach launches a poststructura1 attack on modern formalism; Hays seeks to position theory as a means of resistance to the infiltration of consumer culture; Ockman attempts to recover those aspects of Modernism that survive into the postwar period and might still be deployed in the service of a social agenda for architecture.[4]

Due to those controversial messages, the absoluteness of architectural theory became a questionable assertion, for Lavin; a claim that, I believe, explicates Tafuri's plural use of the very term "theories" in the title of his book *Theories and History of Modern Architecture*. Thus, Lavin assigned them as responsible for an "ideological irresolution" that yielded the disciplinary notations to be dislocated. As specific cases may reveal the concatenation behind, Lavin distinguished the anthology of Hays. Due to its "subsuming of a once deniable theoretical provocation to be critical within a newly formulated will to historicize the theory of architecture," Hays' anthology, for Lavin, comprised the most affective and authoritative manner of the period, in its direction towards "a reconsideration of the status of history."[5] The constructed manners and their obstinacy were on one side of the coin. Yet, their being assemblage of several published and unpublished texts of a selected period was on the other side. Through them, one could easily grasp the beginning and the end of the "dense cohesion of texts," the phrase of Lavin. Thus, it could be realized that the density of texts were delimited within a particular time-period. It started with Tafuri's Marxist theories—his 1969 text "Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology" was the beginning article of Hay's anthology, and not surprisingly, Ockman's anthology that covered the time-period before 1968 ended with a Tafuri essay similarly—and dissipated after the 1989 MoMA exhibition *Deconstructivist Architecture*—not surprisingly Hays' *Architecture Theory since 1968*

ended with that event.[6] Further examination on the real time of change and the actors behind this transformation is superfluous, as claimed by all authors of those anthologies: "there was no theory properly speaking, in architecture, before 1968. Instead there was a culture of criticism that made the emergence after 1968 of a theoretical radicality possible."[7] Therefore, both in the light of those authoritative works and many other seminal texts of present, Louis Martin's characterization of the years after 1968 as "the years of transition" for architectural and critical theory seemed rational. Martin's dissertation, which was, in his words, a "response to some historical hypotheses that, although unverified, have become pervasive in recent American criticism," was a thorough study, supervised by Alan Colquhoun. Needless to say, his work has been a significant source of reference for our research from the very beginning.[8] Martin underlined the significance of the individuals behind this concatenation of an era's line of thought towards the direction of "critical theories," and evaluated Hays' work of 1998 as a verification of such situation. Besides its being "a restrictive historical framework because [of] its explicit aim [which] is to outline the genealogy of the editor's own conception of critical theory," the very anthology, for Martin, delineated a conscious framework of historical analysis on "critical theory" with an attempt to conceptualize it.[9] Among any proponents of "critical architectural theory," Martin's deciphering of only two intellectual contributions as conscious critical endeavors appeared as crucial due to the motivation lying beneath those concerns. These were that of Mark Wigley and Michael Hays. Wigley's suggestion of the "psychoanalytic" program by which he "conceive[d] theory as an irritating and corrosive brand of criticism that tactically undermine[d] those discourses that [were] thought to perpetuate the inherently repressive nature of architecture as a discipline and as an institution" was an extension of Manfredo Tafuri's "critical history project."[10] Although completely in contrast with the former, Michael Hays' proposal of "critical theory" being a "meditating practice" that evaluated the "relationships between formal analysis of a work of architecture and its social ground or context" was, as well, derived from Tafuri's "historical project" of 1970s.[11] In other words, to quote Martin, "like Wigley's deconstructive outlook, Hay's critical endeavors, evidently derives from Manfredo Tafuri's "historical project" of the late 1970s which … conceived the task of criticism to be forcing into crisis any and all discourses of power, including the concept of history as discourse of truth."[12]

Here, Manfredo Tafuri and his "historical project," comprising the common ground, for two most authoritative, however conflicting, endeavors deserved extra emphasis due to the authentication of its being not only a proper source of reference for contemporary endeavors, but also an influential proposal for the recomprehension of "history." In fact, it is the claim of this work that the understanding of this project can provide the necessary tools for any and all inquiries on the relation of theory, history and criticism in architecture. Could one be able to derive an altered strategy for the interpretation of contemporary architectural object, by unveiling a Tafurian terminology, just as Wigley and Hays did? Could Tafurian "historical project" be a subject of dissemination with its radical announcements? Could the Marxist ideology, promoted by Tafuri, be effective on the subsequent inclinations that tended to revise, reconceptualize the 'theories' on the history of Modern architecture, with a critical tonnage, crying out from today?

As repeatedly mentioned, this study based its argument on the following provision of Martin: the intellectual lobbies of the United States had scened a transfer of thought in the years after the introduction of the European debate. Martin called it a "penetration," and embraced a wide-range of influences under the cover of "European." Our focus is particularly on that of Italian, but our point is not to discuss the penetration of Italian based thought into Anglophile world; it is already a normative truth, accepted by a majority. Rather, the point is to discuss whether it was a "transplantation" of thought, a term derived consciously from Ambasz, with all its underlying motives, or a contamination of thought for a newly growing discourse's benefit. The assumption of this study seized mostly on the latter option, due to several notifications that the Italian case had not been fully discovered yet. This was not only because of a language lap, but also because of a resistance to Marxist terminology during and after the cold war. The use of the term "benefit" might be regarded as a transgression, yet benefit in what sense is the question that should be raised at this point. In fact, this is nothing other than a critical discussion on how an era's significant theorists delimited the relationship of theory, history, and practice in architecture, and how they reflected those models back through specific mediums. The location of this search is, therefore, the United States; the actors of change, however, were two-folded: the significant figures of New York, specifically of the public organization, IAUS and that of Venice, especially that of IUAV. The best discursive sites of this search are then, evidently, the publications, symposiums, and exhibitions on architecture, organized and published by IAUS.

How was the intellectual atmosphere in those years? In "Resurrecting the Avant-Garde: The History and the Program of *Oppositions,"*[13] Joan Ockman defined the atmosphere in New York as follows:

> New York in the early and mid-seventies did indeed constitute a rarefied and tense cultural ambiance. The increasingly pluralized and fragmented architectural discourse—split between modernism and postmodernism, seduced by and suspicious of its more theoretically sophisticated European counterpart, ambivalent toward its own Americanism— made not for critical slackness or celebration of multiplicity for its own sake, as would be the case in a very short while, but rather for a sense of crisis and confrontation, as dramatized by the formation of such warring factions as the "grays" and whites," the "inclusivists" and the "exclusivists," the neorealists and the neorationalists.[14]

Ockman, later in her essay "Venice and New York," which she wrote for *Casabella*'s special edition of Tafuri, portrayed the beginnings of the attraction that occurred in those years perfectly. Ockman wrote:

> In the mid 1970s, the vanguards of American and Italian architecture, more specifically New York and Venice, experienced a consequential attraction for each other. Two seminal publications had appeared in 1966—Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* and Aldo Rossi's *L'architettura della città.* At the time, those were unrelated events; that postmodernism had its major heralds in America, and Italy was largely a function of different historical conditions. More anticipatory of the transatlantic relationship to occur were Peter Eisenman's pilgrims to Terragni's buildings in Como in the early 1960s, accompanied by Colin Rowe in the role of Virgil. The most ambiguous of the Italian rationalists thus entered into the genealogy of the New York Five, formed around Eisenman in 1969. Still, in 1973, when Rossi, in charge of the international architecture section at Milan Triennale, included the mannered late modernism of the Five in an exhibition entitled *Architettura razionale*, the case for a worldwide *tendenza* seemed superficial, if not contradictory."[15]

And she continued:

> It was Manfredo Tafuri's essay "L'Architecture dans la Boudoir: The language of criticism and the criticism of language," published one year later in the third issue of *Oppositions*, that persuasively theorized a convergence between these streams and marked the beginning of the relationship between the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) in Manhattan, directed by Eisenman, and the *Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia* (IUAV), its history department chaired by Tafuri.[16]

This section of our study, therefore, concentrated on the major publishing body of the Institute, *Oppositions,* which was addressed by Ockman as the most polemical periodical of a period with its playing the first fiddle of the controversial attraction. “The intensity of *Oppositions'*s pursuit of its missions as an avant-gardist magazine in these years, and the contradictions and at times paroxysms of self-consciousness it exhibited in trying to place itself within this American-European landscape of cultural and architectural transformation” was delineated by Ockman, as the major reason of its “high-quality,” which in fact managed successfully to overcome, in Ockman’s words, “an American provincialism in intellectual discourse and focusing New York as the center of an elite international dialogue.”[17]

It was the first project in the American publishing scene that was “committed to probing and expanding the intellectual scope of theory, history, and practical criticism as well as to challenging the boundaries separating these arenas.”[18] The structure of *Oppositions* was designed accordingly. The content was divided into “five thematic categories”: “Oppositions, Theory, History, Documents, and a back-matter section made up of Reviews, Letters, and Forum, the latter planned as a report on topic-oriented public event that was held at the Institute to mark the publication of each issue.”[19] For several reasons, among those five thematic domains, the first and the second section, “Oppositions” and “Theory,” were the most significant parts of the journal.

The first category “Oppositions,” which after number 21 appeared as “Criticism,” was addressed by the editors as, in Ockman’s words, “the journal’s locution for criticism of important contemporary work.”[20] The works of American architects, such as Robert Venturi, the New York Five, composed of Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hedjuk, and Richard Meier, Werner Seligmann, a member of Texas Rangers, and the works of non-American architects, such as the English architect James Stirling, the Italian architects Aldo Rossi, Aldo van Eyck, Giuseppe Terragni, and Mario Botta, and the Japanese architects Hiromi Fujii, Izosaki, Shinohara, Ito and Ando were examined in this section. It is important to state here a claim of Ockman: “For several of the non-American architects—including Rossi, Botta, and some of Japanese— this was the first significant attention paid to them in the American media.”[21] Although, rather than editors’ choices, the determining factor of selection, for Ockman, was generally the

availability of documents, one could still notice that the works of Italian Tendenza, and the New York Five were the most cited achievements, proving the Italian inclination of the journal. Thus, it, at the same time, represented Eisenman's project of promoting an "American avant-garde." Moreover, the texts written on built works were accepted according to some requirements. Ockman recapitulated the instrumentality of the editorial requirement for the articles to be published in this section as: "the architecture treated had to be placed into a historical context and viewed with an analytical and critical eye rather than a descriptive one, and from a point of view other than the architect's."[22] This was of great importance, since it gave the very clues of the relationship between "Oppositions," the term invented by Eisenman, and the "Criticism," that showed the title's later transformation was not a surprise. While opposing, also reinforcing an intellectual agenda for contemporary works, therefore, the "Oppositions" section had become an important source of reference for the expansion of the editors' critical statements.

The second section, "Theory," on the other hand, was the most instrumental category among others, since it represented, to use Ockman's phrases, "the journal's most influential contribution to an American architectural scene not yet very conscious in the early seventies of several major currents of contemporary European discourse: first an ideological critique of architecture strongly influenced by a post-Marxist or Frankfurt school critique of culture and its legacy of negative thought; second, a mode of linguistic analysis emanating from French structuralist school; and third, a historiographic approach emphasizing institutional and typological themes."[23] Among the previously referred influential figures, the IUAV group, Tafuri, Cacciari, Scolari and Dal Co were almost the most pronounced contributors, whose relationship with Frankfurt school and the negative thought had already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Ockman named the contributions of this illustrious party as "a new body of thinking" and proposed that the editors' role in delineating this new body was an emphatic fact. Although this conscious collage of texts, varying in context due to editors' changing areas of interest, represented an ambiguous overall picture for the American reader, this "new" body obviously directed the flow of argument throughout the journal's publishing life.[24]

Despite its short publishing life 1973-1984, *Oppositions* left a significant mark on the American architectural scene by "raising the level of critical ideas on architecture and enhancing dialogue between Europe and North America."[25] As Mitchell Schwarze claimed

in his 1999 article entitled, "History and Theory in Architectural Periodicals: Assembling Oppositions," published in JSAH, *Oppositions* filled the need for an "independent critical voice, a voice neither of university, nor of profession."[26] It sought for a third position in-between by means of a "revisionist vision" of posing their restructuralization.[27] Constructing an interactive level of debate, instrumental to both theory and practice was not a new approach for Europe. Several European journals had announced similar intentions, which at the end turned out to be the promotion site of the European avant-gardes. However, it was completely innovative for the United States. The theoretical mission of the journal was set to serve for a conscious detection of an avant-gardist identity over the prominence to develop an autonomous certainty in-between the legacies of modern tradition and the sanctions of capitalist society. The major scope behind this minor tribute was indeed to promote an American avant-garde as the messiah of the contemporary crises. In this vein, *Oppositions*, in Schwarze's words, "became one of recognizing, contrasting, and synthesizing the complex historical conditions of architectural culture and production."[28] To quote Schwarze, literarily:

> *Oppositions* continued an expansion of the cultural parameters of modern architecture begun during the 1960s, an expansion beyond the heroic figures of the 1920s and the functionalist ethos embodied in histories of the modernist architectural project by Walter Curt Behrendt, Sigfried Giedion, Nikolaus Pevsner, and Henry Russell Hitchcock. An earlier challenge to the canon, Reyner Banham's *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960), had pushed the history of Modernism back into the Beaux-Arts academic tradition and late Arts and Crafts Movement of the 1890s. Then, Peter Collins's *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture*: *1750-1950* (1965) directed attention to much earlier historical developments such as the stylistic revivals and nineteenth-century scientific research into function and engineering.[29]

To "root architecture in the forces of modernity" was the main intention of the editors. This intention shaped the critical content of the journal under four main categories, for Schwarze, covering modern thought. It included, to quote, "the translations of neglected historical and theoretical texts written over the past two centuries (e.g., Quatremere de Quincy, Alois Riegl); articles recovering the work and ideas of architects considered by the editors to be critical to the development of Modernism (e.g., Claude Nicolas Ledoux, Giovanni Piranesi, John Soane); revisionist histories of leading modernists including Peter Behrens, Le Corbusier, and Louis Kahn; and theoretical tracts on typology and semiotics that situated modern architecture within a critique of the means of production and

signification.[30] Despite the mere commission of the journal's being a "project of connecting history, theory, and criticism," the very inclusion of new Marxist and structuralist methodologies, rotated the indications of the periodical to a level in which the standards of ongoing architectural thinking started to be "destabilized."[31] Schwarze's speaking of a destabilization was significant because it was among the first signs of the very moment of collision in American debate. He claimed:

> For writers in *Oppositions*, attention began to turn from the succession of building ideas or movements to the whole set of connections and significations that exist, at any given moment, between architecture and the culture and language of which it is a part. Challenged implicitly was the operative and diachronic notion that historians could direct where architecture would go in the future by establishing where it came from in the past. Should it be surprising, then, that theoretical academic debates on contemporary architecture would soon appear linguistically self-absorbed?[32]

Schwarze's emphasis on the connection of architecture and culture was of great significance, because it was the first time that to speak of an architecture as culture had become possible. Moreover, this was certainly due to the introduction of that so-called "unfamiliar body of thought." It definitely had other consequences, transforming the realm of American architectural discourse. What other disciplinary parameters had the introduction of non-American viewpoints triggered? Ockman's answer seemed to the point: "… the point to be emphasized is that *Oppositions*, along with the Institute itself, was greatly responsible for insinuating a largely unfamiliar body of theory and ideology into the architectural discussion on this side of the Atlantic, as well as, for ushering in an unprecedentedly strong emphasis on theory itself; and, the impact of this, especially in the schools, but also within an initially suspicious profession, was substantial."[33]

4. 1 - OPPOSITIONS: THE APPEREANCE OF THE JOURNAL OF IDEAS AND CRITICISM IN ARCHITECTURE, 1974

To issue a new magazine was among Eisenman's prior desires since the CASE meetings. From that time to IAUS' foundation, he dreamed of a prospective publishing body for the dissemination of their ideas, and as soon as Kenneth Frampton joined as a fellow to IAUS, which corresponded to a period around 1971- 1972, commencement on studies for Eisenman's ambitious project was instigated. *Oppositions* was a product of nearly two-years of devoted study. The founding members of the magazine, who at the same time constituted its first editorial board, were Eisenman, Frampton and Gandelsonas. All the responsibility, regarding the magazine's financial liabilities, was "undertook" by Eisenman. With the solicitations of selective people, "$100 each from each individual," whose names were listed at the back cover of the first issue, the fulfillment of *Oppositions* with its first issue occurred in September 1973.[34] Possibly assembled as a special issue, *Oppositions* with its first issue began its publication life with full assertion. Then, it continued to appear quarterly until the end of its publication life, despite a-year suspension in 1975, between the fourth and fifth issue, published, respectively, in October 1974 and Summer 1976. "Proclaiming itself a *Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture*," wrote Ockman, "*Oppositions* constituted a unique appearance on American architectural publishing scene in these years, its prominence being neither academic nor professional, and its orientation being strongly European," which is the primary focus of our attention.[35] The name *Oppositions* was criticized by some circles at the beginning due to the negativity the term embraced. However, it was the idea of Eisenman, due to his obsession on the term's complex connotation, unveiled by a "semantic play."[36] To quote Ockman:

> With its outline second letter *P*, it read as both "positions" and "oppositions," suggesting at once the kind of *position*-taking and *oppositional* stance to mainstream architecture that the journal wished to embody. The title could also be understood as "zero-positions," this reading (despite an obvious ambiguity) being intended to mean not to position or a lack of position, but rather an intention to be new, to start from scratch, from "degree zero," a polemical project nodding to Roland Barthes and typical of avant-garde magazines in the heyday of modernism: namely, to return a stagnant architectural culture to its ABC's, to a pioneer and reformist role in cultural politics.[37]

Today, it is also obvious that, in Eisenman's deconstructive play on the word, there was also an allusion to the "tabula rasa" of Modernism. As also the title gives credence to the impact of first avant-gardes of Modern Architecture on the editors, *Oppositions* was proclaimed as the "avantgardist magazine" of its time, and with its first issue, it started to transpire with an extremely provocative manner, to an extent, as Ockman indicated, with a "self-styled" and "self-promoting" manner. One might discriminate it by far from its subsequents on the basis of its deficiency of any categorical structure, as opposed to the specific specialization in subsequent issues. It was composed of five sovereign articles, three were of founding editors, Eisenman, Frampton and Gandelsonas, though Gandelsonas' work was a collective work with his wife Diane Agrest; one was of Anthony Vidler, who joined the editorial board later (after the 6th issue); and the other one was of Colin Rowe, who was Eisenman's tutor, as mentioned. All texts were seminal in value, though isolated on the basis of both concentration fields and points of view. In fact, all were specific promotions of separate states of mind posed by its own author, and all pronounced diverse, though thorough, polemical discussions.

To indicate; Colin Rowe's article was on "Neoclassicism and Modern Architecture," which was a cross-section in his ongoing sequence towards "*Gestalt* formalism," articulated first by his 1947 "Mathematics of the Ideal Villa."[38] Then came Peter Eisenman with "From Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens," which was a critical analysis of Alison and Peter Smithson's latest works, from Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens, with respect to the level of reverberation in their preconfigured existence by metaphors within the domain of architecture versus that of urbanism. Kenneth Frampton's essay was on "Industrialization and the Crises in Architecture," which was an historical appraisal, based on "the Cartesian split between appearance and being as a basis of the scientific method," influenced by Hannah Arendt and Walter Benjamin, which he later defined as his "naïve attempt to adopt a Benjaminian approach to historical phenomena," written "on the basis of his previous study of Hannah Arendt's work."[39] Then, an essay of Anthony Vidler, "News from the Realm of No-Where," appeared as the fourth contribution. Finally, Diane Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas contributed with an essay entitled, "Semiotics and Architecture: Ideological Consumption or Theoretical Work," which was an abridged version of a longer essay, already published in the periodical *Semiotica*. The essay was an attempt in light of Marxism and of French Semiotics, especially "of linguist Ferdinand Saussure's work," in which they interpreted

Semiotics "as a weapon against ideology or adaptive [architectural] theory" and proposed critical theory instead "devoted to the production of knowledge on architecture and to the critique of ideology."[40] As opposed to Pierce's semiotics, Gandelsonas and Agrest's article, therefore, marked another influence of Europe that was Structuralist philosophy.

As was to be expected, albeit resolute perpetuation of the editors' basic desire "to situate OPPOSITIONS within a critical context," *Oppositions* spontaneously commenced "to define itself," to limit its own path through multifarious polemics, aggravated by each article.[41] In fact, as soon as they faced with such an unintentional progress, the triumvirate professed their scope open-heartedly and attempted to "position themselves with respect to avant-garde tradition" in the editorial statement of the second issue.[42] For them, the possible path defined by the first issue of the periodical, might be seem "in a similar vein as the so-called 'little magazines' of the twenties and thirties," likewise the polemical journals such as *De Stijl* and *L'Esprit Nouveau* which were among sources of inspiration. Yet, such "spontaneous emergence" of polemical peculiarity was neither in the priorities of their thrust, nor a possibility. One should realize that it was a phenomenon of history that such "kind of polemical discourse" was a feature of bygone ideology, that any "inopportune" desire for a "resurrection" was as futile as any "adaptive theory," and so thought the triumvirate.[43]

The selection of articles, in this sense, was executed in respect to the inspiration degree for the spontaneous engenderment of their prospect for alternative discursive domains, regardless of "any and all" plausible antagonistic features of arguments, if related with architecture. The triumvirate, in fact, observed the complex paradox that was developed out of the collision between the naïve establishments of the compulsory limits, presented by the joint editorial lines and the autonomous reformist attitudes, provoked by selected articles very soon. The mere motivations behind the arbitrariness of article selection—though one might disagree the proclamation of "arbitrary" here, as each were either of IAUS' specific members, or selected according to their individual liking[44]—were designated in the editorial statement of volume two as follows:

> As editors, we have little desire to perpetuate the tenets of the liberal tradition; to publish texts simply because they are good examples of their kind, or solely because they represent yet another idiosyncratic point of view. At the same time, it must be made clear that we are not concerned with presenting current issues in the same manner as the established architectural magazines, with their

> need to define and market the latest tendencies in built work. Rather, we are concerned with an aspect which must precede any built work – the ideas which inform any architecture. In short, what we are striving for is the inducement of a number of specific discourses; namely, the critique of built works as a vehicle for ideas; the reassessment of the past as a means of determining the necessary relations existing between built form and social values; the establishment of a spectrum of theoretical discourses linking ideology and built form; the documentation of little known archival material as a means for advancing scholarship and thought in the field as a whole; and finally, the publication of reviews and letters that have direct bearing on the discourses at hand. As to the last, they seem to us to be primarily two-fold: firstly, an ongoing discourse on the place of physical form in architecture and planning today; and secondly, the indivisible ideological and socio-political implications of architectural production as a whole. For us the sum total of these efforts constitutes a new polemical form, which is dialectical in nature rather than rhetorical.[45]

Previous assertion might be considered as a justification of the idea that the selection of articles was executed within the limits of the predetermined endeavors of the triumvirate. They were all selected for prescribed purposes, or to express with a poetic analogy, they were all drained through a previously codified filter. Yet, the query arises: who coded this filter of "knowledge"? Frampton and Gandelsonas were prominent academicians in their own fields. Frampton was transplanted from England. As he acted as technical director in the Architectural Design magazine, and as his writings were more "prominent" than the others, he became "a key figure within the board for drafting editorials and, when necessary, filling gaps with articles."[46] His field of interest was history and criticism, in Ockman's words, "especially a social and political critique of current practice." The primary thematic domain his writings designated was therefore "the critique of modern and cultural industries."[47] During those years, he had "drawn to Frankfurt School critique with an Arendtian twist," as already mentioned in the previous section on British domain.[48] Gandelsonas, on the other hand, together with Agrest, were of Argentinean origins and had recently come to the States from Paris, where they had the chance to work with Roland Barthes. They were "interested in French Semiotics."[49] Gandelsonas was, as indicated by Ockman, "the most dedicated to theoretical issues, his concerns at the same time arising out of French structuralism and semiology combined, at least in theory, with a hard line Marxist-orientation; his design work to this date was almost entirely confined to drawing board."[50] The primary thematic domain his writings designated was "ideological / semiotic analysis of contemporary practices."[51] But, the assertive figure was obviously Eisenman. As well known, he was American, New Jersey-born, and he was

shown as the responsible for the transplantation of European-based thoughts to the States. Yet, he had a "strong European affiliation." As a reminder, he had studied for his PhD degree at Cambridge under the supervision of the eminent English architect and theoretician Colin Rowe. Cambridge experience marked a milestone in Eisenman's life due to multiple stimuli. First, in Cambridge, he started to develop "a strong interest in both Italian Rationalism, especially the work of Terragni, and Dutch Constructivism."[52] Second, his passionate interest in the modernist "little magazines" of Europe traced back to those years—he had collected them since then. Ockman stated Eisenman's growing interest in following words: "If *Mécano* and *De Stijl* were romantic precursors for any journalistic venture he would undertake, so were *Casabella* and *L'Architecture vivante*. He greatly admired the sophistication of the professional Italian magazine, but it was in the French one, edited by Jean Badovici from 1923 until its demise in 1932 (almost the same span of years as *Oppositions*), that he found a didactic presentation of work and theory especially to his liking."[53] Due to his own professional activity, such as his renowned house designs, he acquired the status of being the "practitioner" of the group. At that time, the writings of "Noam Chomsky and his grammatical notion of deep structure" were among Eisenman's principle interest and to "research into immanent formal operations and notations" were his writings' primary thematic domain.[54]

"Naturally, our respective concerns as individuals for formal, socio-cultural and political discourse will make themselves felt in our joint editing of Oppositions," they had written in the editorial statement of the first issue.[55] Six months later, however, in their joint editorial of number three, they declared that they were "sharply divided as to the importance of which each … attach[ed] to the relation of architecture and society."[56] It was this testimony, which thoroughly dominated the editorial of the third issue. The main claim was accurate. Since each figure referred to different aspects of the architecture-society-relation, and since their final resolutions had to be a collective cultivation, the editorial statements were to be extenuated reluctantly to fragile premises. This led to the reverberation of the editorial stance to be deemed as unproductive in their opinion, as if a total weakness cyclically enfolded around specific themes within the vicious circle of limitations. This was a frank criticism and might have given occasion to undesirable consequences, but Eisenman, Frampton and Gandelsonas generously managed to divert this negative factor into a positive one, which later counted among the constructive features that gave the magazine its "unique appearance." For instance, Ockman defined

the editorial board—including Anthony Vidler, who joined the team after the sixth issue—as a "high complementary team," because she believed that through "their similarities and differences" the magazine achieved "its specific complexion."[57] To unveil this complexion, further examination of their similarities and dissimilarities appeared as an essentiality: In terms of similarities, they corroborated on several motivations. First, all agreed that the journal should continue to maintain its critical context. Second, they all believed in "the marginal role played by architecture in a society dedicated to consumption."[58] Further, they all had, to quote Ockman, "a faith in the importance of architecture as a poetic manifestation and secondly, a belief in the importance of criticism as a necessary force set in perennial opposition to the established values of an empirically oriented society."[59] Confessing such "area of agreement" as "limited," they called attention to the imperative need to delineate a means for exceeding limitations, which for them, stood as imperative due to the potential that the divergences of the individual standpoints were, in their words, "of more consequence" than their common acceptances.[60] This critical concern of the triumvirate was comprehensible in the editorial statement, and in fact, by doing so, they prefaced a modification in terms of execution for the succeeding issues in future. They clearly mentioned that the future editorials, in their terminology, would be "written and signed individually."[61] Yet, the previously stipulated theoretical framework would remain constant, in order to abstain from any deviation from "a common area of debate."[62] The list of those principles was as follows, and, I believe, had a great significance as they unveiled proper means for the practicable use of pre-mentioned "differences" within their critical context:

> 1. As a preliminary to formulating a model for the relationship of architecture and society, we will each try to indicate in turn the way in which different cultural and ideological circumstances have shaped our divergent views as to *the nature of architecture and society.*
> 2. We will each attempt to formulate in turn *the role of theory in relation to practice* and the manner in which this relationship is able to exert an influence over architectural production.
> 3. We will also attempt to establish the essence of the nature of architecture as a critical agent and the degree to which this critique is affected by an opposition between the human life world and the idea of "progress."
> 4. Finally, we will try to engage the issue as to whether architecture is subject in the last analysis to an overriding cultural or existential determinant or as to whether it is limited solely by a universal construct of mind.[63]

The first item was of great significance so far as its provocative degree of facilitation of several rhetorical questions: Could one regard each number, prepared by Frampton, Eisenman, or Gandelsonas in turn, as the verification and confession, or better to say in Tafurian terminology a "doubling" of their own intellectual posture? Obviously, such claim would not be an over interpretation, as each volume of the journal included selected texts of past and present, and launched polemical projections for the future. As the triumvirate already commented, this posture was definitely diversified by the extensive panorama of their intellectual accumulation, broadened by alternative texts on history, theory, philosophy, or politics, all of which were cultivated edifices of "different cultural and ideological circumstances."

Thus, as international references constituted a majority of primary sources, each issue, depending on who edited it, variably presented a specific spectrum of European conjecture. Yet, the question that should be raised was whether such variability, proposing different stances, in differing philosophical densities, made the journal's appearance as a comprehensible totality in regard to the theoretical conjecture or caused an ambiguity. Hays' statement stood as an answer to all these questions. To quote literarily:

> But because of the editors' personal associations and the unfolding of *Oppositions*'s international network the pages of the journal would also become saturated with, conflicted with, and haunted by the presences of Colin Rowe and Manfredo Tafuri – the rock and the hard place, the light and the dark, between which *Oppositions*'s discourse, at least implicitly, was often conducted.[64]

With such a complex spectrum, one can easily state that *Oppositions,* though entrapped in-between comprehensiveness and ambiguity, represented all the vital and trivial peculiarities of any development of theory in the contemporary period, and accept its being a superlative source for the development of American architectural theory in the 1970s and 1980s. In fact, two seminal texts, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde: The History and the Program of Oppositions," written by Joan Ockman, and "The Oppositions of Autonomy and History," written by Michael Hays, unveil the necessary means of incisive apprehension in terms of the historical and theoretical conceptions in its progress.

Nevertheless, it is crucial here to state that the principal scope of our concern is neither to historicize the respective process of *Oppositions*, nor to theorize it in terms of its contribution to American architectural theory. Rather, it is to execute a thorough dialogue in the depths of the texts, so far as to unveil the probable indications of a penetration of European state of mind into that of American. Or, more specifically, to reveal "Italophile inclinations" that justifies the effect of the critical theories of Italians on the development of the American architectural theory, whose reputation is being "unique," and orientation is becoming global. Regardless of any definite judgment, either positive or negative, on the features of indications under focus, the analytic derivation of reference points appeared as substantiation for a clarification of the argument. Indeed, the chronological assessment of the selected articles may reveal the flow of arguments. In this context, remembering that the selections were subjective decisions of each volume's editor, to speculate a web of correlation among the articles without ignoring the personal accumulation of the editors might be a valid method of a critical inquiry, since it would unveil a hidden web of correlation between opposing agendas, more than any individual and typological interpretation.

In her essay "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," Ockman wrote, "*Oppositions* was responsible for introducing the Venice school of critiques and theoreticians to the United States, being first to publish the writing of Tafuri in English, as well as that of Francesco Dal Co, who was to become one of the journal's most prolific contributors; not to mention that of Giorgio Cuicci, Massimo Scolari, Georges Teyssot, and at a Spanish remove, Rafael Moneo."[65] In fact, this statement is veritable, at least in the collective memory, though biased due to the unjust ignorance of Tafuri's first text in English "Design and Technological Utopia," previously published in the 1972 INDL exhibition catalog, yet still has great significance in terms of its stimulation for the probable causes of such kind of reminiscence. Herein, one may interrogate why and how Ockman had overseen Tafuri's first text in the INDL catalog and why she assumed that through *Oppositions* Tafuri was introduced to American intellectuals. Those queries, in fact, addressed non-rhetorical genuineness due to the accurate resolutions that might be concealed within the provocative examination of the dialectics between the illusionary contingency and its pretext. Of great possibility, significant figures of the New York circle discovered Tafuri through the INDL exhibition, irrespective of any misestimation, but if the paradigm was Tafuri's promotion to the notice of the States, it was obviously

through *Oppositions*, which, in reverse, facilitated the "self-promotion" of "so-called American avant-garde."[66] Moreover, Tafuri's proficient template for criticism, expounded entirely within the particular text in question, was just what the specific family craved to disclose.

The primary focus of previous discussion was obviously Manfredo Tafuri's seminal text, entitled "L'architecture dans le Boudoir," published in the third issue of the *Oppositions* in May 1974.[67] Manfredo Tafuri did not script the text specifically for the private use of *Oppositions*; the article was the English translation of Tafuri's verbal presentation at a conference series, organized by Diana Agrest at Princeton University in April 1974. The title of the conference was "Practice, Theory and Politics in Architecture." The guest speakers included several prominent figures of the time, not surprisingly IAUS members and Italian designers constituted the majority. Rem Koolhass, Jorge Silvetti, Mario Gandelsonas, all were IAUS members, and Adolfo Natalini, a member of Italian rebellious architect-team Superstudio, whom we know well from INDL exhibition, spoke "on practice."[68] Peter Eisenman and Lionel March, an architect-mathematician from Cambridge, specialized in computer-aided design, spoke "on theory."[69] Kenneth Frampton, Melvin Charney, who was an artist and architect from Montreal, and Franco Raggi, a well-known Italian architect and designer, spoke "on politics."[70] And, Manfredo Tafuri contributed with a presentation in Italian, "L'architecture dans le Boudoir: il linguaggio della a critica e la critica del linguaggio." Of great significance, this meeting triggered three occasions on both sides: It was Manfredo Tafuri's first encounter with the American audience. On the American side, the opportunity to make a face-to-face discussion with Tafuri was gained a year after his first text in English appeared in the INDL exhibition catalog. On the IAUS' side, it conduced the original occasion of the acquaintance of Eisenman and others with Tafuri officially.

Regardless of further comment on Tafuri's influence on this significant party, one can understand the level of impact by means of the immediate translation of his speech notes into English within a month, as if urging to catch up with the printing of the oncoming issue. Here, it is crucial to note Ockman's statement: "One form of editorial intervention was that of the editor's introduction or postscript to individual articles, a rhetorical technique used to "contextualize" the material presented."[71] The article was introduced to

the public in the following context: “One of the recent and serious developments of theoretical work- the Italian movements during the sixties – is paradoxically one of the least known in the States. OPPOSITIONS *begins* the presentation and discussion of this important body of ideas with the publication of ‘L’architecture dans le Boudoir’ by Manfredo Tafuri, one of the more representative figures of this period.”[72] As indicated in the statement, the fundamental scope behind the presentation of this ephemeral piece of work was to raise this particular state of mind to the notice of the American reader. The point that merits further emphasis, however, was the confirmation that this would be the commencement of a session, not surprisingly, its moderator being Tafuri and its inaugural speech being Tafuri’s “criticism of ideology.” They addressed the significance of Tafuri’s work within the context as follows:

> Tafuri’s work, profoundly marked by his philosophical position within the dialectic materialist approach, has been developed by means of the modern theoretical concepts, drawn from French and Italian structuralism. With this basis, he has developed a personal position, which he calls a “productive criticism,” which is rigorously grounded in history. Within his perspective, he has developed a critique of more traditional approaches to theory; this has led him from a central focus on criticism of architecture to a criticism of ideology.[73]

Having reminded Diane Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas’ studies on the critical theory devoted to the critique of ideology, expressed in the article published *Oppositions 1,* and realizing the editor’s connection of Tafuri and his “productive criticism” with the structuralist point of view, it would not be hard to understand why Agrest invited Tafuri to Princeton for the lecture. Despite the lack of any information on whether Agrest was familiar to Tafuri’s work in advance or not, such prevision stood as a great probability. Yet, the immense thrust of Tafuri’s text towards criticality, or better to call critical theory, prompted the editors of *Oppositions* similarly, due to one to one match of their preliminary desire to situate the architectural works into a critical context, as set out clearly by joint editorials. In this sense, “L’architecture dans le Boudoir” was presented as a text that included “Tafuri’s central ideas.” Yet, as well known, the intellectuals of the United States were already accustomed to Tafuri and his critical reading “in respect to Italian context,” since his early article was published in the INDL exhibition catalog a year ago. However, beyond his critical approach, “L’architecture dans le Boudoir” essay attracted specifically Eisenman and other members of the editorial board probably due another additional factor. In this essay, Tafuri competently accumulated “the tendencies

in American architecture" into his critical discourse, which was exactly what the three editors yearned to build by means of the journal. Tafuri's respected identification of a "typology for different approaches to criticism," his complex model of critical analysis founded on a tripartite prospect seemed to fall into the projected limits of the journal.[74] The editor's reading of Tafuri's model was in the following perspective:

> The first is the consideration of language as technical neutrality; the second, the consideration of the dissolution of language, and third is the consideration of architecture as irony and criticism. A fourth possibility, which is in essence his own position, recognizes the importance of the attempts to organize intellectual work in general and "architecture in particular within the social process of production. For Tafuri, the "general organization of building process" becomes then the only valid object of analysis for a criticism that aims in this way to integrate itself within that process.[75]

Herein, it should be acknowledged that Manfredo Tafuri's essay "L'architecture dans le Boudoir" (1974) became a milestone in *Oppositions* history. For example, Hays, the editor of the *Oppositions Reader*, specified the common theme of the essays, published in *Oppositions*, as the "dialectic of autonomy and historical determinacy," and he discriminated "L'architecture dans le Boudoir" from others due to the radicality of Tafuri's position.[76] Among all other articles published in *Oppositions* history, Tafuri's essay, in his words, "makes architecture when it is most itself – most pure, most rational, and most attendant to its own techniques – precisely then the most efficient ideological agent of capitalist planification and unwitting victim of capitalism's historical closure."[77] In the introduction of *Oppositions Reader*, entitled "The Oppositions of Autonomy and History," Hays drew a comprehensive picture of Tafuri's intellectual context. In Hays' words, "Tafuri sees architecture not as just the victim of demolition work done on cultural codes by functionalism and instrumentalizing methodologies, or by commodification or reification, but as inseparable from and, indeed, complicitous with the quantification by the commodity system that began in the nineteenth century and had arrived fully geared up in the postwar consumer culture of America."[78] For Hays, his 1969 essay, "Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology", articulated Tafuri's verdict on contemporary architecture perfectly. Through the formulation of modernism as a "unitary development," as a well-rounded process penetrated to every period, starting from enlightenment to present day, he had already announced his denial of "any periodization of a postmodernism." According to Hays, Tafuri embraced "Modernism" as

a tool of architecture's constant search for its own logic, to build up a "social vocation," in which the "rationality of capitalism" transfigured into "the rationality of autonomous form."[79] In Hays' words, "the contemporary struggle of architecture to return to itself through autonomous formal operations alerts us not to architecture's success, but its coming to grief against a historical moment, one that shuts down certain social functions that architecture had previously performed."[80]

Hays claims that Tafuri's analysis took architecture to a double joint, depending on its obedience to, or its resistance against the impositions of capitalist society. Obedience required the complete acceptation of its rules to "function in a capitalist society." In this case, for Hays, Tafuri settled architecture in a subordinating state in which it could only reproduce "the structure and the codes of that society in its own immanent logic and forms."[81] Disobedience, on the contrary, referred to architecture's refusal to act within the limited borders of capitalism, and its insistence to track its own course. In this case, for Hays, Tafuri presented "capitalism" as a threat for its being operative, since it, in Hays' words, "simply draws it from surface and relegates it to the boudoir."[82] For Hays, Tafuri's ideas scented some sort of "bleakness" that resulted from the underestimated posture of architecture's functioning based on its argumentative relationship with capitalist rationality. Thus, this "bleakness" was best exemplified in his interpretation of several autonomous architectural works of the 1970s as "redundant and trivialized" attempts, distanced from "the codes of society."[83] In fact, the verification of Hays' interpretation was hidden between the lines of Tafuri's following presumption in "L'architecture dans le Boudoir." Therein, Manfredo Tafuri wrote:

> Today, he who wishes to make architecture speak is forced to rely on materials empty of any and all meaning; he is forced to reduce to degree zero all architectonic ideology, all dreams of social function, and any utopian residues. In his hands, the elements of modern architectural tradition came suddenly to be reduced to enigmatic fragments—to mute signals of language whose code has been lost—staffed away causally in the desert of history. In their own way, those architects, who, from the late fifties until today, have tried to reconstruct a common discourse for their discipline, have felt the need to make a new morality of content. Their purism or their rigorism is that of someone driven to a desperate action that cannot be justified except from within itself.[84]

The line of Tafuri's categorization, for Hays, revealed the degree of his critical concern against those operations in his next sentence: "It is precisely several of these salvage operations that we wish the language of criticism to confront: after all, to historicize such deliberately antihistorical projects means nothing more than to reconstruct, as rigorously as possible, the system of ambiguity of metaphors that are too clearly problematic to be left isolated as disquieting monads."[85] So, the problem emanated from the choice of criticism's correct tools, or how to historicize, rather than what to historicize. He started his argument by stating that his intention was not to review architectural trends, but to analyze some attitudes that he saw significant, and to enable his colleagues to question the "specific task of criticism" when confronted with different cases, or in other words the dynamic role of "criticism." In this context, he summarized the main subjects of his examination under four main titles:

> 1) those trends which respond to language as a purely technical neutrality, when set themselves against the destruction of language as it is generated by a bureaucraticized architecture; this will allow us to reveal the answers offered by the profession and on that research which tries to renew an awareness of linguistic processes and to link up with the experiments of the avant-garde which have been influenced by formalist methodologies;
> 2) research based on the dissolution of language itself, on the systematic destruction of form that is aimed at the total control of the technological environment;
> 3) research which interprets architecture as criticism and irony, as well as that which deliberately denies the possibility of an architectonic communication in favor of a neutral system of "information";
> 4) the emergence of an architecture which aims to redistribute the capitalist division of labor, which moves towards an understanding of the technician's role in building — that is a responsible partner in the economic dynamics and as an organizer directly involved in the production cycle.[86]

For Tafuri, all those examinations would provide the proper thematic ground to "locate" the "role of difficult exchange between intellectuals and class movements."[87] And, he continued as follows:

> We must, however, bear in mind that every analysis that attempts to grasp the structural relationship between the specific forms of the architectural language and the world of production of which they are a part must do so by violating the object of analysis itself. Criticism, in other words, sees itself constrained to adopt a "repressive" character, if it wishes to free that which is beyond language; if it desired to bring upon itself the cruel autonomy of architectural writing; if, after all, it wishes the "mortal silence of the sign" speak.[88]

In fact, Tafuri's statement was founded on an analogy he developed upon the use of the theme "language," in the literal work versus architectural work. Basing on the presumption that "language" was a "system of meanings," he situated most contemporary works that questioned the "meaning of architecture" by means of language to a slippery plane that hovered between forms: the "forms of commentary, and that of criticism."[89] For this situation, he gave the example of Stirling and his ironic use of "quotation" that demonstrated. In his words:

> … the consequences of reducing the architectural object to a syntax in transformation, to a linguistic process that wishes, nevertheless, to challenge the tradition of the Modern Movement, that is, to be measured, against the body of work strongly compromised in an "antilinguistic" sense. Stirling has rewritten the "words" of modern architecture, constructing an authentic "archeology of the present."[90]

In fact, Tafuri's use of the term "parabola" best signified what he meant when speaking of Stirling's concern. In a sense, Stirling's architecture, for Tafuri, unfolded the language of modern architecture. Through his eminent "manipulation of grammar and syntax of architectural signs," in Tafuri's mind, Stirling's work facilitated endless possibilities by means of his strategic play with the "formalist procedures of contrast and opposition," by which he implied "the rotation of axes, the montage of antithetical materials, and the use of technological distortions."[91] Classifying this very act of Stirling as his "symbolism," Tafuri determined the basis of his act as "the extenuation of form," which might explain the lack of symbolic elements in his latter work, as if achieving to an extreme level beyond "the point of deforming language, of exhausting it."[92] This specification on Stirling's "symbolism" was what motivated Tafuri to interpret his work as "texts," emanated from an "operation of controlled *bricolage,*" rather than the "explosions of an imaginary utopia."[93]

In fact, Stirling's work for Tafuri was the proof of any possible superimposition of the forms of commentary and criticism in an operation that, in Tafuri's words, "condemn[ed] the utopia inherent to the attempt to salvage an architecture as 'discourse'."[94] It was in this light Tafuri asserted, to use his terminology, the "criticism leveled at Stirling in the name of functionalism"—a course under which laid the entire "modern architecture"— as "correct and unwarranted."[95] He wrote: "Once having artificially reconstructed the autonomous system of linguistic structures, these criticisms can only play themselves out

in an interplay of tensions between the world of signs and the real world."[96] It was at this point Tafuri raised his initial problem once more that sought for the "manner" that, in his words, "criticism [did] become compromised in such a 'perverse play', under whose ambiguous sign the entire course of modern architecture wavers."[97] And, continued:

> At the origin of a critical act, there lies a process of destroying, of dissolving, of disintegrating a given structure. Without such a disintegration of the object under analysis, no further rewriting of the object is possible. And it is self evident that no criticism exists that does not retrace the process that has given birth to the work and that does not redistribute the elements of the work into a different order, if so no other purpose than to construct typological methods. But here, criticism begins what might be called its "doubling" of the object under analysis. The simple linguistic analysis of architecture that confines itself to speaking only the work's status as language laid bare would result in mere description. Such an analysis would be unable to break the magic circle that the work has drawn around itself, and, consequently, it would only [be] able to manipulate the very process by which the text produces itself, thereby repeating the roles of this productivity. The sole external referent of such a completely 'intrinsic' reading of the object under analysis would have to be found in the gaps, in the interstices of the linguistic object. Thus this 'doubling' engendered by criticism must go beyond the mere construction of a 'second language' to be kept floating above the original text, as theorized by Barthes and realized by Stirling.[98]

This passage is of great significance within the context of this thesis, as mentioned before in the introduction. Thus, it had another implication, since it manifested a 'method' focusing on the "discourse of language," but could be extended to include a variety of operations, including any work in whose origin there laid the critical operation. This was also what Tafuri indicates, but to preclude any misinterpretation of the term "criticism," he drew attention to the fact that further elaboration was required for the eminent selection of its correct tools from within the discipline of architecture. For Tafuri, first, criticism had the compulsion of defining its tasks with regard to architecture properly, and said that:

> We arrive at the limitcase: wherein non-linguistic residues in architecture of Stirling and Louis Kahn—those aspects of the real world that have not been converted into form— are suddenly eliminated; wherein absolute presence of form renders "scandalous" the presence of chance—and even that expression *par excellence* of chance, human behavior.[99]

In fact, Tafuri questioned the interconnection of the "analysis of specific phenomena with the search for a correct use of the instruments of critical inquiry."[100] Tafuri, by

reexamining the specific works of Italians, such as the ones influenced by semiology, and dealt with signs, and the radical architects, as he did previously in “Design and Technological Utopia” essay, and then by comparing them with the similar attempts of Americans, such as Venturi and others akin to postmodernism, and Eisenman and others akin to neomodernism, yielded a comparative critical analysis of the period and questioned their relationship with capitalist rationality from a Marxist viewpoint. This specific text appeared in *Oppositions* 3, in 1974, which corresponded to a period when slight changes in regard to the balances within the editorial board became perceivable. In fact, if one asks why and how Tafuri’s text affected the run of events after 1974, the verities for such queries are concealed within the total picture, covering the significant architectural events of the oncoming period, as much as the Italophile initiatives of authors, written in *Oppositions*. Thus, the definite significance of this text maybe explained due to Tafuri’s *discovery* of American “avant-gardes,” and in turn the discovery of him by them. Here a passage from a debate between Mario Gandelsonas, Michael Hays, and many important theoreticians of that generation might help one to conceive the run of events. This debate was published in *Assemblage*. There, Mario Gandelsonas was speaking of the 1974 lecture series in *Princeton* and the story behind the publication of Tafuri’s text in *Oppositions*:

> *I don’t know if I was moved, but I felt something hit me when you [Hays] mentioned Diana’s conference at Princeton in 1974. Its importance is something that has never been properly acknowledged, and, in fact, it has always been suppressed. The internal resistance at Princeton was enormous, and Diana was almost fired. First of all, because she invited a group of totally unknown people like Rem, Jorge, and myself. Diana taught at Princeton for three years, from 1973 to 1976. And the second year she decided to invite Manfredo Tafuri, who at that point was totally unknown in the States. I guess part of the problem was that Tafuri came without slides and gave his lecture in Italian. When he asked about slides, he said that he might need two because he wanted to talk about order and disorder. So he had one Schwitters and one Mondrian slide. Then he showed housing by two unknown architects, Rossi and Aymonimo. What was interesting was what happened next (which is not well-known).* Oppositions *had noted my complicity in this conference and Frampton and Eisenman got Diana to introduce them to Tafuri. They then invited Tafuri (and not Diana) to publish his Princeton lecture in* Oppositions *(Peter negotiated the deal), which then allowed* Oppositions *to appear as the promoter of this theoretical break. So I would say that the politics of that discourse led an instantaneous historical distortion and suppression of the facts.*[101]

4. 2 - THE RETURN OF OPPOSITIONS, 1976: THEMES "AUTONOMIZATION AND HISTORICISM"

With the "importation and transformation of European phenomenological and structuralist criticisms," wrote Michael Hays, "the European discourses of Marxism and structuralism began to mingle with Anglo-American formalism and the context for the *pas de deux* of autonomization and historicism was set."[102] As already noted, *Oppositions* journal was responsible for the importation of certain theoretical patterns, aggravated by an unfamiliar body of thought. In this light, the themes, "autonomization and historicism," became our crucial keywords, if what exactly was imported to the American architectural discourse is going to be discussed. Referring to Hays' introduction of *Oppositions Reader*, I believe, is the most appropriate way to derive the traces of the prementioned autonomization of architecture and the historicism. Therein, he claimed that: "Three *Oppositions* editorials broached the theme more or less directly."[103] The aforementioned editorials, of course, were those of number 5 "Neo-Functionalism," number 6 "Post-Functionalism," and number 7 "The Third Typology," edited and written by Mario Gandelsonas, Peter Eisenman and Anthony Vidler, respectively.

Mario Gandelsonas' editorial statement in *Oppositions* number 5, published in the summer of 1976, entitled "Neo-Functionalism" was, for Hays, the "first" example which, in his words, "categorized dialectically" the architectural works of the time and "posited, as a possible third term, neo-functionalism."[104] The corpus of the manifestation was founded on a parallelism he set up between the architectural activities of the 1970s with those of the 1920s, the time of orthodox Modernism, based on the very "simple and embryonic idea of meaning."[105] Regardless of any notional confrontation in terms of the ideology of that day and present, Gandelsonas conducted a dialectical re-reading of situation, by means of a critical dialogue through the compulsory attempts of past with projections to future over the traditional denominator of architecture: "meaning in architecture." Categorizing the architectural activities in the 1970s under two main headings, Neo-Rationalism and Neo-Realism – he complemented the work of Aldo Rossi in Europe, and the works of Hedjuk and Eisenman in the States, with the dispositions of

Neo-Rationalism, and the work of Venturis, with Neo-Realism – Gandelsonas operated his criticism upon the continual justification that, albeit their being extensions of reverse ideologies, all were in pursuit of resurrecting meaning of architecture in contemporary condition. For Gandelsonas, each position presented oppositional, yet polemical roles. As an instance, Neo-Rationalism was based on the idea of "autonomous architecture," it was an architecture which was, according to its most radicals, "a force in itself," a "language that only "spoke about itself," an autonomous entity exceeding any indispensible tie between "history and culture."[106] Neo-Realism, on the other hand, was the other extreme opposite of Neo-Rationalism, it was literally connected to, thus nourished by, "historical and cultural" issues and their related practices, such as advertising, pop art, cinema, and industrial design, it was an architecture which spoke of "a language" developed upon their mannerist terminology. Irrespective of their opposing nature, the "common ground" those "antagonist ideologies" shared was worthy of further emphasis for Gandelsonas. In his view, they were both against "functionalism," but beyond that, they were both the epitomes of a reactionary emergence of a "third and once dominant ideology," or as Gandelsonas named it, the "Manichean view of functionalism as a negative and regressive ideology."[107] Herein, the double junction Gandelsonas embarked was persuasive due to the efficacy for the release of a "paradox." Although the functionalist practices of post-war architecture oppressed "repressive" affinities, Gandelsonas reminded how functionalism of the orthodox modern period, "when functionalism was most itself," proclaimed "a progressive ideology," when announcing the "definite demise of classical architecture," which by no means justified their activist "creation of a new architectural language."[108] For Gandelsonas, therefore, they might be complimentary attitudes against the mere exhaustion of the very core of functionalism, but on the other side, they in a sense presented a paradoxical stance by taking "a similar position by developing fragment of this doctrine." In Gandelsonas' words:

> In this sense, the prefix "neo-," suggesting a movement coming from the past, is appropriate to characterize the revival of an ideology that originated a long time ago and which is still being developed. The early ideology of functionalism embodied both notions of realism and rationalism: the former can be seen in Le Corbusier's use of "object-type," – the airplane, the ocean liner and the car; at the same time, these images also embodied the latter in a consistent logic for the generation of forms in architecture, a logic that was implied by such ideas as "the plan is a generator," or "regulating lines."[109]

Herein, Gandelsonas put emphasis on another feature of Functionalism, other than its ideology: "the problem of meaning, of the symbolic dimension of architecture."[110] As the dictum, "form-follows-function" implied in itself a strict connection of function with form, or in Gandelsonas' words, as "function itself is one of the meanings that could be articulated by form," it was the "simple and embryonic idea of meaning," for Gandelsonas, which constituted functionalism's essential basis, though this very feature of it had never achieved the ample recognition due to the "polemical conditions facing architecture in the beginning of this century."[111] It was of great significance, inasmuch as identical venture for meaning constituted the fundamental basis, strove by current ideologies. As the polemical condition in the 1920s was history, the present situation for Gandelsonas necessitated such revolutionary attempts that would "reconfront" what orthodox modernists failed. Activist attempts that would, in his words, "interrogate the tendencies of 1960s and early 1920s into a more comprehensive ideology which fundamentally emphasizes the development of the symbolic dimension – the introduction of the problem of meaning within the process of design in a systematic and conscious way."[112]

Indeed, Gandelsonas' premise concealed in itself an ideological criticism of "neo-rationalist and neo-realist positions." Thematizing his critical logic, foregrounding the "problem of meaning," as "Neo-Functionalism," Gandelsonas proposed an alternative stance against neo-realism or neo-rationalism that condemned their "elimination of complex contradiction inherent in functionalism" by abstracting certain "fragments of the original doctrine," as isolated entities regardless of context.[113] "A neo-functionalist position," wrote Gandelsonas, "would neither eliminate nor solve these dialectical contradictions but rather would assume them as one of the main forces which keep alive the development of ideas in architecture. Thus the concept of neo-functionalism would exclude neither the neo-realist nor the neo-rationalist notions, but rather add and develop a fundamental dimension of meaning, thereby constituting all dimensions of the original doctrine."[114] In case of any possible bias to define the very act as a "revival" or a "reconsideration of functionalism," Gandelsonas' proposal transpired a systematic and a methodological body, nourished by the so-called underestimated contradictions underlying functionalist ideology that molded its "progressive" character, in order to build up "a dialectical basis for architecture.[115]

Peter Eisenman was the editor of *Oppositions* 6. His editorial, entitled "Post-Functionalism," on the other hand, instigated with an avowal of "critical establishments within architecture" in the era of "postmodernism."[116] As a mutual phenomenon of the day, however, Eisenman drew attention to the speculative interpretation of the particular term, "postmodernism," which varied due to the attribution of different "tones" to the term by two different cultures.[117] He examined the altering tones of the term over two architectural exhibitions, each of which achieved enormous reputation worldwide, but held in two different geographies, and enunciated varying manifestations and controversial projections. The first one was the "Architectura Rationale" exhibition, at the Milan Triennale of 1973, held in Italy; the other was the "Ecole des Beaux Arts" exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1975, held in the United States. In Eisenman's words:

> The former, going on the assumption that modern architecture was an outmoded functionalism, declared that architecture can be generated only through a return to itself as an autonomous or pure discipline. The latter, seeing the modern architecture as an obsessional formalism, made itself into an implicit statement that the future lies paradoxically in the past, within the peculiar response to function that characterized the nineteenth century's eclectic command of historical styles.[118]

Nevertheless, for Eisenman, the compelling feature of these diverse attitudes was not a result of the notional inconsistency, originating their differentiated characterization. Rather, for him, it was due to the obscured uniformity as the result of the very attribution of the "*same* meaning" to the "project of architecture." This obscurity had constituted the base of "500-year-old tradition of humanism," in Eisenman's words: "one by which the terms continue to be function (or program), and form (or type)."[119] According to Eisenman, despite the slight variations between the humanist theories of architecture, they all were "characterized by a dialectical opposition," emanated from their fluctuation between two major commitments, which conduced the incompatible extremes of design experience: "a concern for an internal accommodation – the program and the way it is materialized" and "a concern for articulation of ideal themes in form – for example, as manifested in the configurational significance of plan."[120] For Eisenman, there had always been a "balance" between these two opposite poles, in humanist practice. Yet, for Eisenman, the ongoing balance between these concerns had collapsed with "the rise of industrialization." In his words, "a concern for programmatic statement" had

overbalanced the humanist "concern for expression of ideal type." That is why; to rephrase his words, "architecture became increasingly a social and programmatic act."[121] As could be best exemplified by the motto "form-follows-function," the radical formulation for architectural creation that was staged at the first half of this century, for Eisenman, presented a contemporaneous alienation, presented as a modernist tradition, far away from any humanist tradition, seeking for the traditional balance between form and function. By the beginning of the 1960s, when all modernist constraints started to be questioned, there were those who still believed in the sustainability of "the polemics and theories of the early Modern Movement" realigned as "Neo-Functionalists" with similar sensibilities.[122] He claimed that:

> This neo-functionalist attitude, with its idealization of technology, was invested with the same ethical positivism and aesthetic neutrality of the prewar polemic. However, the continued substitution of a moral criteria for those of a more formal nature produced a situation, which now can be seen to have created a functionalist predicament, precisely because the primary theoretical justification given to formal arrangements was a moral imperative that is no longer operative within contemporary experience. This sense of displaced positivism characterizes certain current perceptions of the failure of humanism within a broader cultural context."[123]

Nevertheless, both the Ecole des Beaux-Arts exhibition and the Triennale sought the problem of present-day practice from another perspective, for Eisenman. They preferred "the revival of neo-classicism and Beaux-Arts academicism," inasmuch as their being the representatives of humanist tradition before industrialization.[124] Eisenman was opposed to such predicament. All the "stylistic manifestations," and the "abstraction, atonality, atemporality" of those styles were of great significance for Eisenman but did not help to conspire of the "essential nature" beyond them.[125] Instead, the absolute "displacement of man" from the center of any architectural production, the "non-humanist attitude toward the relationship of an individual to his physical environment" were resolute aspects that, Eisenman believed, obligated the "break with the historical past" when man was viewed as the central subject of any creation.

Nevertheless, like Gandelsonas, Eisenman also credited the re-elaboration of the "basic implications of modernism," despite a difference. In the "Post-Functionalism" that he advocated, modernism was granted "a new and distinct sensibility" whose comprehension

could only be achieved through "a theoretical base" that concentrated on "a modernist dialectic, as opposed to the old humanist (i.e. functionalism) opposition of form and function."[126] Post-functionalism, therefore, presented all the revolutionary capacities, which Eisenman believed in, to transform "the humanist balance of form/function to a dialectical relationship within the evolution of form itself."[127] The dialectic was the most important value collinear with the needs of present-day. In his words:

> The dialectic can best be described as the potential co-existence within any form of two non-corroborating and non-sequential tendencies. One tendency is to presume architectural form to be a recognizable transformation from some pre-existent geometric and platonic-solid. In this case, form is usually understood through a series of registrations designed to recall a more simple geometric condition. This tendency is certainly a relic of modernist theory. However, to this is added a second tendency that sees architectural form in an atemporal, decompositional mode, as something simplified from some pre-existing set of non-specific spatial entities. Here, form is understood as a series of fragments – signs without meaning depended upon and with reference to, a more basic condition. The former tendency, when taken by itself, is a reductivist attitude and assumes some primary unity as both an ethical and an aesthetic basis for all creation. The latter, by itself, assumes a basic condition of fragmentation and multiplicity from which the resultant form is a state of simplification. Both tendencies, however, when taken together, constitute the new essence of this new, modern dialectic. They begin to define the inherent nature of the object in and of itself and its capacity to be represented. They begin to suggest that theoretical assumptions of functionalism are in fact cultural rather than universal.[128]

This whole paragraph summarized Eisenman's approach and the line of his selection of the articles at *Oppositions* 6. After volume 6, Anthony Vidler joined the editorial team, and his thematic domain was "institutional and typological studies."[129] *Oppositions* number 7 was edited by Vidler. In the editorial statement, entitled "The Third Typology," Vidler theorized the architectural creations of the New-Rationalist ideology, with references from especially the work of Aldo Rossi. He developed a comparative debate in regard to the "*philosophes*" behind the ideological domain of typological architectural production, with that of two former and "distinct typologies" in history. The first was the rationalist typology of Enlightenment, formulated by Laugier, upon the central proposal: "a natural basis for design was to be found in the model of primitive hut."[130] The second was the typology of orthodox modern ideology, formulated by Le Corbusier, due to "the need to confront the question of mass-production at the end of the nineteenth century" upon the central proposal: "the model of architectural design should be founded in the

production process itself."[131] The crucial aspect of both typologies was their rigid belief toward the fact that, in Vidler's words, "rational science and later technological production, embodied the most progressive 'forms' of the age, and that the mission of architecture was to confirm to, and perhaps even master these forms as the agent of progress."[132] The reemergence of typology at that time, as could be best exemplified by the works of Aldo Rossi and Rob and Leon Krier, on the other hand, was developed out of the distrust against "the promises of Modern Movement," by a revived fascination towards "the forms and fabric of pre-industrial cities."[133] As the locus of "concern," the third typology appointed "the traditional city" and consequently its operative forms as its reserve to supply the possible "materials for classification," in order to construct "the basis of reconstruction." It was also based on "Reason and classification," analogous to former typologies, but presented differentiation in terms of the mere progressive aloofness during its attribution of a "very different order" to "the idea of type." The types were not used due to their scientific or technical values; instead, they were used due to their architectural values. By formulating an analogy between "the nature of city" and "the nature referred to in recent design," Vidler denoted that they were all, in his words, "emptied of specific social content from any particular time, and allowed to speak simply of its formal condition."[134] In Vidler's words:

> This concept of city as the site of a new typology is evidently born of a desire to stress the continuity of form and history against the fragmentation produced by the elemental institutional and mechanical typologies of the recent past. The city is considered as a whole, its part and present revealed in it physical structure. It is in itself and of itself a new typology. This typology is not built up out of separate elements, nor assembled out of objects classified according to use, social ideology, or technical characteristics: it stands complete and ready to be decomposed into fragments. These fragments do not re-invent institutional type-forms nor repeat past typological forms: they are selected and reassembled according to criteria derived from three levels of meaning – the first, inherited from meanings ascribed by past existence of the forms; the second, derived from choice of the specific fragment and its boundaries, which often cross between previous types; the third, proposed by a re-composition of these fragments in a new context.[135]

Ascribing this premise as "radical," for Vidler, there was a denial of "all the social utopian and progressively positivist definitions of architecture," normative in the last two-hundred years, in the third typologists' definition of the city, or in other words, "the ontology of city."[136] According to Vidler, "the adaptation of city as the site for identification of architectural typology had always ensured "a political essence" in its

being, and naturally suggested the adaptable capacity for “the fragmentation and recomposition of its special and institutional forms” which of course brought with itself “a political implication.”[137] The epitome of quotation, therefore, had not developed with an intention to leave those types detached from its context, “deprived of their original and political meaning,” but rather used those “carried meanings” as an agent so as to advance new social and political connotations.[138] In other words, Vidler defined those imported meanings by types as a key to advance new meanings. For him, the rationalists’ “technique, or rather the fundamental compositional method” was , in his words, “the transformation of selected types – partial or whole – into entirely new entities that draw their communicative power and potential critical force from the understanding of this transformation.”[139] In this sense, the advocators of the third typology pronounced a “critical” stance against Modern Movement, by installing a “metaphoric opposition” to its institutional structuring. To quote Vidler:

> While the Modern Movement found its hell in the closed, cramped, and insalubrious quarters of the old industrial cities, and its Eden in the interrupted sea of sunlit space filled with greenery – a city became a garden – the new typology as a critique of modern urbanism raises the continuous fabric, the clear distinction between public and private marked by the walls of street and square, to the level of principle. Its nightmare is the isolated building set in an undifferentiated park. The heroes of this new typology are therefore to be found not among the nostalgic, anti-city utopians of the nineteenth century nor among the critics of industrial and technical progress of the twentieth, but rather among those who, as the professional servants of urban life , direct their design skills to solving the question of avenue, arcade, street and square, park and house, institution and equipment in continuous typology of elements that together chores with past fabric and present intervention to make one comprehensible experience of city.[140]

According to Vidler, the third typologists did not obey any “clear set of rules;” they did not have “any polemical defined set of historical precedents,” and did not accept any “nostalgia,” any “utilitary descriptions of the social meaning of form, recognizing the spacious quality of any single ascription of social order to architectural order.”[141] They did not believe any “eclecticism, resolutely filtering its quotations through the lens of a modernist aesthetic.”[142] Therefore, for Vidler, these exact aspects make this typology “an entirely modern movement,” in which, to quote Vidler, “the city and typology are reasserted as the only possible bases for the restoration of a critical role to an architecture otherwise assassinated by the apparently endless cycle of production and consumption.”[143]

As Hays claimed, previous editorials, in a way, were manifesting three different horizons for architectural discourse, in terms of "autonomization and historicity." The article selections in each, therefore, was done in a previously determined context and might be considered as each unique stance's sources of information, or supplementary sources, which they chose to verify their manifestation. In this context, the fifth issue, the issue of Gandelsonas, presented three texts in the subsection "Oppositions," all related to Italian discourse. They were as such: "Aldo Rossi: The Idea of Architecture and the Modena Cemetery," written by Rafael Moneo, "The Blue Sky," written by Aldo Rossi, and "American Graffiti: Five x Five = Twenty-five," written by Manfredo Tafuri. All were selective representations of Italophile state of mind. According to Ockman, the section "Oppositions" was usually the main reason of "editorial dissention."[144] To quote Ockman:

> Clearly, it was not only a question of consistently finding work of a quality that could sustain close critical attention and a writer capable of bringing to bear an acute analysis on that work, although these could be real enough problems. There was also the more delicate politics of dealing candidly with the work of certain figures and powers very close to home, as well as that of disagreement as to quality or plain differences of taste, particularly as the stylistic climate outside veered toward postmodernism.[145]

As indicated by Ockman, the frequent appearance of the work of the Italian Tendenza and the New York Five in this section was a symbol of both the journal's "Italophile inclinations and its promotion (self-promotion) of the so-called 'American avant-garde'," which, she thought, were all due to Eisenman's presence on the editorial board.[146] Number five, in this sense, clearly gave the necessary clues that the individual editions would perpetuate this affiliation. Tafuri's text on 'New York Five' perfectly exemplifies this frequently mentioned Italophile inclination and self-promotion. As also indicated by Kenneth Frampton, Tafuri's text was an "appraisal" of the Five, but rather than its appraising quality, its being the pragmatic application of the "critical method," theorized in "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir," on the architectural forms of the five architects might be worthy of further significance.

The conversion of title, first announced as "American Graffiti: Five x Five = Twenty-five," then appeared as "European Graffiti: Five x Five = Twenty-five," in fact, explicated the major emphasis, disputed throughout the whole essay. Tafuri stated: "the reader will understand why the article on the Five that we edited for the magazine

Oppositions 5 (1976) was given the title "European Graffiti'."[147] Tafuri's essay was a seminal criticism, by no means verifying the transitional capacity of his "critical act." Certainly, Tafuri's execution amended into a thorough dialogue between the architectonic forms of the 'New York Five' with those of past and present, over a correlation of a complex web of causalities instituted within the domains of history, ideology, and semiology. As the phenomena of past could be adaptable to any new and contemporary context, particularly through a syntactical reconfiguration of "language," Tafuri utilized an extensive terminology derived from the realms of art and architectural history as essential tools of a criticism, which served either to expand the diagnosis, or to reduce the ultimate meanings exaggerated by its creators. In other words, in the 'New York Five' file, Tafuri, first, identified how each architect operated his own dialogue toward the demarcation of "pure realms of architecture," and implemented a cross-referencing between their forms and specific typological syntheses of past to achieve the mere message, as if a critical attempt to unveil the originating pretexts of the Five's creative acts. Second, he unveiled the constructive differentiations between the five architects, by means of their diversified critical progression on the basis of attributed qualities in regard to themes, such as "the manipulation of linguistic material" and "self-referential architecture."

When "nostalgia" took the form of "an instrumentality," it started to express "a sense of revolt."[148] This initiative embraced the works of the five architects for Tafuri. However, the alterations in manners occasioned their distinctiveness. For a brief exploration, John Hedjuk's method of "manipulating linguistic material" was the upshot of "two complementary tasks:" First, "absolutely trivial forms" were chosen on purpose, and then these forms were "deformed," in a way distorted, "according to arbitrary, but nevertheless elementary rules."[149] The "arbitrariness" was the keyword for Tafuri that justified Hedjuk's critical activity. The term arbitrary was of great significance, due to its being "the basis of any act of deformation" – Tafuri gave the example of "entire Cubist tradition" here. As deforming was completely related with the will "to confirm the nature of original geometry," Tafuri interpreted the arbitrariness in Hedjuk's work as an attempt to survey the originating ethics of geometries for a reformulation.[150] Over Tafuri's unification of Hedjuk's polemical formation with "technique of montage," one can state that Hedjuk's "polemic" was a step forward due to the very "neutralization" of total-

space, irrespective of its segmentation.[151] In Tafuri's words, "the relationships between objects, which are still mute in spite of their manipulations, obey the indeterminacy of the laws of typology."[152] For Tafuri, Hedjuk's architecture obviously epitomized the "process of deformation," and, once being invoked, it was attributable to any architectural notion provoking the "instant destruction" of "the poetics of object."[153] The evidences of Tafuri's interpretation are concealed within Hedjuk's following statement:

> The mysteries of central-peripheral-frontal-oblique-concavity-convexity of the right angle of perpendicular, of perspective, the comprehension of sphere-cylinder-pyramid, the questions of structure-construction-organization, the question of scale, of position, the interest in post-lintel, wall-slab, the extent of a limited field, the meaning of plan of section, the meaning of spatial expansion-spatial contraction-spatial compression-spatial tension, the direction of regulating lines, of grids, the forces of implied extension, the relationships of figure to ground, of number to proportion, of measurement to scale, of symmetry to asymmetry, of diamond to diagonal . . . all begin to take on the form of a vocabulary . . . We are therefore confronted by the reconstitution of a fully-fledged syntactic code wherein the reference to De Stijl has meaning only if we consider that, in all of the intellectual baggage of the elementarist avant-garde, Hedjuk is only interested with the final nihilism- an attitude towards the poetics of mere signs. Because of this, among the Five, Hedjuk is closest to Eisenman. If this is the base, what is his intention in blocking the articulation of the sign itself in a deliberate imprisonment, in denouncing its very "poverty"? [154]

Eisenman's manipulation of linguistic material, on the other hand, presented a "linguistic absolutism" through experimental excavations for "pure structure." Especially due to his house projects, Tafuri defined the forms of Eisenman as purist results of an "arbitrary act," and continued as:

> Eisenman himself links the exaltation of logic in the processes of form development to a criticism of the historical avant-garde ideology . . . Here, avant-garde persists as an ideology of innovation. We are certainly in full agreement with this. However, for Eisenman to be free of ideology has a precise meaning. That which he has called 'conceptual architecture' is supposed to give prime importance to the relationship between objects rather than to the objects themselves (but are we not returning to a principal theory of historical avant-garde?).[155]

This was important, because Tafuri believed that Eisenman's "Cardboard Architecture" was "preemption" to eliminate any paradoxical confusion in notions that was begotten from Eisenman's own architecture. Tafuri claimed that "the emphasis on syntactic structure, as a rule of formation and transformation of form" brought with itself the very

"iconographic aspects" which was, for Tafuri, "a sort of Husserlian *epoché*."[156] And, as, in Tafuri's words, "Cardboard Architecture is an expression of its own self," then it represented a similar stance with "the formative stage of the avant-garde."[157] It was through this particular point; Tafuri recalled the manifestos of Russian Futurism, which, for him, "gave rise to the most 'scientific' movements of the European avant-gardes at the beginning of this century."[158] Recapitulating the basic intention of such manifestos as a search for "archetypal meaning which must be rescued through a 'word revolution'," Tafuri reminded that such revolutionary stance was due their resonant belief that, in his words, "language does not create new realities so much as it rediscovers a lost relationship between sign and meaning."[159] For Tafuri, herein lay the connection of Eisenman to Russian formalists, since Eisenman himself identified his conceptual architecture as a solitary effort to enlighten "a set of archetypal relationships which affect our most basic sensibilities about our environment."[160] So, for Tafuri, this was the verification of a "semantic dimension, excluded in his theory," of a solicitude which naturally made him analyze the theories of Chomsky and his "transformational linguistics and to the relation with the systems of signs and deep structures."[161] Through a comprehensive analysis of Eisenman's works (House 1, House 2, House 3), Tafuri delineated the analytical phases of Eisenman's syntactic transformation, which he classified House 1 as *synthesis*, House 2 as *reflection* and House 3 as *decomposition*. As House 3 put an end to Eisenman's formalism, the very features of it, such as "the simple, though arbitrary, act of decomposition and subsequent intersection of two virtual solids," naturally reflected for Tafuri Eisenman's resultant recomposition that "demonstrate[d] the very process of alienation of form, not only with respect to reality but also in terms of itself."[162] Tafuri claimed: "the principle which links Eisenman to the work of first Russian Constructivists, beyond merely stylistic affinities, is to 'work on form' as a means of 'highlighting the linguistic procedures.'. . . We are therefore confronted with a reduction of architecture to its underlying structure, as the means towards alienation."[163] Therein, Tafuri stated that he had consciously "avoided any precise linguistic reference" during his examination of Hedjuk and Eisenman, since he believed that the tones of heroic modern period in their works were more than revivalist approaches, not a "recapturation," but rather a "dissection." However, his charging of the role of Italian state of mind within this dissecting act was interesting and might be regarded as chauvinistic (self-promoting):

> Not to be overlooked is the fact that Eisenman is an avid collector of magazines and documents of the avant-garde. The spirit of the collector is not that of the *bricoleur*, but presupposes a process of selection. Certainly through his concern for Italian "rationalism" of the twenties and thirties, Eisenman is well aware that he is confronting the most abstract and "metaphysical" current of the Modern Movement.[164]

For Tafuri, Eisenman's reading of Terragni was with a concern upon its "syntax." However, in his own work, the will for "a reduction to pure syntax" induced an "involuntary semantic," which by no means charged "a sense of ambiguity to the emptied signs" and allowed "the fabric of rigorous conceptual penetrations," in Tafuri's words, to oscillate in a poetic and "magical" state.[165]

At this juncture, Tafuri directed his gaze toward Michael Graves. When the "linguistic absolutism" of Michael Graves observed, for Tafuri, one might sense that his architectural act, though involved autonomous upshots of his "sense of own poetics," was properly in correspondence with "Eisenman's syntactic elaborations."[166] Graves' "pure purism, violated by a set of accidental cuts," comprised for Tafuri, his "means to accentuate the virtual nature of space."[167] As in his 1967 Hanselmann house, Graves' "pluralistic formal setting" might unveil the conflicting architectural terminology, formed by deliberate cuts into pure forms as in the Cubist or Purist tradition of painting. A deep-observation of each architectonic element served to verify the conflicting doctrinaire tones, which at the end justified, for Tafuri, that his pure syntactic indications all were for a basic attempt: "to precisely define its relationship to its surrounding."[168] Over such a context-prior exertion, for Tafuri, Graves' work perfectly reflected the "idealized conflict between artificial forms and nature."[169] In Tafuri's words: "the finite qualities of form are thus always in a tenuous balance with nature: the marriage of opposites – nature and artifact – is impossible. Their conflict may be frozen and exhibited in narrative form."[170]

> The Hanselmann House fully captures the premise of Le Corbusier's villas of 1920s and 1930s: they are discrete fragments in a space, which is theoretically continuous and homogeneous. For Le Corbusier, the homogeneity of space is rich with ideological content: even in reduced architectonic terms, it is for him an expression of the basic postulate of Villa Radieuse – that is, of the full social availability for the ground and the surrounding environment. For Graves, however, the availability of the ground is an abstract assumption unquestionable in and of itself. His house "reacts" to potential external forces, which impinge upon it, as if assaulted by invisible currents. The two stairways, which converge towards the second floor entry, are in a certain way the visible manifestation of some of the forces. A transparent diagram set across the

> elevated walkway marks the entry into the realm of total artifice. The cuts into this pure purism, the play of overhangs and the intact transparent surfaces are but the means to take manifest the artifice: and here, real space and virtual space mutually exchange their meanings. Therefore, ambiguity becomes the principal value of Michael Graves' architecture.[171]

According to Tafuri, the imperative dynamics of Graves' architecture was the "diversion of experience into opposing aspects" because of ironic derivations in meaning.[172] Therefore, the ambiguous character, brought about by his forms, resulted from "the dominance of linguistic elements."[173] Especially the architectural works of these three architects among the five, Hedjuk, Eisenman and Graves, for Tafuri, epitomized "three approaches to linguistic 'alienation,' to experimentation with afunctional languages which have been paradoxically removed from the field of language."[174] The formal circumlocution, or as Tafuri defined "hide-and-seek game with language," was an empathic constituent of the "heroic years of the Modern Movement."[175] Herein, Tafuri leaped to a conclusion: "Hedjuk's, Eisenman's and Graves' three ways of manipulating linguistic materials bespeak a very real phenomenon – namely, that 'the war is over'."[176] Tafuri supported his argument by referring to Roland Barthes. He wrote:

> After all, was it not Barthes who decried polemically and insidiously that, "there can be tranquil moments in the war of languages, and these moments are texts." The languages of the twenties and thirties, to which our architects allude, were in one way or another, "battle cries." Now, as always, in the experimental fields of the new avant-gardes, those battle cries are transformed into "languages of pleasure." The war is over, but with a checkmate by the adversary. All that is left is to declaim with affectionate irony, and with barely concealed nostalgia, the verses of decomposed and frozen "Marseillaise." (Is not freezing the surest mode of preservation?)[177]

Deriving selective quotes from Barthes' "The Pleasure of Text," Tafuri compared the concealed factor that forced one to "enjoy" the works of the triumvirate, referring to Barthes, to the "point of contradiction," the moment "a text destroyed utterly."[178] So as to understand Tafuri's comprehension of the three architect's works, it is important to restate a passage he quoted from Roland Barthes. In Barthes' words:

> How can a text, which consists of a language, be outside of languages? How to *exteriorize* the world's jargons without taking refuge in an ultimate jargon wherein the others would simply be reported, recited? As soon as I name, I am named: caught in the rivalry of names. How can the text 'get itself out' of the war of fictions , of sociolets? – by a gradual labor of extenuation. First, the text liquidates all metalanguage, whereby it is text: no voice (Science, Cause,

> Institution) is *behind* what it is saying. The text destroys utterly, *to the point of contradiction*, its own discursive category, its sociolinguistic reference (its '*genre'*): it is 'the comical does not make us laugh,' the irony which does not subjugate, the jubilation without soul, without mystique (Sarduy), quotation without quotation marks.[179]

Tafuri's gaze on the triumvirate's architecture was formulated in this context, and for him, the "pleasure" that arose from them was "entirely intellectual."[180] In this sense, he stated:

> I enjoy the subtle mental games which subjugate the absolute nature of the forms (whether they be designed or built, at this point it does not matter). Clearly, there is no 'social' value in all of this. And, in fact, is pleasure not an entirely private affair? It is all too easy to conclude that this architecture is a 'betrayal' of the ethical ideals of Modern Movement. On the contrary, it records the mood of someone who feels betrayed and reveals fully the condition of those who still wish to make 'Architecture.' (If there is a truly arbitrary act, it lies precisely in the choice to make 'Architecture.')[181]

This claim of Tafuri, I believe, was of great significance due to the sensitivity of his criticism, implying his mere anxiety about the authentication of those experiments. When compared to the three architects, the "personalities" of Charles Gwathmey & Robert Siegel, and of course Richard Meier, seemed outside the picture, yet through specific works, they achieved several resemblances. Gwathmey & Siegel's architectural works, such as the Cogan House, the Cohn Residence, Pearl's restaurant in New York, student residential complex of the State University College at Purchase, were specific instances of such resemblance due to their "distillation" of "compositions from the purity of geometric solids, through a dialectic of routes and passages, of transparencies and of isolated volumes."[182] Tafuri articulated the partners' attitude in those works:

> The purist rigors dissolve into formal articulations and pleasurable cadences. Hermeticism is not eliminated from these works, but it is made accessible. The play of design is brought back into the realm of safe professional controls. What is lost in linguistic purity has been gained in architectural realism. This is not a value judgement but a statement of fact.[183]

As the "experimental method" operated in these works resolved to "test its capacity to compromise itself within the space of life," Gwathmey&Siegel took "maximum advantage" of the very "technique of volume deformation, of the interpenetration of forms, of 'surprise,'" for an absolute experience of space.[184] In this sense, the fundamental

characteristic that was comprised by their work for Tafuri, was basically the common "taste for fragmentation," their use of the technique of "montage-by-analogy," their "method of composing through an apparently disconnected geometry."[185]

"The work of Richard Meier," Tafuri wrote, "departs even further from the linguistic absolutism of Hedjuk, Eisenman and Graves, than does the work of Gwathmey / Siegel."[186] Due to his exemplary "challenge [of] the ambiguous geometry of purism," Tafuri registered Meier's work as the most "consistent" among the Five.[187] According to Tafuri, Meier's forms proclaimed further "ironic note" than others. As the total synthesis epitomized Meier's "brutal interpretation in the simple concatenation of volumes," his tendency to correlate autonomous architectural components was due to such intention. According to Tafuri, Meier's architecture candidly emphasized the essence of each architectural component, but the means of composing them was decently systematized. For Tafuri, Meier attached no importance to 'form,' but the ultimate purpose of Meier's indifference to solitary 'form,' should be underlined instead, as his way of "jointing" them. "Their synthesis," for Tafuri, construed the "compelling" character of Meier's work.[188] In all fairness, Meier's eccentric recomposition of simple architectonic forms, solidified by "the complex web of relationships" was what Tafuri overrated when compared to the members of the Five.[189] According to Tafuri, if one was going to regard architecture as a "dream of pure structure," then Eisenman was the winner, but, if the aim was to regard it as a "system of systems," expressed by "different but interwoven areas of language," then Meier was the most competent in comprehending that intricate correlation.[190] In Tafuri's words:

> Meier is proposing a method wherein the initial separation of components and testing of a codified typology, by means of free variation; in no way obstruct their eventual synthesis. By means of this recovery of the "function of sign"— where in we define "function" in its broadest terms — Meier advances a tacit criticism of Eisenman's conceptualistic reduction of sign and structure. Geometry is no longer cruelly chained to its own harrowing silence, there is no search for "deep structures," or any attempt to extract multiple meanings from the signs, as Graves attempts to do. Meier's use of geometry also excludes any attempt to regain semantic values: the articulation of his signs is but a testimony to the presence of objects which display their function in absolute clarity. . . Meier seems to go back over through a deeply critical manner, some of the stages already traveled by the classical "masters" of Modern Movement: from the self-sufficiently perfect configuration of objects rich in metaphorical reference, to the institutional values of technology, and finally to their reconfiguration within the urban public.[191]

Tafuri's theorization of the works of the five architects actually developed out of his very intention to unveil the 'critical' activity from within the ambiguous structures of contemporary practice. Though, Tafuri's discussion was implemented over the particular themes, specified "on the limits of language itself and its capacity for typological invention," he, in a way, reassembled the historical mesh those works revealed, as seeking to "figure out in what manner the Five are far from being a homogenous group."[192] Rather than alternate nuances, the next sentence clearly reflects his main commitment: "but, at the same time, they have helped us trace a section through a particular state of mind, one which twists through present day architectural culture in America."[193] And continued: "we might add that unlike mysticism of Kahn school, or the facile ironies of Venturi, what is most characteristic of this state of mind is a sort of backing off from the original traditions of the avant-garde – traditions which must be pieced back together in order to form a continuum."[194] Tafuri concluded his words by stating the significance of drawing neither a positive nor a negative deduction from the Five's positions, but to a certain extent, should be aware of "one reality" that their "images" and "themes" corroborated: "the strength and cruelty of the golden gable in which this intelligentsia is locked, and the limits of this cell where they are only able to leave graffiti on the underside of the walls, bearing, if anything, mute testimony to their laconic presence."[195]

In *Oppositions* 6, the issue of Eisenman, Diane Agrest's text entitled "Design versus Non-Design" was the only text published in the "Theory" section, and not coincidentally, she referred to Tafuri to verify her argument. It was first presented as a paper at the First International Congress of Semiotic Studies, held in Milan in July 1974, and then published in *Oppositions* 6 in fall 1976. The major focus of her concern was to signify specific "points of view" for culture-design relationship, necessary to develop a criticism of the built environment. According to Agrest, the close relation of design with culture could be grasped through the articulation of design, which Agrest defined as a "cultural system," in connection with "other cultural systems (at the level of codes)." Thus, for her, those articulations had been transformed in time. This transformation, therefore, led to significant changes in the "structure of meaning" throughout the history of architecture and turned the "production of meaning" into a problematic.

With such presumption, Agrest intended to reveal the ambiguous process of producing "meaning," which she defined as a "dynamic process," since, for her, "the pressures of history, technology, social action, or symbolic change," led to specific alterations in "meaning," and those alterations affected the architectural creation of any period.[196] Through several notions, such as "specificity," "metaphor and metonymy," Agrest operated a critical reading of "design" as a contingent activity, constrained within the disciplinary limits of architecture, which were determined by "ideology." As an instance, in her "critique of functionalism" to signify production of meaning, she put into formulation the very "metaphoric operations" of early modernists, such as Le Corbusier, Team 10, and Smithsons. In addition, she showed that "metaphoric operations, rather than functioning to open the design system beyond its limits, in fact operate as filtering mechanisms which precisely define those limits."[197] In Agrest's words:

> Design is once again a sieve, which allows the passage of certain meanings and not others, while the metaphor, which is used as a translating device from other codes of architecture, provides a mechanism by which ideology operates through design. In the infinite field of signifying possibilities, the metaphor defines, by a complex process of selection, the field of "the possible," thus consolidating itself in different regions by means of a language or languages.[198]

At that point, Agrest shifted the argument to another level, which had a great significance because of its similarity with the reading of Tafuri. "The specific relationship to ideology," wrote Agrest, "has been generally excluded from consideration in traditional architectural criticism."[199] What she mentioned was basically the failure of criticism while "incorporating the cultural problematic of architecture into its domain of concern," with a complaint about the way it had been concerned.[200] Colin Rowe's contextualism or Venturi's pop-art mannerism were among several positions developed out of the "need to relate architecture to its social and cultural context," yet for Agrest, those were limited attempts that observed, in her words, "the mechanisms of built environment at this specific historical moment."[201] Agrest's premise, on the other hand, was to develop a "theoretical model" by which "the relation of architecture to its social context" could be explored, irrespective of any ideology. Her theoretical model "posited two distinct forms of cultural, or symbolic, production."[202] In her words:

> The first, which I call design, is that mode by which architecture relates to cultural systems outside itself; it is a normative process and embraces not only architectural but also urban design. The second, which is more properly called non-design, describes the way in which different cultural systems interrelate and give form to the built world; it is not a direct product of any institutionalized design practice but rather the result of a general process of culture.[203]

Believing that the total built environment was simply composed of two specific yet oppositional categories of social formation, she tended to develop alternative means of criticism operated from within the notion of "non-design," when the subject of criticism was merely built environment. The alternative way was in fact totally developed through a Marxist viewpoint, which specifically posited extra emphasis to the notion of spontaneous formation of environment by "social texts, produced by a given culture."[204] Upon three significant questions, Agrest defined the "position between design and non-design." To quote: "first, the problem of *institutionality*; second, the problem of *limits and specificity*, and third, the problem of *subject*."[205] Defining "design" as a limited and specified "institution," developed out of, in her terms, "a social practice that functions by a set of socially sanctioned rules and norms," she put "non-design" against it as a liberated and "explicit" phenomenon, which she defined as "the articulation between different cultural systems."[206] To quote her:

> This phenomenon may be approached in two ways: as empirical fact – the actual existence of such systems found, for example, in the street, where architecture, painting, music, gestures, advertising, etc. coexist – and as a set of related codes. In the first instance, at the level of "texts," each system remains closed in itself, presenting juxtaposed manifestations rather than their relationships. At the level of codes, on the other hand, it is possible to discern the mode of articulation between various systems and, in this way, to define the cultural and ideological overdetermination of the built environment, or rather the process by which culture is woven into it. The predisposition of non-design to openness implies permeable limits and an always fluctuating or changing specificity.[207]

"Finally," wrote Agrest, "if design is the production of a historically determined individual subject, which marks the work, non-design is the product of a social subject, the same subject which produces ideology. It manifests itself in the delirious, the carnivalesque, the oeniric, which are by and large excluded or repressed in design."[208] Here comes the fundamental linkage of Agrest's alternative model to Italophile critical premises, concealed within the "destructive" methodology she developed by a Barthesian terminology for the critical articulation of non-design. Agrest wrote that:

> To study the reality of non-design, and its symbolic production in relation to culture,", "it is necessary to perform an operation of 'cutting' – 'cutting' and not 'deciphering,' for while deciphering operates on 'secret' marks and the possibility for discovering their *full* depth of meaning, cutting operates on a space of interrelations, *empty* of meaning, in which codes substitute, exchange, replace, and represent each other, and in which history is seen as the form of a particular mode of symbolizing, determined by the double value of use and exchange of objects, and as a symbolic *modus operandi* which may be understood within that same logic of symbolic production and which is performed by the same social subject of ideology and the unconscious.[209]

In fact, in the footnotes, Agrest referred to the significant works of French semiologists, but she also gave references to the significant figures of the period, dealing with architectural typology: Guilio Carlo Argan, Aldo Rossi, and Alan Colquhoun were among them. Within the "realm of ideology," it was a normative fact that there were infinite sets of operating mechanisms, ready to upset the exchanges in meaning, present certain "symbolic values" in both domains. But, contrary to "design," the "non-design" revealed out these mechanisms by leaving "ideology in a 'free-state'." Herein, one could interpret Agrest's "non-design" as a counter-thesis of the "adaptive theory," as perfectly conceptualized by her and Gandelsonas in their "Semiology and Architecture" essay, and also a counter-thesis of the ambiguous condition, dominated by "ideology," as preeminently theorized and criticized by Tafuri. Nevertheless, for going beyond those theoretical horizons, Agrest, I believe, attempted to create a solid theoretical model, and mapped the necessary modes of analysis. Therefore, to claim that Agrest's attempt was a proposal within the limitations of those seminal texts, would not be an over interpretation, though no references were given to Tafuri. But, I believe, one may easily grasp the links, even by looking at the terminology used while she was defining her proposal for a method of her "non design." For example, her proposal of "a productive reading" is the reminiscent of Tafuri's "productive criticism" in "L'Architecture Boudoir." Thus, she mentioned that the productive reading she spoke of was not a "reproduction of a unique or final sense," which, I believe, had similar indications with Tafuri's differentiation of a "commentary" and "criticism." Thus, it made an allusion to Tafuri's examination of "attitudes," rather than the final products or trends. When denoting the object of any analysis, searching for a meaning, she underestimated the "content" but put emphasis on the "conditions" of the content, which, I believe, had direct inclinations of the new Marxist and poststructuralist terminology, used by Tafuri. Agrest spoke of the critical mode of her "non-design" as follows:

> We propose here for non-design a productive reading, not as the re-production of a unique or final sense, but as a way of retracting the mechanisms by which that sense was produced. Productive reading corresponds to the expansive potential of non-design and permits access to the functioning meaning as an intersection of codes. The object of analysis is not the "content," but the conditions of a content, not the "full" sense of design but, on the contrary, the "empty" sense which informs all works. Instead of reading by following a previously written text, the reading starts from a "signifier of departure," not only toward an architectural text, but toward other texts in culture, putting into play a force analogous to that of the unconscious, which also has the capacity to traverse and articulate different codes.[210]

It may be an over interpretation to state that this mode of analysis presents in details an analogous intention with that of Tafuri when he had defined the rationales of his "critical act" in his "L'architecture dans le Boudoir." However, the deep relation might also be sensed when realized that the two fundamental texts of Tafuri in Italian on Piranesi and Eisenstein, constructed the very basis of Agrest's reference sources to support her argument and to exemplify the probable applications of the re-reading, proposed by her. To list respectively: the 1972 book, *Giovanni Battista Piranesi; L'Architettura come "Utopia negativa"* published in 1972 by Academia della Scienze; and two articles published in *Rassegna Sovietica* the same year, entitled "Piranesi e la fluidità della forme," and "Piranesi, Eisenstein e la dialectica."[211] By referring to Tafuri, Agrest focused on the very significance of the "explosive" vision of Piranesi and she claimed that, "[n]on-design may also be seen as an explosive transformation of design. This kind of explosion implies in some way the dissolution of the limits of architecture, of the ideological limits, which enclose different ideological practices.[212] For her, the analysis of Eisenstein on Piranesi's *Carcere* Obscure, Carceri, was an instance of such methodology. Eisenstein's "explosive" analysis was an outcome of his application of a "cinematographic reading," which yielded the displacement of the codes of configuration beyond the "limits imposed by pictorial and architectural codes."[213] "This is," wrote Agrest, "the starting point of a reading that travels across literary, political, musical, and historical codes, multiplying in this way perceptions, which are potential in the Piranesian work."[214] Of course, this potential in Eisenstein's work had been theorized by Tafuri in his previously referred texts, which was later translated into English, with the book *The Sphere and the Labyrinth* published in 1987.[215] However, it was first Agrest who transferred what Tafuri theorized to American discourse with a semiologist point of view. She claimed that:

> It should be noted that Eisenstein is here dealing with a closed cultural system, such as architecture or painting. What Eisenstein takes, however, is not just any closed work from these fields, but rather the work of someone like Piranesi, who poses the problem of the explosion in form (or form as explosion) in his Carceri, or in his Campo Marzio, which is a delirium of typological chaining. Although this Piranesian strategy touches problems specific to architecture, it also comes very close to the problem of the explosion of sense in architecture, to the problem of meaning as signifying chaining. In creating this extreme situation, Piranesi is implicitly assessing the problem of the limits of architecture as a "language," that is, as a closed system. [216]

To situate Agrest's arguments into a context within the emerging themes of "autonomization," as previously mentioned, one has to return to Michael Hays' interpretation. Hays interpreted Agrest's definition of the "conditions of autonomy" in "Design versus Non-Design" as a "precise description" of design as both an activity and a product by referring to her following words:

> Design, considered as both a practice and a product, is in effect a closed system – not only in relation to cultural systems such as literature, film, painting, philosophy, physics, geometry, etc. Properly defined, it is reductive, condensing and crystallizing general cultural notions within its own distinct parameters. Within the limits of this system, however, design constitutes a set of practices – architecture, urban design and industrial design – unified with respect to certain normative theories. That is, it possesses specific characteristics that distinguish it from all other cultural practices and that establish a boundary between what is design and what is not.[217]

As Hays claimed, the very argument of Agrest was about the requirements of the "very concept of autonomy." For him, the determined requirements, such as, "to step outside our own design culture and grasp its relationship to other cultural codes, as well as its difference from them by means of some vaster historical and cultural mode of analysis," was to "pull back to view the social life out of which autonomization emerges."[218] Nevertheless, when But if the condition after 1950s was taken as the focus of concentration, by which Hays meant the contemporary condition loomed by, in his words, "the assimilation and banalization of even the most radical of modern formal conventions into post war commercial building and the penetration of architecture's 'closed system' by degraded information and images," then for Hays, "the media culture" became an all encompassing system"; and due to the very lack of distinction among media practices," to clarify codes and their related symptoms in any cultural system including "design" "become hard to detect."[219]

In *Oppositions* 7, the issue of Vidler, Bernhard Tschumi's text entitled "Architecture and Transgression" was the only text published in the "Theory" section. Anthony Vidler introduced Tschumi's essay as "brief but evocative," which raised "the question of forbidden territories." Bernhard Tschumi, French architect and theoretician, graduated from AA, had a significant place among other writers, due to the very influence of Tafuri on his formation for a particular period.[220] As Louis Martin indicated in the essay "Transpositions: On the Intellectual Origins of Tschumi's Architectural Theory," published at Assemblage in 1990, Tschumi's work in the mid 1970s denounced the aggressive stance in architecture, he was especially critical of the Marxist analysis of Manfredo Tafuri. When Tafuri's seminal book, *Architecture and Utopia*, was published, Tschumi was studying the theme of "pleasure." Tafuri's analysis of the "crisis of the ideological function of architecture," and his announcement of architecture's "death" constituted a part of the hypotheses that Tschumi rejected. To quote Martin:

> For him, architecture was in itself a bourgeois ideology, which had been replaced, in our late capitalist society, by more advanced ideological apparatuses. Tafuri's rigorous work of demystifying architectural history led him to discard utopia as an "impotent and ineffectual" myth and an anachronistic hope for design.") Tschumi's definition of architecture as an artistic medium was a direct critique of the Tafurian thesis. Although sympathetic with Tafuri's political position, Tschumi refused to accept the somber conclusion of his theory. The theory of the pleasure of architecture, in itself a great propaganda in favor of architecture, was Tschumi's way to counter Tafuri's dead end: the seduction of architecture could dissolve traditional ideological compartments. Defined as nonideological, architecture was therefore in itself "transpositional," capable of expressing all ideologies.[221]

The essay he published in Oppositions, therefore, should be read in this perspective. He mentioned about the "Conceptual Architecture Conference" held at London in 1975. Among Its collaborators, there were Peter Eisenman, Peter Cook, Colin Rowe, Bernhard Tschumi, Cedric Price, Charles Jencks, Joseph Rykwert, etc. Tschumi indicated that the conclusion "all architecture is conceptual" was accepted by a majority of contributors. Whereas, for Tschumi, debates showed that architecture had been threatened by a "strange paradox," Tschumi noted, "the impossibility of simultaneously questioning the nature of space and, at the same time, making or experiencing a real space."[222]

The problematic laid in, briefly, "the political implications of the production of building" after 1968 crisis, and the area of the problem was the ambiguous and fragmented architectural quality of the built works after that time. For Tschumi, the contemporary architectural edifices—Tschumi gave the very design works, displayed at the exhibition "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape" as the example of such avant-garde attitudes—carried this controversy in their being, rather than being the ambiguous reflections of historical journey to the works of their "radical precedents," which reflected the absolute and well-known "old dichotomy between technology and culture."[223] As for Tschumi, the designs of the selective Italian party of the late 60s intended to function "as an ideological means of stressing architectural 'avant-garde attitudes' and refusing capitalist constraints." To accept their being the products of "an attempt to dematerialize architecture into the realm of concepts," or in other words, the products of "conceptual art," was more logical than blaming them with "all-inclusive eclecticism."[224] To quote:

> Structural linguistic studies developed in the sixties in France and Italy conveniently suggested a possible answer: analogies with language appeared everywhere, some useful, some particularly misleading. The chief characteristic of these analogies was their insistence on concepts. Whether these theorists stated that architecture always represented something other than itself —the idea of God, the power of institutions, etc.—or whether they took issue with the interpretation of architecture as a (linguistic) product of social determinants (and thus insisted on the autonomy of an architecture that only referred to itself, to its own language and history), their discourse introduced rules that were govern the architectural work by making use of old concepts such as types and models.[225]

The specific references of Tschumi's statement were Franco Albini's 1973 book on *Architettura Rationale*, several publications issued after XV Triennale of Milan, organized by Rossi, and Manfredo Tafuri, especially his "critique of the claim that architecture is an endless manipulation of the grammar and syntax of architectural sign" in "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir," published in *Oppositions* 3. As those discourses unveil the Italian affiliation affecting the basis of Tschumi's judgment, when he mentioned about the "constant questioning in the last decade about the nature of architecture," he referred to the theories of this selective party. They, therefore, took place among those responsible for "the inevitable split between the discourse and the domain of daily experience," that he mentioned as the "only" accentuation of such strive. This was the "architectural paradox" for Tschumi. "By definition," noted Tschumi, "architectural

concepts were absent from the experience of space. Again, it was impossible to question the nature of space and at the same time make or experience a real space. One could not experience and at the same time think one experienced; 'the concept of dog does not bark,' the concept of space is not in a space, ideal space is not real space."[226] Therefore, if Hegelian "artistic supplement" and "mental processes" were to be among the effective factors for the shaping of "ideal space," the factors that did affect that of "real space" had direct relation with the constraints of "daily practice," "social praxis," and the "immediacy of spatial sensation."[227] The current "paradox silence," which was the result of the adversary assembly of the 'real space' with that of' ideal space,' triggered several implications for Tschumi that might be elemental for the future of the architectural practice. Therefore, as Vidler noted in the introductory statement of the essay, Tschumi's aim was to reveal the very basis of the "positivistic utopia of modern architecture" around certain themes such as "the repression of death, decay, and the 'pleasure principle'" with an alternative proposal that opened up the "forbidden territories" into question.[228]

As those three editorials, and the articles presented at those issues showed, due to varying approaches, the main theme "autonomization and historicism" of architecture stood in the corpus of all inquiries in one way or another.

4. 3 - EXHIBITION AT MOMA: THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ECOLES DES BEAUX ART, 1976

"The Architecture of the Ecoles des Beaux-Arts" exhibition was held at Museum of Modern Art, from 25 October 1975 to 6 January 1976. The director of the exhibition was Arthur Drexler. The exhibition received extra reputation in the academic and artistic circles. On 22 January 1976, a forum on the "Beaux-Arts Exhibition" was held at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. The commentaries submitted to this forum were published immediately in *Oppositions* 8, which was a special issue, focused particularly on the "academicism" edited by Anthony Vidler in Spring 1977 under the title "Paris under Academy: City and Ideology." According to Ockman, Vidler was a "highly energetic contributor." He was one of Eisenman's first students in Cambridge. He was a historian, interested in the "Post-Enlightenment and French nineteenth century," but the influence of "structural Marxist position" on his formation was obvious. This eighth issue on nineteenth century Paris was specified by Ockman, as "one of the journal's strongest" numbers.[229]

In the editorial of the issue, entitled "Academism: Modernism," Vidler mentioned Modernism's "progressive stance," which tended to fill in the gaps that had emerged due to the "empty formulas of academicism."[230] To rephrase Vidler: "throughout the first quarter of this century the modernists, confronted and threatened by the ever-present forces of reaction and archaism embodied in the Academy, proclaimed the redeeming virtues of production and abstraction." Modernism's proclamation of Academicism as an enemy, its "continuing and implicit attack on the Ecole," its denial of any ornamentation, or historical styles as abstraction presented the two as the "negative counterpart" of the other. Nevertheless, for Vidler, this "anti-Academic discourse … encouraged the formation of a myth around the architectural production of nineteenth century and specifically around the institution of Beaux-Arts, and this myth has tended to obscure all subsequent attempts to analyze not only the conditions of that production, but also those of Modern Movement itself."[231] Due to the overassertive dissemination of modernist sensibility onto the establishment of architecture as institution, the attempts to reveal the essence of nineteenth century architecture proved abortive until the efforts of the historians of 1970s. In this sense, the exhibition on "Ecole des Beaux-Arts," held in

MoMA, was an indication of the changing sensibility from Modernism to "Post-modernism." Vidler's denoting of postmodernist movement with capital P was of great significance, since he at the same time denounced its yields and MoMA's appreciation of such endeavors. He noted that:

> Postmodernism allows an appreciation, if not an enthusiastic espousal, of ornament, pattern, colors, other than primaries, symmetry, monumental fantasy, even of the pure technique of rendering for its own sake; with the critique of functionalism, pure abstraction, and the machine utopia, realms of experience up to now forbidden by the stern purism of modernism are opened up. We are also shown evidence that a new generation of scholars is able to examine dispassionately the evidence of the previous century and to write its history for the first time without bias or second sight. The exhibition emerged in fact as the Museum of Modern Art's auto-critical act, exorcising in 1977 the Modern Movement principles it had so heartily embraced in 1932.[232]

Vidler discerned this attempt as an unfair concern for modernist tenets in a sense, since the approach postulated its very criticism from within the tools it had once severely denied, and stated that:

> If we are indeed entering the period of post-modernist sensibility, then a clear understanding of modernism should be sought, one that begins to establish the ontological bases of its project rather than one that repeats the ideological polemics of its intention. For such an understanding, it is impossible to accept the clear lines proposed as essential to modern architecture between realism and abstraction, between academicism and the avant-garde, between craft art and machine art, between historical styles and "style." The dissolving of these lines however implies a comprehension of modern period as a whole, not as a field for tracing lines of influence but as a total condition of culture that, responding to profound industrial, political, and social changes of the nineteenth century, resulted in radical transformation of the concept of man in relation to its environment.[233]

As mentioned before, the reaction of the people in the IAUS, consequently that of Vidler, against any attempt under the theme "postmodernism" was highly critical. The architectural seminar held at the IAUS, in this sense, scened several polemics. Vidler, when speaking of the articles selected to the 8th issue, put emphasis on the fact that all were "in different ways dedicated to an understanding of the preconditions of modernist architecture and specifically to a widening of the definition of 'modern' to include ideologies and designs that without superficial formal or cultural similarity nevertheless constitutionally belong to the beginnings of modernity and its conscious self

formulation."[234] Thus, it was mentioned that their search was to "understand the conditions for the production of modernism," via a city Paris, and a 'dominant ideology' academicism. In fact, by opening certain themes of nineteenth century into debate, such as "the idea of *type*," or the "question of *style,*" which seemed highly "critical," for the editor, in the postmodernist debates, or in any debate that was based upon the criticism of modern architecture, Vidler anticipated to, in his words, "encourage the investigation of the recent past as an instrument for the analysis and criticism of the present, not once more as any fulfillment of the 'spirit of the age,' but now as an aid to understanding the impossible contradictions of our own practice."[235]

The "forum" section of Oppositions 8 was dedicated to the commentaries presented at the "Beaux-Arts Exhibition" forum held at IAUS on 22 January 1976. The subject of discussion was of course the MoMA exhibition directed by Arthur Drexler. The contributors of the forum were George Baird, William J. Conklin, Ulrich Franzen, James S. Rossant, Paul Rudolph, Denise Scoot-Brown, Vincent Scully, Peter Smithson, Robert Stern, Robert Venturi, and Anthony Vidler.[236] All saw the show as a demonstration of the very motto: Modern architecture is dead. According to George Baird, the exhibition succeeded to "shock" the American architectural society, yet it did not manage to convince any that the return to Beaux-Arts "offered" any new lessons for architecture to approach. Conklin, on the other hand, mentioned the successful organization of the exhibition and appreciated the scholarly historical research lying behind. Nevertheless, he noticed the originating motive why modern architecture denied any tenets of Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Why did none of the modernist avant-gardes repudiate its "romantic and illusionary" character? All because they saw "banishment of historical imagery as a prerequisite for the new free world they were fighting for," for the new order in which the human became the main focus of architectural practice.[237] Conklin expressed that modern project was as well based on a projection that accentuated human activities, just as what was tried to be expressed by the exhibition Beaux-Arts. For Ulrich Franzen, the exhibition, in his words, "created the impression of a hermetic style which of course the Beaux-Arts was not."[238] He harshly criticized the team that prepared the exhibition due to their ignorance of the very movement's "cultural and formal contexts," and their reduction of Beaux-Arts to imagery involving student works mostly, and the "absence of a considered and generous text that established a theoretical framework."[239] James S.

Rossant questioned the hidden message behind the show. Reminding the fact that all the American education had based their programs on the principles of Beaux-Arts, he argued whether this show yielded to imitate the tenets of academism, and build a "new one [t]here."[240] He stated: "The Modern, having apparently failed to establish for all an international style or a Miesian style, might be out to form a new Academy. If this is the intent, the academy is stillborn."[241] Paul Rudolph, on the other hand, stated that: "the best lessons of the exhibition deal with the understanding of architectural scale." The Ecole's use of "massing, light and solid, progressions of space" and its eminent use of architectural ornamentation as a tool to reduce architectural scale might be for Rudolph the only lesson that could be understood from the exhibition, but for him, it did not suggest any new modes of production within the context of twentieth century.[242] Denise Scott Brown, on the other hand, charged the exhibition and MoMA for "spawning misinterpretations of architectural history" with a will to make a "new alliance."[243] She stated that the protagonists of modern architecture had consciously focused on specific themes in the entire tradition of Beaux-Arts, such as "history", "urbanism", and "*pro bono publico,*" but for her there were better themes such as "professionalism," "programs," "techniques," "aesthetics," "relation to the city, relation to history," "symbolism," and "education" that should be raised as lessons for that day's architectural practice. For Scott-Brown, the Beaux-Arts' programs were of great value due to the specific achievements of its architects on the predetermined themes, regardless of what appointed those programs. MoMA's position refusing any "pluralism of the everyday landscape" was narrow and outdated for Brown. In this sense, she uttered her mere anxiety about the growing interest in the Beaux-Arts becoming, in her words, "a fad or an evasion— a continuation of Modern purism in a new guise."[244] Vincent Scully thought that "the show [did] fill in history, and can serve [them] well, thought it [was] not a pioneer in conception."[245] Yet, for Scully, the show was a pioneer in imagery and might connote some message for the current interest on semiology. Peter Smithson put emphasis on the achieved critical distance in time, which was required to look back to Beaux-Arts with another gaze. He stated: "in that long period of detachment from the classical tradition, we have I think acquired a sense of its strength; recovered a picture which within the Beaux-Arts had become fuzzed. The death of Beaux-Arts has enabled us to see with fantastic clarity the space modes that were taken from Rome … The death of Beaux-Arts has given us back the classical tradition."[246] He claimed that he shared similar

thoughts with Ulrich Frazen and endorsed, in his words, the “feeling that really there have been at least three major shifts of space sensibility within Modern architecture since the twenties, none of which have been demonstrated at the museum. It is a museum of modern art, and that is the place were those sensibilities should have been demonstrated.”[247] Robert Stern questioned whether this show on classical Western tradition offered to current architectural society the constructive messages for which they sought. For Stern, Museum’s timing for this exhibition was right, since a historical sensibility, a search for integral material within the pages of history had already been on the rise. To quote, “[w]e are entering a period once again when architecture will become involved with symbolism and allusion as well as issues of abstract formal composition. And for the first time in many years, architects seem capable of holding more than one idea of architecture in their hands at once, without feeling guilty or schizoid. They are able to develop different solutions for different situations. Universal order is no longer a goal or even much talked about. Cultural pluralism and postmodernism go hand in hand. And this, more than any other single factor, it seems to me, explains why postmodernist architects as they emerge as a group and not orthodox modernists can learn from and allude to historical precedent and in particular to that of nineteenth century.”[248] He concluded his remarks by stating that this exhibition showed how impoverished was orthodox modernist architecture and thanked MoMA for giving them the chance to “think about architecture as art again.”[249] Robert Venturi reminded the influence of Beaux-Arts tenets on the education of a generation due to significant names, such as Jean Labatut, and stated that, “[t]o an architect trained at Princeton in the 1940’s, the recent exhibition does not appear to be an innovative step, nor does acceptance of the possibility of leaning from history mark a significant departure.” Mentioning the influence of two teachers, Jean Labatut and Donald Drew Egbert, on their work, especially on their accounts broadcasted by *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, Venturi drew attention to two figures in the exhibition team, coming from Princeton école, namely David van Zanten and Neil Levine. In addition, he concluded that: “Ironically, the unpopular stance of Labatut and Egbert has now been adopted by the very group that decried them, and in the takeover, these original protagonists had been ignored. We think all their students would want to see due credit given to these teachers, and to insure that their work is remembered and recognized.”[250] Anthony Vidler, finally, commented that the assessment of the present exhibition made them realize how different Modern Architecture progressed

in the United States than in Europe, "its ends, its aspirations, its forms, and its roles have not been the same from the very beginning."[251] For Vidler, its being a "social movement" in Europe had never been the case in its very existence in the United States, since it was "imported" to the States as an "International *Style*, not a movement."[252] He stated that: "Americans, always uncomfortable with the brief and temporary identification of modern style with the social premises of the new deal, were relieved to see the divorce between art and society ratified by the art exhibition."[253] The current exhibition, for Vidler, tended once more to "import" a style, but this time, it was through Beaux-Arts to which American society was already familiar due to the Beaux-Arts-originated education of a period in architectural schools. There was a "paradox" here, in terms of architectural education, for Vidler. He stated:

> Ironically, the schools that now produce recognizable modern styles—Yale, Princeton, the Institute, and its affinities, have essentially reverted to a real Beaux-Arts (in the very best sense of the course) attitude to design; most students of Eisenman, Graves, and the like can easily assimilate the lessons, if not the styles, of the student work on display at the Museum, into their own work. They have after all been working with Colin Rowe's edition of Letarouilly for some time . . . Thus the event is not an event; merely a confirmation of a situation, a symptom of a mode of conceiving architecture that was always academic in essence, and perhaps, until some critique or progress finally takes hold in the U.S. to allow movements to emerge as fully-fledged criticisms of the existing order, it always will be.[254]

From the remarks, one could easily conceive the diverging opinions both within the body of the Institute, and of other significant people who contributed to the seminar. The responses of Henry Cobb and Arthur Drexler to the critiques were as follows. Henry Cobb stated that he agreed Peter Eisenman's remark on the exhibition that it should be considered as "seminal," and added that it might be considered seminal because of its contribution to architectural education.[255] For Cobb, once all negative remarks were put aside, the show had to be appreciated because it was the largest display of student work ever exhibited, and because of its didactic methodology.[256] According to Cobb, a positive assertion of the show was probable, in the sense that it helped to infiltrate some fundamental concepts, such as "the shaping of space," the very role of "graphical means" in the "construction of a concept of space," into the essentials of architectural training. Despite some naiveties in terms of the student works displayed, Cobb drew attention to the "pedagogical method" they announced as "a way of learning how to make

architecture."[257] Arthur Drexler, on the other hand, underlined the originality and the vastness of the material displayed in the show. And he replied to the critiques that tried to blame the Museum due to its probable announcement of a Beaux-Arts revival by stating that the intention was far away from being such a postulation, rather it should be regarded as an "implied criticism of Modern architecture."[258] For Drexler, Vidler's critiques about the show was the most appropriate one, since it portrayed in a sense the intellectual atmosphere behind the preparation of this exhibition properly. However, he did not totally agree with Vidler's arguments on architecture as a social project. In Drexler's words: "if architecture has any social meaning, it must be that its forms validate rather than undermine the institutions of society. But replacing one set of architectural forms with another will hardly correct disorders that are primarily social, not architectural. And a preference for certain kinds of form may itself be a part of the social disorder. Brutality in architecture, for example, remains brutality for its own sake whether paid for by capitalists or communists."[259] So, as Drexler claimed, this exhibition was a product of some intellectuals who realized that the "forms" of Modern architecture were not "suitable" for the present day conditions, but this, for Drexler, was not enough to label it as being a "revival of historicism."[260]

The polemicality of the subject under analysis was obvious from the debates. Therefore, it was not a surprise that a similar exhibition was held at the Institute under the title "Princeton's Beaux Arts and its new academicism: from Labatut to Geddes: an exhibition of original drawings over 50 years," between January 27 and February 18, 1977. The exhibition catalogue was published the same year. It included the text of Michael Wurmfeld, entitled "Comments on Princeton's Beaux Arts and Its New Academicism." The exhibition was mainly on the achievements of Jean Labatut, and Robert Geddes, and opened up the discussion on the fundamental shift of Princeton School of Architecture with the transfer of directorship from Labatut to Geddes. In fact, it was the history of a generation, the generation of Eisenman, Ambasz, Graves, and others.

4. 4 - THE DEBATE IN OPPOSITIONS BETWEEN 1977 AND 1979

The polemical return of *Oppositions* with issue number 8 with such a specialized issue on Beaux-Arts Academicism obviously triggered analogous polemics in its following issues. The issues, regarding architectural language, modernism, and the differing attitudes toward any interpretation in fact might seem as the problem of that particular time section, but it in fact served to create the international ground Eisenman had wished from the very beginning. The writings of Manfredo Tafuri had achieved such reputation that the subsequent issues comprised alternative understanding, which derived its nourishments from Tafuri, yet some confronted, some endorsed his contributions.

Editorial 9 was written by the four editors in order to make a summary of the preceding issues. As with *Oppositions* 9, the journal started its fourth year of publication, they felt the responsibility to, in their terms, "reassess its initial aims and format," and beyond that to "open the coming year with a renewed statement of intent."[261] For them, with the preceding issues, *Oppositions* managed to achieve a "significant critical level" through several "themes" proposed to expand the architectural debate. The journal as a "cultural reference," both by "being a stimulus for discourse and an independent critical voice," for the editors, signaled its most crucial significance, which, according to them, was "its opening of a dialogue between critics and architects on both sides of the Atlantic."[262] In their terms:

> By translating critical articles of the best European thinkers in architecture—some addressing specifically American issues and objects—and by introducing to a European audience the works of younger American writers, the journal has already contributed much to this interchange. In future issues the editors will endeavor to strengthen and sharpen the focus of this European American debate.[263]

Reminding certain "themes" introduced by several, sometimes parallel, sometimes diverse, states of mind during the first four years, the editors determined the complimentary contribution of the journal as an "inquiry into ontological basis of contemporary architecture," through the examination of the "roots and manifestations of modernism in architecture and related arts and debates."[264] Thus, they mentioned that,

"this underlying inquiry will continue to inform future issues" extending in a capillary manner by means of specific undertakings on theoretical, historical and critical levels, in regard to the nature of "formalism," "realism," "modernism" and "postmodernism." Special issues in this sense, such as special issue 8 on Beaux-Arts, were to be significant folders which, for them, "enable[d] such themes to be pursued in depth."[265] They narrated this situation as follows:

> Irrespective of our differences, evident from the individual editorials that were concluded with *Oppositions* 7, the critical problems of our time remain for us as they were before: namely, the fate of humanist legacy in a modernist epoch; the specific nature of ideology and its role in the creation of culture; the problematic nature of architecture and urbanism subject to the impact of accelerating industrial production and consumption; and finally, the nature of linguistic operations in the generation and assimilation of the nonverbal art.[266]

With this editorial, for Ockman, the "highly self-conscious pronouncements" of editors were concluded, in a sense, and the profile of the editors began to lower in the following issues, except Vidler's editorial on "After Historicism" in issue number 17.[267] This last editorial, in a sense, was a summary of the journal's short history and the first introduction of "postmodernism" as a subject of their inquiry.[268] Having mentioned all implications of their past and the mere projections for the future, Jorge Silvetti's essay "The Beauty of Shadows" seemed a conscious selection to show the change of discourse from other domains to that of criticism, a change for which they sought implicitly. In the commentary that he wrote for Silvetti's essay, Anthony Vidler mapped a complex web of architecture's transformation through references from Saussure, Chomsky, Durkheim, and Freud, for the rising trend of "linguistic analogy" in architecture, "the idea of architecture as language."[269] The need to cooperate "an emerging social and productive order" was fulfilled with minor touches to classic and humanist traditions of architecture from the viewpoint of selective philosophers.

As the issue in operation faced the amended context before and after Modernism's "suspension of historical style," the contemporary intention for a "revival" of "meaning" in parallelism with that of eighteenth century humanism presented, for Vidler, profound alterations, yet infiltrated an unveiled terminology into the dialect of the particular domain:

> It is with this theoretical "calmness" that Jorge Silvetti approaches the subject of "criticism from within," assessing the course of discussion over the last ten years and providing a synthetic view of nature of criticism generated from within the tradition of architecture and by means of its internal technical transformations. These transformations are examined in one of their most evident contexts, that of the Mannerist period, and then in modern architecture. The mechanisms of transformation and the place of such mechanisms in design procedure are explained. . . Silvetti realizes of course that the simple exercise of manipulation and transformation for its own sake leads to infinite permutation and a corresponding loss of that re-semanticization sought by the operation of "making strange" in the first place. This is especially true of this phase of modern culture, where all rule systems, no matter how recent, seem open to challenge or absorption. While in the twenties, the very manipulation of traditional culture was itself seen to be strategic according to social revolutionary program of the avant-garde, now such strategies of cultural terrorism have to be more carefully prepared, more explicit, recognizing this, Silvetti proposes, at the very end of his essay the idea of type as in some way embracing, non-deterministically, the formal and cultural relations he wishes to set in motion.[270]

Having been reminded by Vidler's contextualization of the text, one could reread Silvetti's text within the agenda that it was selected by the editors. Silvetti's argument started with the reminder of the dominant presumptions in the 1970s about architecture's being a "discourse critical of itself," a discourse, in his words, that "does not itself make use of language but instead places itself at the very moment of producing an architectural object, aiming through this at a critical reading of the system of architecture."[271] Thematized as "criticism from within," Silvetti's model was particularly put into motion to expand the limits of this currently-operating system in other artistic fields, by attributing a redefinition by means of "new conceptual tools" from within architecture.[272] This kind of criticism, for Silvetti, different from other critical discourses in architectural tradition, was involved specifically with the "act of making;" nor did it "use the instruments of language, but those of architecture itself," which provided its own specific value, its donation of an expansive continuum manipulated by any "object" and "its ideological nature," if produced by the mechanisms of culture. Nonetheless, it was confined by a "paradox" due the strict dependence of this expandable nature to the very meanings inherited by those objects. The problem of the theoretical discourse, developed after the mid 1960s, for Silvetti, was the mere lack of any ontological analysis of the act of criticism in this sense, to quote him: "few analyzed this notion of criticism, while many have abused the usage of the term."[273] Manfredo Tafuri did an analysis of the notion, in his newly published essay "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir." According to Silvetti,

Tafuri's work was a "macroscopic" assessment of the "historical significance of internal criticism," which particularly focused on contemporary architectural production.[274] As Tafuri's perspective was rather "pessimistic" about the current "critical intentions," developed along with "the problem of language," due to their "pervading" capacity for architectural production and about their capacity for a constructive value, either cultural or historical, Tafuri's reading of contemporary condition, for Silvetti, resulted with a generalization. He reduced Aldo Rossi, Peter Eisenman, James Stirling, Robert Venturi's architectures to the same level, since "all return to language."[275] In Silvetti's words:

> One may suspect that such frustration might well be a typical initial reaction to a work of criticism of such stature and originality that it shatters hitherto unchallenged systems of ordering and classifying and subverts our previously held values, rearranging what is known according to a more enlightened conceptual framework and thus transforming the object of analysis into a new unexpected reality.[276]

As already mentioned, Silvetti's proposal was against such classifications as Tafuri's, achieved by the ignorance of "differences." For example, the grouping of architects under labels, such as the "Grey", the "White," and the "Silver," was a similar reduction, which at first seemed "amusing," but later began to be "boring," since such "taxonomy" was irrelevant, if the problem was architectural language in particular. Thus, in his terms, for a serious understanding of the problem, the performance "warranted" further implementation, in case a "systematic discussion of the nature of 'criticism from within' and its relation to a more general 'return to language'" could be instituted. What his operation sought, in this light, was to verify the possibility to insert 'meaning' as a construct for architectural criticism by concentrating on the "internal workings of language," through a description of "certain mechanisms and operations" in micro level, to derive a "clear model of its structure." His objective was clear, in his words: "I hope [it] will later enable me to establish the role that such 'criticism from within' might play today in the development of architecture in its relation to theory, criticism, and ideology."[277] According to Hays:

> "The Beauty of Shadows" is most explicitly a mobilization of Roland Barthes's concept of critical play to construct a response to Manfredo Tafuri's "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir." It is also, though less overtly, a mobilization of Louis Althusser's concept of ideology as a counter-critique of Diane Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas's Althusserian 'Semiotics and Architecture: Ideological Consumption and the Theoretical Work.' Outstretching its rather localized and

> focused origins, however, the essay conjoins the discourse of realism with the general tendency of architectural theory in the 1970s to look to (post)structuralist studies of language as a possible paradigm for architectural thought, and develops a theory of architectural production, which Silvetti calls 'criticism from within,' that is a concise description of what many felt to be the predominant working conditions and operations of contemporary architectural practice.[278]

For Silvetti, two possible but opposing discourses, based on transformations of existing architectural codes, could be determined. While naming the one he was closer as "criticism," and the other as "mythification," Silvetti identified criticism as an attempt to read "architecture in depth, unfolding the latent layers of meaning."[279] Whereas, mythification was the consequence of a superficial act that, in his words, "slides on the surface of the veils with which it has recovered architecture."[280] But, if analyzed historically, these two discourses for Silvetti hardly addressed a complementary duality, "asymmetrical" to each other, since "mythification" showed alternative appearances frequently, shaped according to the "historical moment" it served, and "criticism," on the contrary, presented "sporadic appearance."[281] Silvetti resembled his "criticism from within" with "the critical reflection of language upon itself." For him, such a conception of architectural language acted as the mere proviso of an architect's endeavor from the very beginning. Therefore, the present performance that returned to language was a "general phenomenon" in architectural history, showing variations in relation with "contingencies."[282] At that instance, his comprehension of Tafuri's perspective seemed crucial:

> Of course, it is not only possible, but necessary that the theoretical /historical criticism that analyzes these phenomena be carried out with different focuses and at different scales. Thus the general view that Tafuri offers is more than necessary: it is indispensible to talk about the "return to language" and try to disentangle the historical meaning that such an attitude, as a whole might have as opposed to other historical possibilities.[283]

However, for Silvetti, there was a risk of its being "unconstructive," when such criticism was conducted irrespective of "nuances" in meaning, that could be altered from object to object, unless , in Silvetti 's words, "informed dialectically by an internal analysis of such an attitude towards architecture."[284] Silvetti wrote: "Tafuri's principal theoretical objective justifies his level of generalization because in his analysis he seeks to oppose the architects as a 'producer' to the architect as an 'expert in language'."[285] Therein, Silvetti

stated that he did not find Tafuri's argument as convincing due to his "ambiguous use of the concept "production'."[286] In Silvetti's words: "It is confusing because both types of work imply the production of something, and as such both are historically and theoretically relevant; both operate upon and transform a given material by using and manipulating determinate means of production; both are related to ideology as well as to technique."[287] He continued:

> …if it is true that a critic may find that some of the products of some of the "experts in language" have no cultural or historical relevance, obviously the same may be found for some of the producer's products, so that it is simply incorrect to try to establish the supremacy or importance of one over the other. Tafuri may consider that the work of certain contemporary architects is, in the end, irrelevant, but to generalize in such a way as to say that "the return to language [in this moment] is a proof of failure" obscures this fundamental principle: the production of "building" and the production of "meaning" are both parts of the production of architecture. Of course Tafuri would agree with this, but he seems to imply that the problem of language of architecture ("as a system of communication…") should be left aside, to "happen" as it were, and that it is more important to concentrate on the nature of "building construction in reality."[288]

For Silvetti, as the activity of "building construction in reality" had to be continued regardless of any "economic, managerial and political problems," then the posing of contemporary attempts interpreting "architecture as symbol," or "architecture as language," or "architecture as material culture," are typical, thus "positive" in a sense, since in his words, they activated "the dialectical process between creativity and history" once more.[289] And, he concluded his words with a passage from Roland Barthes, which, I believe, has a fundamental sense within his critical framework as a response to Tafuri:

> There are those who want a text (an art, a painting) without a shadow, without the 'dominant ideology'; but this is to want a text without fecundity, without productivity, a sterile text … The text needs its shadows; this shadow is *a bit* of ideology, *a bit* of representation, *a bit* of subject: ghosts, pockets, traces, necessary clouds: subversion must produce its own chiaroscuro.[290]

Silvetti's essay was crucial, I believe, since it presented a counter position to what Tafuri had proposed, and since it indicated that new approaches started to be developed upon the Tafuri's theories, which proved that a penetration had already started. The following articles in this time-period, in this sense, were divided into two directions, the ones embracing a continuation of this penetration, and the others that began to shape their

discourse accordingly. Two of Tafuri's texts on "Giuseppe Terragni: Subject and 'Mask'" and "The Dialectics of Avant-garde: Piranesi and Eisenstein" that were published in the same year in *Oppositions* 11 (winter 1977) were the indications of this continuation, but "Subject and Mask" had a difference in depth in regard to its promotion of Eisenman's architecture.

The text was originally written for Eisenman's book entitled *Giuseppe Terragni: Transformations, Decompositions, Critiques*, in 1977. Although it was originally an inquiry into Terragni's "excavations," the text was significant due to its end in which Tafuri embraced an analogy between Terragni and Eisenman's architecture in terms of specific sensual and "metaphysical entities," they both simulated. For Tafuri, Eisenman was as well a "master of art of simulation," like Terragni, by which he meant the simulating nature of their architecture whose very "subject" was hidden as if "in parentheses," behind the given body, the "mask."[291] Defining the problem in Terragni's architecture, Tafuri highlighted the "narrow relationship" it presented between two "metaphysical entities," as Tafuri identified, between "falsehood and truth." As the distance between falsehood and truth had already been dissolved, this problem in Terragni's work, for Tafuri, gave the work its monotonous character due to the lack of any "nostalgia." The "nostalgia" Tafuri referred here was actually the nostalgia that Paul Valery's *logos* had expressed: "nostalgia for a shelter within which to rest the forms dissolved into pure relationships."[292] Therefore, he regarded "Terragni's signs" in his terms as "hopeless." He stated that:

> This is the disenchantment of one who knows as his homeland the desert, where any movement is the result of arbitrary will, a will to be exposed as such. It is useless to seek other meanings in Terragni's architecture. The effect of that will of form, demonstrated without any reasons to justify it, is already too vivid.[293]

For Tafuri, Eisenman, whom he regarded as the "prototype of American intellectuals," suffered from the same kind of sensation. In Tafuri's words: "Manhattan is too narrow for him, and neither do the liberating promises of the West have the power to enchant him any longer. Conversing with Europe, Eisenman encounters Terragni and finds himself obliged to use his language in order to enter into dialogue with him." To use it in the literal meaning was important for Tafuri, because:

> … this is the imperative Eisenman imposes, and then he must continue to transform it, sectioning it, decomposing it, recomposing it, remaining masochistically —and courageously— within the net of the true masks that sign the lieder of the Angelus Novus with heavenly voice. The lied is that of the messengers of the old engravings, but it is also that of those who know that inhabiting the ancient house of language is the activity of epigones. Without any history, the transformations of Terragni-Eisenman promise an infinite entertainment from which all pleasure as well as all enjoyment is banished.[294]

According to Tafuri, Eisenman "redesigned" Terragni, he did it for to release a "nostalgia", yet the paradox was in such nuance, since its object "banished nostalgia from itself."[295] What Eisenman done was to gather "the utopias of European avant-garde," as if gathering seashells, but for Tafuri those utopias at the end turned into a "collector's items" in "aphasia," which congested to present the same "shining under the sun."[296] Tafuri wrote:

> Nothing remains, but to accept the aphasia and recognize that the formalized mathematicization of the world, analogous to generative grammar of Noam Chomsky, is an instrument of power that reflects the metropolitan experience. The only subject of that formalization is technique, even if Eisenman speaks of it always and only in metaphor. Eisenman's architectural works are serial by nature; they anagrammatize each other in describing their own construction to the exclusion of all else. They repeat themselves in order to manipulate the letters of the essential alphabet from which they depart and turn, repeatedly and always anew. What links Eisenman to Terragni is the courage to be an aristocrat. [And, it was] useless to judge that aristocracy."[297]

This essay, in a sense, was a promotion of Eisenman's work. And, such a promotion was valuable for Eisenman. Tafuri's other essay "The Dialectics of Avant-Garde: Piranesi and Eisenstein," on the other hand, covered a rereading of Piranesi and Eisenstein's works, focusing on the explosive technique of analysis, derived from Eisenstein's "theory of montage." In the article, Eisenstein's cinematographic method of "explosion" or "ecstatic transfiguration," was theorized by Tafuri as a "unique technique of critical analysis" that provided the necessary basis for Eisenstein's reading of Piranesi. In fact, what Tafuri examined was Eisenstein's pragmatic application of the method of montage to El Greco's *View and Plan of Toledo*, and Piranesi's *Dark Prison* as an example of a "critical operative method."[298] As reminded by Tafuri, Eisenstein defined montage as the "stage of the explosion of the movie frame," and stated that: "when the tension within a movie frame reaches the climax and cannot increase any further, then the frame itself explodes, fragmenting itself into two pieces of montage."[299] For Tafuri, Eisenstein's

operation might trigger various interpretations, but the reason of his attention was due to its dynamic potential that forced the works under analysis, in Tafuri's words, "to lose their autonomy, to come out of their isolation, to enter into and become part of an ideal series deprived of continuity: to become, in other words, simple frames of a *cinematographic phase*."[300] He claimed that:

> It is clear that Eisenstein reads the entire series of the *Prisons* as discontinuous fragments of a single sequence, based on the technique of "intellectual montage": based, that is, following his own definition, on a conflicting juxtaposition of intellectual stimuli which accompany each other." The explosion which he imposes on the architectonic elements envisioned by Piranesi in the *Dark Prison* cruelly forces the tendencies of the original etching. Eisenstein pretends that a telluric force, born of the reaction between the image and its critical contemplation, turns upside down all the pieces of Piranesian *Prisons*, setting them in motion, agitating them convulsively, reducing them to fragments which are awaiting an entirely new composition. It is difficult not to see, in such a mental operation, what Soviet director calls, "ecstatic transfiguration," a technique of analysis evolving from the complex lessons of Russian Futurism: in this sense, the elements of the eighteenth century etching undergo a true and veritable reification; they are reduced, at least in the beginning, to an alphabet deprived of structure.[301]

Another implication of Eisenstein's provocative application was, however, the "semantic distortion" of the elements of Piranesi's composition: they, in Tafuri's words, "undergo a change of meaning, due to the violent alteration of the mutual relations which originally connected them."[302] Such semantic distortion made Tafuri remind Victor Scklovsky, who defined one of the functions of semantic distortion as "the retrieval of the original function of language, the purity of communication."[303] It was, in this light, Tafuri mentioned the possibility to interpret Eisenstein's "violent" imposition as "an attempt to make the etching itself speak, beyond the usual significations attributed to it."[304] The implications of this idea, of course, had direct connection with his previous theorization upon the forms of commentary and criticism. "First of all," wrote Tafuri, "it must be remarked that the explosion of the elements of *Dark Prison* takes, in the words of Eisenstein himself, the form of a dissolution, which signifies that the elements themselves are read by Eisenstein as forms in a state of potential movement, even though they are artificially connected. The technique of 'ecstatic transfiguration' therefore accelerates the potential movement, achieves it, and 'frees it from the resistance of forms'."[305] The factor that provided this potential was the "fluid state" of Piranesian elements, that as a result took the form of a "rigorous structuration," which was "persistent" for Eisenstein, by the

"accompany" of "a fragmentation of the means of expression."[306] The attraction of Eisenstein towards this etching of Piranesi was, for Tafuri, due to such fragmented nature of its structure, and due to the possible "collision between the laws relating to the structure of the organism and the disintegration of its formal elements."[307] Eisenstein called this peculiarity of dark prison as "inoffensiveness." Tafuri, on the other hand, defined the situation as "its static ambiguity," which, for him, was the reason of Eisenstein's reading the specific etching as a "kind of challenge."[308] He claimed:

> The criticism that revolts against itself thus has to take the form of an act of violence. In this sense, the Russian director does not hesitate—to use the expression of Roland Barthes—to "dissociate the meanings" of Piranesi's etchings, to superimpose "on the initial language of the work a second language, that is to say, a coherent system of signs," introduced as a "*controlled* transformation submitted to optical conditions: it must transform everything that is the object of its reflection; it must transform everything in the same direction according to determined rules."[309]

As one could realize the reference of Barthes was also mentioned when Tafuri was defining "critical act" in "L'architecture des Boudoir." But here, he explained the criticism of Barthes by a comparison of his criticism with that of Eisenstein: "Neither Eisenstein nor Barthes undertakes any criticism which consists of a true and appropriate *multiplication* of the *ambiguity* of the text under consideration; or, principally, of the ambiguity embedded in the organization of the original linguistic material. What Eisenstein explodes in the *Dark Prison* is the false equilibrium imposed by Piranesi on the contrast between the structure of the form and the dilution of the objects. It is this *false equilibrium* that Eisenstein's aesthetic explosion takes as a target. His criticism of Piranesi tends to expose in the analyzed work, the dynamic valences hidden in it."[310] Due to this opinion, Tafuri claimed that the "critique on the work becomes an operation on the work itself," adding that:

> … it is evident that this is possible only if there exists an affinity between the context of the work and the language of the critic, in our case, a critique particularly interested in reading dynamically the organization of the Piranesian forms.[311]

This was evidently an implication of Tafuri's conviction about the intellectual capacity of the critic and the way he used it for criticism. Gandelsonas, in the postscript he wrote for Tafuri's text, realized this implication and expanded the idea to architectural practice by stating, "Architectural practice is not only a slow and painful process culminating in the

fabrication of rooms, buildings, or urban spaces, it is also a particular way of *reading* them."[312] The act of "reading," Gandelsonas mentioned, in a way, covered all the "critical operative analyses," pragmatized by Eisenstein, and theorized by Tafuri. However, Gandelsonas reminded that Tafuri's writing was not the first attempt to confront the cinematographic discourse in the journal's history; Agrest's "Design versus Non-Design" published in *Oppositions* 6 was an attempt in a similar vein—yet, it also had Tafuri references. Those approaches, for Gandelsonas, not only provided the infiltration of a critical discourse within that of architecture, but also in his words, "permits a critique of traditional linguistic theories in architecture, new modes of reading that question the idea of 'a language' of architecture, in order to suggest a typology of different linguistic behaviors."[313] This was also, what Agrest suggested.

Alan Colquhoun's essay "From *Bricolage* to Myth, or How to Put Humpty Dumpty Together Again," which was published in *Oppositions* 12 in the spring of 1978, was a critical attempt to Graves' work from the mind of an English intellectual, which was retroacted by certain figures, such as Eisenman. Colquhoun started his words by a definition of criticism. He wrote:

> Criticism occupies the no-man's-land between enthusiasm and doubt, between poetic sympathy and analysis. Its purpose is not, except in rare cases, either to eulogize or condemn, and it can never grasp the essence of the work it discusses. It must try to get behind the works apparent originality and expose its ideological framework without turning it into a mere tautology.[314]

Giving Graves' work as an example of such condition, Colquhoun's *Bricolage* essay comprised of his discussion on several contexts, such as "the American tradition, the tradition of modern architecture, and the classical tradition," in Graves' architecture.[315] Colquhoun commenced his discussion by positioning Graves' work into the context of "International Modern Movement," but drew attention to some details, differentiating it from European context, that might be generated from several "American sources."

According to Colquhoun, to deny the effect of the "social conditions" in the United States was superfluous, yet the role assigned to the American architect was accurate: Architect was the one who 'solved' functional requirements, but who at the same time satisfied the desires of the client, with a "tasteful" manner. "In this role," wrote Colquhoun, "he is called upon not only to decide matters of decorum; like the modern painter he is expected

to say something 'new,' to propound a philosophy."[316] The existence of figures like Michael Graves, with the individualistic manner of their work, for Colquhoun, could be explained only in such a context institutionalized by 'social' sanctions. In his words:

> If his work reflects a nostalgia for "culture" which is characteristically American, and which as Manfredo Tafuri has pointed out, can be traced back at least to the City Beautiful movement, it depends on the existence of a type of client who has similar—though less well defined—aspirations. In Europe, the critique of materialistic modern architecture has usually taken place under the banner of a betrayed populism. It is perhaps only in America that it could be launched in the name of intellectual culture. Certainly, the importance in Graves's work of the French tradition—its assimilation, initially through the example of Le Corbusier, of Beaux-arts discipline of the plan, has its origins in a purely American tradition going back to Henry Hobson Richardson and Charles McKim.[317]

Colquhoun stated that Eisenman and Graves presented shared influences at the beginning of the 1960s. Their Como School project, for example, was an accurate representation of their common attempt "to construct a new architectural language out of basic vocabulary of Modern Movement."[318] Nevertheless, later on, the progress they traced put the two at opposite poles that presented reverse "rituals" and "symbols." Eisenman's "syntactic language of exclusion" versus Graves' "language of allusion and metaphor," which directed him toward "historical quotation," in fact for Colquhoun were two interpretations based upon a common "point of departure", while the "semantic dimension" of the former was "conceptual and mathematical," that of the latter was rather "sensuous and metaphysical."[319] But, for Colquhoun, the initial affiliation of Graves' work was the Modern Movement and Corbusian principles, which was a kind of "return to sources" for someone from Graves' generation, since Modern Movement meant to convey all the "vital and creative" solutions for architecture.[320] However, Colquhoun finalized his words as follows:

> What was new about this return was its rejection of functionalism and its claim that architecture had never exploited the formal and semantic possibilities of modernism as the other arts had. There was also the conviction that the "new tradition" of avant-garde art constituted a historical development from which it was impossible to turn back.[321]

So, the "radical break" marked by the avant-garde was obviously in the form of artistic language gaining an artistic value, leading the 'disintegration' of 'epistemological foundations' to 'rhetorical' realm, in which the "form was a part of the message," and

"the content of a work began become indistinguishable from its form."[322] In Colquhoun's words: "External reality was no longer seen as a *donnée* with its own preordained meanings but as a series of fragments essentially enigmatic, whose meanings depended on how they were formally related or juxtaposed by the artist."[323] The radical break took the form of "demolishing the traditional meanings associated with function," into a more programmatic translation of "functional meanings" into "form." Yet, the modernist tie between form-content in the context of "function" was demolished in the architectural forms of Eisenman and Graves. Function still existed within their revivalist entities, though; the priority of function over form had lost impetus by the former's "absorption" into the latter.[324] Rather, the autonomy of the "pure work of art" which prescribed "its own consistent laws" constituted the main priority. Graves' return to modern sources was a strategy for choosing his own vocabulary. by isolating the architectural elements for his compositions, Grave's work, for Colquhoun, announced the complex variety of "metaphoric and metonymic interpretations" in regard to Modern Architecture. As for Colquhoun, all were reinforcements to "produce meanings." All this process, however, had a reductivist manner, since it forced the "user or observer" to "dismantle" his or her presumptions— Colquhoun gave the example of "house" here, "the ready-made of what a house is"—and to "reconstruct" the very object.[325] In Colquhoun's words:

> The reconstruction of the object, made necessary by this process of analysis and reduction, involves the use of codes which are themselves meaningful and internally coherent. But what interests Graves is not the way in which these syntactically organized and semantically loaded elements already form a system whose meaning has been ideologically internalized. For him, all the elements must be reduced to same condition of "raw material." They have become dehistoricized and acquired "potentiality," and must be reconstructed consciously as a "structure." He is interested in how such a structure works perceptually as a product of conflicts and tensions in the psyche of the individual. He demonstrates the *process* by which meanings are generated, and this leads him to a language whose articulation depends on oppositions, fragmentation and visual pun.[326]

For Colquhoun, this was not to quote particular architectural elements of modern architecture by the removing of their "connotations," but rather to arise their derivations with all the implications, meaning and such. This peculiarity, at the end, might jeopardize the contemporary version in being interpreted on the identical level with its origins, and this was why, for Colquhoun Graves' early work had been interpreted in that tone, regardless of its analytical nature. As Graves' elementary source was Le Corbusier for

Colquhoun, he proposed that Graves' utilization was based on the "Corbusian grid," developed out of the "tension" between, in Colquhoun's words, "the figuration and symmetries of French classical tradition, and the infinite improvisation, … demanded by modern life."[327] Yet, Colquhoun regarded Graves' exploitation, as a step forward, since he "superimposed" Corbusier's "open tridimensional cage" on his grid, which transcended the "basic architectural theme" into "dialectic between solid and planar elements and the structural grid" that could be perceivable in three-dimensionality.[328] The forms were "built out of fragments," as was the "typically Cubist notion of a world." [329] All components were to address particular functions, and every function was to give "a clue for syntactic complexity or metaphorical qualification," for the new formation, which was in no way condemned to be verified as "a repertoire of abstract forms derived from Le Corbusier and Terragni."[330]

The "sense of almost endless elaboration and half-statement," presented by the plans, was noteworthy, for Colquhoun, due to his intense conviction of its being the ultimate result of "an extreme sensitivity to context."[331] Thence appeared the mere cause of his structures' differentiation from orthodox modern architecture, as this was extremely opposed to modernism's apathy of any context in regard for universalization. However, it was due to his dissatisfaction toward the "expressive possibilities" of that "autonomous language," which compelled him to present a completely different improvisation after the 1970s.[332] The transfiguration was of note, in Colquhoun's words:

> Graves's buildings, have always laid stress to "perceptual elements"—especially on the function of the plane as a method of stratifying space, and the symbolic of the spaces which it defines or conceals. But in his earlier projects the solid and planar elements in themselves were reduced to the degree zero of expressiveness, in accordance with the functionalist precept of minimum interference with the industrial product as "ready-made." In his more recent work, these elements have begun to be semantically elaborated. They are no longer the minimal ciphers which go to form a rich metonymy; they become overlaid with meanings belonging to the architectural tradition. Columns develop shafts and capitals; openings are qualified with architraves and pediments; wall surfaces become ornamented. A new dimension of purely architectural metaphor is added to functionalist and natural metaphors of his earlier work.[333]

For Colquhoun, those ideas were because of particular design problems. As an illustration, Colquhoun indicated that the "use of figural elements" could not be interpreted apart from Graves's "habit of extracting the maximum meaning from a given

context."[334] This meant, to Colquhoun's mind, that Graves' use was rather the reuse of "the thematics of the old" within the "new," but not to formulate the "new" by "extending its language back to old."[335] For Colquhoun, the forms of Graves's later work, abstracted only on façade in a "figurative and ornamental" manner, as if "*pochéed* surfaces" created by the technique of "collage" in the shape of "*bricolages* of recognizable figures," signified Graves's "radical change in style," parallel to "the change from Analytical to Synthetic Cubism."[336] Yet, despite their formative and stylistic differences, the two phases presented similar indications for Colquhoun, in terms of the "drama" of the "continual dialectic between architecture as the product of reason , and architecture as a metaphor for nature," played in Graves's all past and present compositions.[337]

"Graves's work," wrote Colquhoun, "is a mediation on architecture;" a mediation only concerned about "aesthetics," but ignoring any other problem of construction which had played a major role in the determination of Le Corbusier and Mies's aestheticism.[338] The "withdrawal" of architectural meaning, into the "realm of 'pure visibility'," the transfiguration of structure into "pure representation," for Colquhoun, was due to a severance of the "objective conditions of building" from "its subjective effect."[339] Or, in brief, to quote Colquhoun: "Architecture is created and sustained in the psyche, and its legitimate boundaries are established by voluntary judgment acting on an imagination nourished by history."[340] What all this meant for Colquhoun can be grasped from his last sentence: "The myth becomes pure myth, recognized as such, and the architectural sign floats in the dematerialized world of Gestalt, and the dehistoricized world of memory and association."[341]

The response of Eisenman to the critiques of Rowe and Colquhoun appeared with the essay "The Graves of Modernism" in *Oppositions* 12. As a reminder that he was a member of the party who advocated the "revival of interest in Le Corbusier," as a dominant tendency in the beginnings of the 1960s, Eisenman criticized his position at the introduction of Five Architects, denouncing both "modern movement itself and its American subculture." He criticized that conclusion for being a "decisive step towards the 'postmodern' epoch."[342] Rowe's thesis for the works of Five was polemical, though Eisenman only reminded his interpretation of the works of the Five as being representations, covering the heroic modern movement's "physique" while ignoring its "morale." Eisenman's statement was accurate. According to him, if the revivalist

tendency of Le Corbusian formalism at the beginnings of the 60s in the United States was going to be focused, then the early work of Graves for Eisenman was the appropriate instance of such examination. Contrary to Rowe, however, Eisenman thought that his work "manifest[ed] in its notion of the *Zeitgeist*, a nostalgic if perhaps unconscious commitment to both the *physique* and the *morale* of the Corbusian imagery."[343] Eisenman delineated the implication of Rowe's critique as follows: "the forms of architecture no longer have (if in fact they ever had) any necessary ideological basis." However, the focus of his critique was narrow for Eisenman, since it only comprised modern architecture and Modern Movement, but ignored "the philosophical principles of modernism." The only aspect of Rowe's concentration for Eisenman was modern "enlightenment" with a "presumption of a programmatic and perhaps positivistic basis of the relationship between form and content" which was "a kind of mechanistic functionalism" for Eisenman. In his words:

> This overtly 'ideological' modernism, which rhetorically anticipated technological and social utopia, co-existed however with another modernism, one that Rowe almost completely ignores. He conveniently fails to note that much of the 'modernist' enterprise had to do with work on the language itself: in architecture, this meant a conscious reduction of the discourse, an attempt to assert, for example, the 'blank canvas' of the façade. And it must be pointed out that this work on the language was also inherently ideological, but in a rhetorical sense. It fundamentally changed the relationship between man and object away from an object whose primary purpose was to speak *about* man to one which was concerned about its own objecthood.[344]

At that juncture, Eisenman situated Colquhoun's critique of Graves in a similar vein with that of Rowe, due to their resembling concerns that ignored "Graves's ideological commitment to modern architecture."[345] The causal that lay behind their similarity was due to their shared 'English pragmatist' state of mind "toward the ironic sensibility of southern Europe." Eisenman underlined this 'ironic sensibility" as the major concern of his focus, as it was also what Graves' early work addressed. "By locating Graves's work," wrote Eisenman, "in the context of a social movement, Colquhoun (like Rowe) is able to avoid the question of modernist ideology entirely, allowing him to assess the Corbusian work of Graves as devoid of social content. It obviously suits Colquhoun's argument to endorse Rowe's distinction between *morale* and *physique*."[346]

For Eisenman, Colquhoun's critique was "an innocuous commentary on a historical development rather than as a potentially corrosive polemic," and to regard such features of Graves's work as "Americanism" could be an endorsement of what Rowe suggested in his introduction to Five Architects.[347] According to Eisenman, Colquhoun was right, when pointing out that the "reconstruction" of "meaning" in Graves' early work was manifested upon the idea that building was "a pure work of art, with its own internally consistent laws," in which every material was "reduced to the same condition of raw material," and were "dehistoricized" to be "reconstituted as 'structure.'"[348] Nevertheless, there was a point that Eisenman did not accept, in his words:

> … he attempts to see what could be called a modernist internalization as the first stage of an 'evolution' in Graves's work toward the point where the content of a work becomes indistinguishable from its form. Denying the presence of an ideological dimension in Graves's modernism, he can then see this 'evolution' as merely a continuing transformation of the same kind of architecture— the later work becomes simply a new dimension of the earlier "purely architectural metaphor." Even the method of composition remains in Colquhoun's view basically unchanged.[349]

Graves' secession from modernism in the course of his penetration into "classical architectural tradition" during his later work, for Eisenman, caused the "dematerialization" of "architectural object" by attributing multiple "allusions to the past" by means of "metaphoric imagery" well "passed over" and abstracted by modernism formerly. "With the moment from the silence of abstraction to the literalness of metaphor," wrote Eisenman, "the modernist work on the language is abandoned:" free choice of architect, "an arrogance of power," from history where modern imperatives had been fatigued. To quote Eisenman:

> Graves is no longer occupied with the necessities of modernist poetics but rather with the adumbration of historicist collage. In Graves's early work the use of abstraction, cubist collage, and articulation of 'mute elements' in plan and section could be seen as a process of internalizing meaning in the modernist sense of 'work on the language.'[350]

According to Eisenman, this was a "shift" from, in his words, "a concern for the object-in-itself toward architectural metaphors" and, in fact, involved a rejection of the "implicit task of modernism." In his architecture façade gained priority over plan, "literal imagery of thinly pochéed facades." However, this was not to leave aside the modernist affiliation but to "call into question the apparent ideological modernism of the earlier work."[351] For

Eisenman, Graves's work appeared as a "commentary" on "Corbusian language," validated by both "forms," and the "ideology inherent in the polemic and implicit in its use."[352] In his words:

> [Graves's] current renunciation of modernist ideology and the moral content of his former work in order to make an architecture which no longer questions or elaborates the present condition of man in relation to his object worlds unwittingly reduces his images to those relativistic realms of taste an erudition which he formerly eschewed.[353]

All previous ideas took Eisenman to Tafuri's criticism on Graves's works. He continued:

> Here Manfredo Tafuri's assessment of modernism seems more accurate than that of either Rowe or Colquhoun. He says that instead of the "deceptive attempts to give architecture an ideological dress" he prefers a "silent and outdated purity, form without utopia, a return to pure architecture, in the best cases sublime uselessness." Piranesi for example, for him "translates into images not of a reactionary criticism of the social promises of the Enlightenment, but of a lucid prophecy of what society liberated from the ancient values and their consequent restraints will have to be." Piranesi's imagery is hermetic: it provokes a sense of unease and alienation. But Graves's architecture is a literal return to the imagery of Piranesi. Unlike Piranesi his images are gratifying and accepting.[354]

Eisenman stated that two opposite poles created the boundaries of Graves's works: first, "a reaffirmation of the 'ancient values' of architectural tradition," and second "a questioning of that tradition."[355] This was a positioning on the opposite pole of what Tafuri 'envisioned' as the "ideological silence," or in Eisenman's terms, "the as yet little explored 'silence' of modernist work to speak of its own 'sacred realm'."[356] But, for Eisenman, the "accessibility" presented by Graves's later work was its mere significance that make it 'speak' with an "ideological silence," unlike envisioned by Tafuri.[357]

So the question that should be raised here is whether the essay selection done according to objective rationales, or did it really serve as a party's "self-promotion"? The latter issue rotated the line of discourse to different horizons, but still the most significant essay was of Francesco Dal Co, another Italian, and Tafuri's both student and partner. Dal Co's essay was published in Oppositions section in issue number 13 under the title "Criticism and Design." His text was instigated by a phrase from Nietzsche, which Dal Co thought, "the study on contemporary architecture might well take this text as motto."[358] In the phrase, "appearance belongs also to reality," wrote Nietzsche, "it is a form of its being,"

which, for Dal Co, consented to "identical events to be calculated to their 'semblance'."[359] In Nietzsche's path, Dal Co underscored the possibility to contemplate on "the *image* of architectural design as a reality of its own," through which a reliable delineation of "how that form was produced by various modes of design activity" could be achieved. Only such an account, for Dal Co, might give the probability to reverse "the ideological mechanism" in strict relation with "form and content," thus to specify "the scope of a new and critical responsibility toward design."[360]

For Dal Co, the need for such a new critical inquiry came into being because of the returning activity, which he called as "backwardness," to its own roots through the "vicissitudes of the avant-garde" in various architectural fields, such as criticism, history and design, which ensured the "mutual dependency" of criticism to the architectural object. Dal Co wrote:

> The backwardness of criticism can be traced to this relationship, which has insured the absolute impermeability of architectural culture in the face of an increasingly specialized critical function. Further, the complete interdependence of criticism and design has meant that it has been impossible to identify any autonomous 'appearance' by which to measure the history of contemporary design practice; all the images we possess of its development, rather than clarifying its processes, end up by simply *representing* already determined values. These values are themselves determined by the creative and designing will. Thus the images which architecture provides of itself coincide precisely with these values, as their extensions and projections; they possess no autonomy of their own and therefore no *appearance*."[361]

It was in this sense, Dal Co defined Nietzsche's use of "appearance" similar to Wittgenstein's use of "image" or "*bild*." The task of the image, for Wittgenstein, was only to *represent* what it had to *represent*, "independently of its own truth or falsity." As form was in strict connection with image in the "process of formation," for Dal Co, it was obvious that form's appearance befall as a limited "reflection," representing the message that was assigned to the image in a particular time for a particular reason. Therefore, Dal Co regarded "image" and the "act of production" as "separate, but equal" entities. He wrote:

> Whereas idealism, and some forms of deterministic economism propose that the world is a unity, and its meaning is indulged in unitary images that are produced out of it, both Nietzsche and Wittgenstein see world as fundamentally divided; in such a world all acts – of production, of formation, of appearance – can only express their "own" reality, never those of others. This is what is meant then, by

> Nietzsche's statement that "appearance" belongs to reality; neither caused by, nor an effect of, reality, appearance is simply one reality among other realities. Accordingly it can only be measured, read, and known, if it is seen as autonomous of all those "realities" to which traditional historiography in general, and architectural ideology in particular, have always tried to tie it back. Thus when the form of representation is simply seen as a process that mechanically represents ideology it becomes unreadable for itself, and thereby unreadable as its own form of reality.[362]

Despite its abstract postulation for discursive contexts in architecture, such dispute, for Dal Co, was significant if the subject of examination was the mere bond between design and image, or in his words, "the act of production," and "the form of representation," as the stable constraints of the very tie between history and criticism in architecture. The current problematic of the discipline was for Dal Co the fundamental shortage of any "forms of historical analysis," presenting "resistance" against the trend to rediscover the "basic processes," since Dal Co actually believed that they were "no more than the visible manifestations of the detritus left in the wake of a whole complex of different processes."[363] In Dal Co's words:

> … The study of contemporary architectural development has fallen into two equally dangerous modes: the first has tended to recognize only quantitative measurements and statistically demonstrated trends which deny the validity of any variations in appearances as superficial. The second has been content to "enrich" the work of architecture by critical allusion and explanation, conforming a solidarity between design and criticism. The problem is more complex. If anything, it demands a step backward to inquire into the relationship that exists among the "forms of representation" and the infinite multiplicity of "appearances."[364]

The question Dal Co asked was what sort of "attempt," initiated the "process of the development of modern architecture." Was it to "destroy the autonomy of the 'image'," or to "mystify the nature of architecture" by putting a cynical reality as its representation whose existence or nonexistence was an enigma? For Dal Co, modern architecture's images were complex entities that focused to reestablish the "causal link" to design activity, as if a confirmation of its legitimacy. Its activity presented such a "will" that at the end returned into a project, the supremacy of the act transcended the actuality of object, a normative metamorphosis that forced the architectural object to lose its autonomy and to "dissolve" under its supremacy. For Dal Co, architectural image no longer represented the process, but its patterns. Hence, in Dal Co's words, "the extreme syntheses of 'radical' modern architecture, even as in the more ambitious projects of the

avant-garde, the relationship between image and object ha[d] undergone a definitive transformation, an explicit artistic sublimation: the 'image' is a complex form constructed to lay a false trial."[365] According to Dal Co, the radical act to "overturn" the deficiencies and "to reconstruct the process of modern architectural development" required an "undertaking" of the very subject that contented "critical tools" of its own to "disassemble its mechanism." The current approaches, however, on either history or criticism for Dal Co lacked the sufficient tools for such an act. As this was a deficiency, and as this inefficiency obstructed the architectural production, for Dal C, contemporary situation necessitated to "re-establish critical distance and to recognize the specificity of the undertaking; to break, both in the domain of history and of criticism." In this perspective, he proposed "two parallel points of view" to analyze the construction of architectural image: "on the one hand, as a historical construction in itself, that is to say as a process of specialization, the solution and perfection of always more refined instruments of camouflage; on the other hand, as the history of concealed objects, of unacknowledged secrets." Dal Co continued:

> The genealogy of images would thus coincide with the practice of those two histories, the one speaking of the resistance of architecture to revealing the modes of its own projective activity, the other of the struggle to preserve such activity outside the multiple realities of production. Interviewing these two histories, while at the same time placing them side by side with the specificity of architectural products, should also enable us to understand how the objects that architecture produces are themselves destined to respond , not only any "state of things" as they are , but exclusively to the design activity that contains them . They do not enjoy a public life: the more they struggle against the inevitable loss of meaning and of values, the more they are revealed as destined for a private existence, to remain prisoners of the creative act that formalized them.

This was of great significance, since Dal Co saw such hypotheses as an appropriate description of the architectural production in Italy and the United States, which he defined as "enigmatic experimentations of those original episodes of architectural 'research'," which spoke of an insubordinate terminology. Yet, simultaneously, there was a risk to fall, in Dal Co's words, "into subjectivity, speaking only of the relationship between what remains of design as artistic creation and the impossibility for any product to display an autonomous function in reality." Dal Co, however, saw both conditions as deficient causes particularly lying under the defeat of architecture's means of practicing, in his words, "a *real* specialization of its own function and its own road," and complained about

the insufficiency of absolute "critical lucidity" for a clarification of such situations.[366] "First," wrote Dal Co, "there must be an indictment of the complicity, cemented by tradition, between criticism and design. This complicity has succeeded in making the limits of architecture the same as those of criticism – they share the same crisis. A preliminary act of separation is therefore necessary, detaching architecture from the diverse places whence it comes 'already spoken,' interposing a screen against the reverberations alternatively set up by criticism and design."[367] He stated:

> If criticism tends, as it develops the theory of the discipline, to attribute universal values to something which is only a "product of its time," in the same way, the history of the development of the contemporary avant-garde architecture has proposed similar values for itself through an increasingly intimate appropriation of its own products, denying them autonomy in the world of commodities, while subsuming them exclusively within the private domain of creative game.[368]

If this was the point, stated Dal Co, then alternative means, based on the mere separation of "the act of *thinking*" and the "act of *understanding,*" characterized by different limitations, could be anticipated to put forward "the problem of relation between criticism and design."[369] The very "rediscovery" of those limits entailed "a rethinking of specific languages of criticism and design: those languages at present so confused, and even more so now that architectural reasoning seems to coincide exclusively a rethinking of modern languages in general. Both require a specialization that leads to their *incommunicability*." This was the only way for Dal Co to decontaminate "contemporary architecture" from its "responsibilities," or better to state in his words, "only the condition of incommunicability can guarantee the clarification of all the implications of the continual return of contemporary architecture to a mediation on the tradition of modern language." He defined this "mediation" as "the true image of nostalgic condition of architecture," which for him had been mystified by the limited undertaking of criticism at that time. According to him, the true use of "nostalgia" occurred when used as an "instrument" to resist any corruption of architectural realms at present, thus by "historiography," it transfigured into, in Dal Co's words, a "theoretical weapon against decadence, thus helping to separate architecture *from* history."[370]

"Secure, then, behind its wall," wrote Dal Co, "nostalgia becomes 'revival' and 'isms,' the ideology of the organicity of labor and design—once again the search for style in the strongest sense of the word." That wall, for Dal Co, was exactly the same wall behind the contributions of avant-garde, which for him, shifted "nostalgia to the level of morality."[371] As indicated, the "history of avant-garde" was based on a story of the very, in his words, "struggle against 'weakening of pleasure,' by the revival of moral imperative," as perfectly expressed by the reactional critical theories announcing the "death of art," which represented the immediate "culmination of the nostalgic condition and the most radical expedient for removing art from its historical determination."[372] Another fundamental connotation was its being the "act of rebellion against that profound component of modern culture that still developed outside the realm of avant-garde."[373] Dal Co signified the "death of art" as "the radical form of nostalgic pleasure," which could only be clarified by "criticism."[374] The explanation of the "contemporary return to the avant-garde and its languages" was concealed within this reality: "the myth of that state is the false past of today, even while in reality, the epoch of the avant-garde appears ever more distinctly an era of decadence, of sublimation of critical turning point in the parabola of modern art."[375] In Dal Co's words:

> The development of a different critical attitude implies, then, the refusal of that sublimation and the unveiling of the mechanisms of nostalgia. Nothing could be further removed from the attitudes of those critics who would assemble new catalogs to fix the consoling image of modern architecture as the result of structural continuity. Nor is there any longer a place for new "isms." With the knot that binds criticism to design finally untied, and without the aid and support of historiography, the route taken by modern architecture will probably look very different; less reassuring perhaps, but certainly richer in implications. The development of contemporary architecture might well have to be confronted not as an *Ursprung* but *Herkunft*: not as an "origin" but as a "stock," torn, divide, and broken.[376]

Therein, Dal Co reminded the difference of traditional and "real" conditions' by referring to Foucault's following argument. Foucault wrote:

> 'Effective' history differs from traditional history in being without constants. Nothing in man—not even his body—is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for self-recognition or for understanding other man … Necessarily, we must dismiss those tendencies that encourage the consoling play of recognitions. Knowledge, even under the banner of history does not depend on 'rediscovery,' and it empathically excludes the 'rediscovery of ourselves.' History becomes effective to the degree that it introduces discontinuity into our very being—as it

> divides our emotions, dramatizes our instincts, multiplies our body and sets it against itself. 'Effective' history deprives the self of the reassuring stability of life and nature, and it will not permit itself to be transported by a voiceless obstinacy towards a millennial ending. It will uproot its traditional foundations and relentlessly disrupt its pretended continuity. Knowledge is not made for understanding but for cutting.[377]

Referring to Foucault's argument, Dal Co verified his former proposal for a "critical insecurity," developed out of the current problem , in his words, " to 'uproot' and to 'relentlessly disrupt' every pretense to historical continuities, even those of criticism itself," and stated: "Only this kind of 'effective history' can catch the 'reality of appearances,' measure and calculate what the image represents or hides, clarifies or mystifies, through the 'form of representation' at the moment in which it becomes a private end, locked in the myth of creativity."[378]

The later issue was the special issue on Le Corbusier. Peter Eisenman's contribution to this issue was entitled "Aspects of Modernism: Maison Dom-ino and the Self-Referential Sign." Eisenman started his essay with the following reception: "it can be argued that all changes in architecture can in some manner be traced to changes in culture."[379] And, he claimed architectural object as the body of representation of those changes, so their "nature and significance" reflected, for Eisenman, the "gradual shifts in man's consciousness that occurred between the mid-fifteenth century and the twentieth century, from a theocentric to an anthropocentric conception of world."[380] For Eisenman, such reflections found their physical appearance by means of "spatial manipulations of plan and section," and their examination could reveal the development of various strategies on form by "new conceptions and representation," which achieved their most prosperous being in the physical abstractions, unveiled by the "spatial manifestations of plan and section" especially in the "Classical Western thought"—motherland of Modernism.[381]

Eisenman founded his argument on the definition of Modernism. "Modernism is a state of mind," he wrote. "It describes the changes that took place sometime in the 19th century in man's attitude toward his physical world and its artifacts—aesthetic, cultural, social, economic, physical and scientific. It can be interpreted as a critique of the formerly humanist, anthropocentric attitude, which viewed man as an all-powerful, all-rational being at the center of his physical world."[382]The affect of modernism in certain arts, such

as painting, sculpture, prose music, had been more perceivable than its affect on architecture, since, for Eisenman, in such fields, "['modernist'] condition of the objecthood and sign" that was mostly characterized by "the object's tendency to be self-referential" was not complicated to be discriminated. The "change in the conception of the relation of man and his object world" was the most accurate verification of specific alterations in their historical evolution. The undertaking of "subject" during the infiltration of modernism in architecture presented variations, whose clear definition had been the subject of controversy of related contemporary theoreticians. As we all know, Colin Rowe was one of those theoreticians, tending to unveil the origins of Modern Architecture within 'Renaissance tradition,' especially through Le Corbusier and his architecture. Certainly, Eisenman's denunciation of Rowe's ideas, after their emotional breakup, was a well-known fact, which could also be realized by his doubt on, and questioning of, Rowe's theories on Modern Architecture, expressed in the following paragraph:

> Up to now, the most significant critical and theoretical writings on Le Corbusier have been by Colin Rowe. However, one has to look at the titles of some of his texts to see that their thrust is decidedly anti-Modernist. In fact, of his five major texts dealing with Le Corbusier three of them certain keywords in their titles which link Le Corbusier with Renaissance thought—"Mathematics of the Ideal Villa," "Mannerism and Modern Architecture," "The Architecture of Utopia"—and all of them develop an attitude towards space which has its origins in the sixteenth century. From a reading of those texts , there is little question that while Rowe exhibits a consistent respect for Le Corbusier he simultaneously sustains only a fragile tolerance for modern architecture and for that matter much of what can be called Modernist thought. And since Colin Rowe has provided one of the few critical matrices for analyzing modern architecture, it may be well to ask how much of his thinking has conditioned our received view of le Corbusier , and thus even much of second generation modern architecture ; and conversely how much of his thinking is in fact a product of modern architecture itself, which it can be argued is nor necessarily modern of Modernist, but rather a phenomenon of late humanism; and finally how much the free plan , supposedly 'canonical' spatial diagram of modern architecture, is merely a manifestation of a late enlightenment view of man, and how much the free façade is merely an icon of Le Corbusier's technological genius. [383]

Those queries were all raised due to Eisenman's belief that such presumptions, though he especially criticized those of Rowe, had "obscured" a crucial aspect of Le Corbusier's work, by whose means it became "truly Modernist": That was, for Eisenman, "its aspect as a self-referential sign, its existence as *an architecture about architecture*."[384] Claiming

that modern architecture was conceived of only as " a physical structure and shelter to be absolute conditions of architecture" by ignoring its "intrinsic" values in direct connection with architecture itself, but instead considering its "extrinsic" values , signified by its very connection with "man," whose 'conceptualization' continued to be achieved by "traditional drawing modes of plan section and elevation." Eisenman proposed that such conceptualization had obscured others. Of course, Maison Dom-ino was the case he discussed the reductivist side of Rowe's interpretation. Reminding Corbusier's famous perspective of Domino, by which he in a way introduced "the spatial concepts of Modern Movement," in a didactic manner, Eisenman claimed that Rowe's "canonical spatial diagram" was a 'classical' consideration, if only perceived through "the context of Renaissance conception of space, rather than a Modernist one."[385] However, if analyzed from a "Modernist context," then one could see that both Maison Domino and Paris Opera House appeared as "successive variations of the same phenomenon, two instances of the same progress built in different periods," whose modes of presentation presented invariability.[386] In Rowe's context, Eisenman stated that 'modern' was taken as an 'indication' of , in his words, "the new style of supposed abstraction and symbology of machine rather than to signal changes apparent in the notations of plan and section which might suggest a fundamental change between man and object."[387] This context was limited for Eisenman, as it addressed a "certain category of conceptions about architecture," but ignored others, to quote Eisenman: "it is also possible to read the particular configuration of the diagram in terms of an *other* condition of representation, an *other* significance, an *other* realm, which exists simultaneously with the accepted interpretations."[388] Eisenman scope was to seek for this "otherness," while specifying some aspects in Maison Dom-ino by a rotation of glance to its capacity for its Modernist tendency to be self-referential, its capacity to become a "self-referential sign." "such a sign notation," wrote Eisenman, "as initiated in the Maison Dom-ino may begin to define not only a Modernist condition of architecture, but beyond that, insofar as this notion of sign is different from that which is classically thought to be architectural, to define certain minimal conditions for any architecture."[389] His analysis was methodic; he began with basic elements of le Corbusier's "geometric configurations", and then extended the argument to the conditions it inhabited. For Eisenman, the manifestation of "intrinsic values" was what situated architecture to a "condition beyond use, geometry, and extrinsic meaning."[390] His statement was clear: "Architecture is both substance and act."[391] The architectural sign,

thus, was a "record of an intervention," it recorded both "an event and an act."[392] Then for Eisenman, "architecture can be proposed as an ordering of conditions drawn from the universe of form together with the act of designating conditions of geometry, use, and significance as a new class of objects."[393] It was in this sense, Eisenman claimed Maison Dom-ino as a "sign system" that in his words, "refer[ed] to this most primitive condition of architecture, which distinguish[ed] it from geometry, or from geometry plus use and meaning.' Beyond that, Maison Dom-ino was, or might be recognized as, the reflection of a "Modernist self-referential condition of sign, and thus a true and seminal break from the four hundred year old tradition of Western humanist architecture."[394]

4. 5 - THE DEBATE IN OPPOSITIONS BETWEEN 1979 AND 1984

The issue that was opened in *Oppositions* no 17 by Vidler's editorial was "After Historicism." Concentrating on the very interpretation of the term "historicism" after the 1950s by various theoreticians, Vidler made an emphasis on its being hardly "associated with a theory of historical determinism on the one hand, and a relativistic eclecticism on the other."[395] As the theories of Karl Popper and Nikolaus Pevsner exemplified this mutual and "negative" comprehension of the term, Vidler portrayed the contradictions as:

> While Karl Popper has seen in historicism a teleological theory of history that has, for him, totalitarian implications, Nikolaus Pevsner has warned against what he regarded as a "return to historicism" in the work of the late fifties, by which he meant a return to the eclectic, stylistic allusionism of the nineteenth century. Popper was of course referring to those idealizing schemes of historical development that, following Hegel, saw history as some giant impersonal force replacing God or Providence as the implacable instrument of human destiny. Pevsner, however, was using historical "quotation" of the sort of that Modernism had thought to ward off once and for all by a combination of abstraction and the machine aesthetic. "Historicism" for Popper represented a "poverty," a flattening of the pluralistic nature of human existence; for Pevsner it signaled a lack of "authenticity," a betrayal of manifest conditions of modernity as proclaimed by Modern Movement.[396]

However, those seemingly disparate theorizations represented how its interpretations had been manifested up to the present condition then; Vidler emphasized its very essential nature before the term was first translated to English. Reminding that "historicism" was the English translation of the "German *Historismus* and Italian *storicismo*," he claimed that, in his words: "Here, the sense of the word was entirely positive, derived from the perception, common to historians like Ernst Troeltsch and Friedrich Meinecke and philosophers like Benedetto Croce, that a new vision of history had been developed in the nineteenth century."[397] It was the "historiography" that was thought by "German Historical School" during the establishment of the initial nucleus for the formation of orthodox modernity.[398] The "very essence of modernity" was constructed on the awkward penetration from this historiography "the characteristics of each historical event were unique and particular, that they were to be understood not through any preconceived system of judgment, but solely through the standards of their own time."[399] Due to its fundamental requirement that "the style and the age be in perfect harmony," the "vision"

in historicism, in a sense, focused on the *Zeitgeist* particularly.[400] It was in this context, Vidler claimed that one could see "the intimate relations of historicism as theory of historical enquiry to nineteenth century stylistic eclecticism."[401] He continued:

> For the assumption that each age possessed its own style allowed each style so identified to be assimilated to the values and ethical standards ascribed to that age. Each different style become in someway, thereby, an emblem of its society, a reflection of the morality, and historical meaning of events; like language itself, a style was seen as revealing and "standing for" its speakers. Styles, historically understood, were thus loaded with the "meaning" of their societies and might be used as "signs" of that meaning. Abstracted as they were from their original conditions of formation, the historical styles signified, as it were, by themselves. Behind the eclecticism of a Piranesi, a Pugin, a Morris, lay this idea of history: that the style was endowed with *authenticity* by virtue of historical idea of the society that first gave birth to it. This "idea," at once historically specific and morally redolent, was carried by the style of its time; so much so, indeed, that the style alone might act, in another time, to stimulate the *re*-birth of the original social and moral conditions of its first formulation. Style and society were linked like cause and effect — a neat reversal of the terms of historicism, but one logically derived from its premises. In this sense, Pevsner, himself a historicist historian, is correct in viewing the apparent eclecticism of the fifties as a return to nineteenth century historicism.[402]

Yet for Vidler, the "return" in the twentieth century could hardly be explained in a similar tendency for its being "inauthentic," as opposed to its being in the "phenomena of nineteenth century eclecticism."[403] On the contrary, modern movement formulated by a disjunctive restructuring detached from any "style" or "tradition", by developing its own, thus "new language" shaped according to the new epoch's demands.[404] Drawing attention to the very being of such peculiarity among the pre-mentioned requirements of "historicism," Vidler claimed that "the recognition of a superficially modern zeitgeist was after all an essentially historicist act," and all the protagonists of modern architecture were "deeply historicist in their methods and preconceptions."[405] But, for Vidler, when the postmodernist age was questioned, it was hard to mention such radical tenets that dug into disciplinary origins. "As the utopia of the Modern Movement," wrote Vidler, "has come under social attack, so its aesthetic has been criticized as lacking those dimensions of humanistic reference, of pluralistic statement, that might prevent what many have seen to be the 'creeping totalitarianism' of Radiant City."[406] As the very treatment presented a "reactional" stance against the preconceptions founding the "basis of modern expression," with its upshots signified by "a revival of historically based images, quotations from historical styles, assimilation of 'contextual' incidents in literal and realistic ways," it was

time, for Vidler, to recognize that the "aesthetics of orthodox modern architecture" itself turned out to be, in his words, "a style of historical past, consumed and implicated by the very history it sought to suspend."[407]

Delimiting the context in this frame, Vidler included a Tafuri essay to the issue. The title of the essay was "The Historical 'Project'," which was later published as the introduction of Tafuri's book "The Sphere and the Labyrinth," translated into English in 1987. In this seminal work, Manfredo Tafuri announced his "aim" as "to travel an indirect path toward an understanding of what has been called 'language of architecture'."[408] In fact, the whole argument was woven around the contemporary pretense of the "theme of architectural *writing,*" in which the very term "language" was symbolized by architectural "metaphor."[409] As the "problem of critical writing" was tied up with the "task of criticism," it was naturally appraised by several "ambiguities" due to the lack of a clear definition. Nevertheless, Tafuri's manifestation seemed as refined around certain themes: "Architecture, language, techniques, institutions, historical space." He was aware of the fact that each theme addressed, signified autonomous "stratified disciplines," and to condense them to simple "themes" was a superfluous act of reduction, held forth due to the fake belief that their rear-deviation could reveal "some subordinate or hidden structure," deduced to be probable agents "to find a basis for a common meaning."[410] He wrote:

> Not by chance have we reduced to 'words' the body of stratified disciplines. Every once in a while, in fact, the critic's goodwill makes his bad conscience explode and construct linear paths, which force architecture to transmigrate into language, language into institutions, and institutions into comprehensive universality of history. The question arises as to why it is so common now to offer such illicit simplifications as truth. . . After so many persuasive demonstrations of the impossibility of translating architecture into linguistic terms, after the discovery—already in De Saussure—that language itself is a "system of differences," after the obvious appearances of institutions themselves have been called into question, historical space seems to dissolve, to fracture into pieces, to become a mere apology for multiplicity, disorder, and elusiveness, a space of *domination*. Is this perhaps what finally emerges from a good part of the 'Lacanian left' or from an epistemology of pure appearance? And besides: is not architectural writing (this phantasm which by now we have come to know as disjointed and compounded within techniques unable to communicate among themselves) itself an institution, a meaningful practice—a group of meaningful practices, a multiplicity of projects for domination.[411]

The queries he raised subsequent to this confirmation clarified what he confided in:

> History is seen as a "production," in all senses of the term: it is a production of meanings, starting out from the 'meaningful traces' of events; an analytical construction which is never definite but always provisional; an instrument for the deconstruction of certain reality. As such, history is both determined and determining: it is determined by its own traditions, by the objects it analyzes, by the methods that it adopts; it determines its own traditions and those of reality it deconstructs. The language of history implies and assumes the languages and techniques which operate and produce the reality. It 'contaminates' those languages and techniques, and in turn is 'contaminated' by them. Once the dream of a knowledge that is immediately identified with a power is over, the constant struggle between analysis and its objects, their irreducible tensions, remains. And it is precisely this tension which is 'productive': the historical 'project' is always the 'project of crisis.'[412]

Referring to Franco Della, Tafuri reminded that "interpretive knowledge" was also a "production" that set up the "meaning" by a dialectic correlation with the "original material," the ultimate "body."[413] Nevertheless, as the dilemma of object's construction has been familiarized by a catastrophic predisposition, yielded by the depressed status of "disciplines, techniques, analytical instruments, long-term structures," Tafuri claimed that the "historian" is naturally directed to the "'origins' of the cycles and phenomena" so as to produce interpretive knowledge.[414] Tafuri's anxiety was about the probable consequences of this operation. The "mythification" of the theme, "origin," as featured in "long-term" inquiries, the supervening confusion in regard to the "fundamental difference between *beginning* and *origin*," and thus the so-called complexity represented by the affirmation of "multiple 'beginnings'" were such misinterpretations, for Tafuri, tending to convince one about the absolute existence of "a concealed web of phenomena" behind any "unitary cycle."[415] In other words, for Tafuri, "history" necessitated to be identified beyond any conventional presuppositions, founded on "the discovery of mythical 'origins'" —a predisposition that traced its route back to the "nineteenth century positivism." But rather, it necessitated to be identified through a presupposition that the act should discover "a *final* end point," by which he meant, in his words: "a final point which explains all, and which derives a given truth from its encounter with its originary ancestor."[416] According to Tafuri, Michel Foucault's proposition of a "history to be formulated as *genealogy*" was also opposed to such "infantile" resolutions that did "search for 'origins'." In Tafuri's words:

> To avoid the chimera of origin, genealogist avoids any suggestion of linear causality. But he thereby exposes himself to a risk caused by the shocks and incidents, by the weak points or points of resistance which history itself presents. There is no constancy in such a genealogy, and above all no 'rediscovery' or 'rediscovery of oneself': "Science is not made to understand but to dissect."[417]

Tafuri's standpoint was accurate: He was in search of an "analysis," in his words, "capable of reconstructing the event in its most unique and acute character, of restoring a disruptive character to its irruption. And chiefly one that is able to [in Foucault's terms] 'shatter that which permits a consoling game of recognitions.' Recognition presupposes what is already known: the unity of history—the subject to be recognized—is founded on the unity of structures it *rests* upon and on the very unity of its single elements."[418] Despite its hazardous capacity to be interpreted as a "cruel" interpretation of Foucault's "will to know," which, in Foucault's terms, "does not achieve a universal truth…on the contrary ceaselessly multiplies the risks, …creates dangers in every area, …breaks down illusory defenses, …destroys the unitary of subjects,…releases those elements of itself to its subversion and destruction," Tafuri's standpoint presupposed that any act for production did pose "such a mortal risk," which could be exemplified even in the very act of language all through its self-operation for a "theorization."[419] The main threat, however, was, in his terms, the "reconsecration of microscopically analyzed fragments into new autonomous unities which are meaningful in themselves," since it signaled the complication of the very process to transfigure "a history written in plural," into a critical inquiry on that "plurality."[420] The fact to be vigilant was, as he identified by a highly Marxist terminology, that, in his words:

> There is no perfect identity between institutions and systems of power. Architecture itself, an institution, is anything but a unitary ideological block. As with other linguistic systems, its ideologies do not operate in a linear fashion. It is therefore correct to suspect that the criticism of architectural ideology, as it has been undertaken up to now, has only taken account of the most apparent and immediate features of this ideology: the refusals, removals, and introspections which run through the body of architectural writing. Nevertheless, to shift the inquiry from a text—a work, as it is presented, in all its apparent accomplishment—to a context is insufficient. The context squeezes together artistic languages, physical realities, behavior, urban and territorial dimensions, politico-economic dynamics. But it is continually broken by 'technical incidents': by tactical maneuvers which intersects obscurely with grand strategies; by subterranean ideologies which are nevertheless operated on an intersubjective level; and by the reactions of different techniques of domination, each of which possesses a specific but untranslatable language.[421]

For Tafuri, Simmel had realized this in a section of Nietzsche's letter, which he mentioned in his *Metaphysics of Death*, in which he determined the "secret of form." For Nietzsche, form was a "boundary," in Nietzsche's words: "it is the thing itself, and at the same time, the cessation of the thing, the circumscribed territory in which the Being and non-Being of the thing are only one thing."[422] However, for Tafuri, such a supposition did not eliminate the questioning of other boundaries around one's existence, except form. He reminded, once more through Simmel, that every moment of one's existence obtruded to attain the consciousness of the "plurality of forces." Since, for Tafuri, each force operated as if evangelists saddled with a mission to suppress the real "phenomenon," they had a fevered effect on the course of life due to the battlefield between them. Therefore, the "real task" for Tafuri was, in his words, "to recognize that the theme of boundary intrinsic to forms, of the limits of languages, is an integral part of a historically determined crisis, beyond which (but within the signs it has imposed on us) we are today obliged to position ourselves."[423] Why he said this was mentioned in the following sentence: "This is to say that," wrote Tafuri, "one can only speak about language knowing that there is no place from which comprehensive fullness can arise, because such fullness has been historically destroyed."[424] This was Tafuri's diagnosis and embraced the exact reply of the query why the "science of signs" failed for Tafuri. Accordingly, the prevailing tendency to overlap De Saussure's "system of difference" with the practices of architecture was, Tafuri believed, for a "need for certainty." However, Tafuri was rather interested in discovering why there is still such need for certainty, since he believed that such detection would give the necessary answers of "whether such infantile efforts to reconstruct a lost amplitude through disenchanted words are not congruent with the privilege given by Lacan to the pure materiality of the signifier."[425] To quote Tafuri:

> Nothing remains but to await analysis of forms—the Borrominian, the Piranesian, or Corbusian ectoplasms would lend themselves perfectly to this game— as instantaneous arrivals of the Subject, and their reunification as manifestation of the word of the Other. The nostalgia for dialectical synthesis, in other words, is nourished by terror in the face of the 'differences' that dominate linguistic games and the multifarious practices of power, and it is dispersed in innumerable contrivances: the temptation to recover a domestic focus in resuscitating —with the most underhanded tools— the Kantian *I think* is inscribed in the history of a crisis which erects fragile fences against its own direction of movement.[426]

Such attempts, therefore, for Tafuri, which delegated themselves to explore “a fullness and an absolute coherence in the interactions of the techniques of domination” in fact, dissolved the crystallized core of the act, and “mask history.”[427] Or, in other words, they “accept the masks in which the past present itself,” as in the example of “the ‘crisis of ideology’ proposed by bourgeois thought.”[428] As some terms turned into the ultimate vitrine of several other entities hidden backside, as in Marx’s example of Napoleon, Tafuri asked that: “Only by assuming that this hidden plurality is real, is it possible to destroy the fetish that condenses around a name, a sign, a language, an ideology.”[429] And he quoted a passage for Nietzsche once more, in which Nietzsche stated:

> Whenever the primitives established a word, they believed they had made a discovery (*Entdeckung*); they had met a problem and in the illusion that they had *solved* it, they created an obstacle to its solution. Today, for every bit of knowledge, one has to stumble across words which have become as petrified and solid as stones. And one will break a leg on them instead of a word.[430]

As for Tafuri, they had all came up to the common conclusion that ‘language’ was used as a “technique of domination,” then Nietzsche’s argument might well comprise any linguistic maneuvers of the present. Stating that “Marx’s entire *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*” was an attainment to “break” such ‘words’, and an insurrection against such solidification, Tafuri wrote:

> With such ‘words’, criticism —not only just architectural criticism— repeatedly constructs impenetrable monuments. The ‘stones’ are piled up: their multiplicity is concealed by buildings that merely pretend to give shape to a Borgesian ‘imaginary library’. Or the reverse: always leaving to the ‘stones’ their unspoken corporeal nature, caverns become to be excavated in their interstices.[431]

Tafuri was not against criticism, but he tried to grow the awareness on how truly it was handled, and why it became uncommunicative and indecipherable. “Borgesian imaginary library” was a suitable metaphor here, since it embraced in a sense the complex panorama of truth, obstructed by the altering ‘meanings’ of a ‘word,’ which ultimate structure final form at the end could only be verified by only the perspective of the one who in fact interpreted or created.[432] Tafuri concluded: “Criticism thus obligates itself to superfluous journeys; the phantasms, which it encounters within the false space it carefully delimits, assume the most varied countenances—urban analysis, typological analysis, semiological analysis—but only so as to conceal the real interlocutor at the bottom of the cavern:

dialectical synthesis."[433] Analyses on urbanism, typology or semiology might be "excavations" done to the "interstices," though the important point was what his "dialectical synthesis" meant as was defined by Tafuri as the "real interlocutor." Herein, Tafuri referred to Cacciari's notes in "Il problema del politico in Deleuze e Foucault (Sul pensiero di 'autonomia' e di 'gioco')," which was reported to a seminar on "Foucault's analytical method," held in the Department of History at IUAV on April 22, 1977. There Cacciari stated that the 'dialectical synthesis' had opened to 'critique' for a few years due to the "state of crisis" it was in. As Cacciari indicated, this "state of crisis," in his words, "has historically marked an entire phase of development and of contemporary State." He concluded, "If it is 'indecent' by now to speak of Politics in metaphysical terms… or of its Language, perspectively, privileged, comprehensive, 'panoptic'—it is equally indecent to want to 'save' the forms of Politics as institutions which are which are somehow 'autonomous' with respect to the peculiar impermanence of other languages and with respect to the constant transformation of 'techniques' in whose universe Politics appears inexorably confined."[434] As the use of terms, such as, 'power' and 'politics' were related themes of Marxist terminology which confined "bodily form" in institutions such as architecture, and as to connote "architecture as politics" had extensively turned out to be a "myth," then for Tafuri, there remained "power" that distressed the systems of formation with several "dialectics" it comprised. Tafuri, therefore, defined the "object of history" as the "analysis of their 'confrontation'," then it might well be interpreted that especially that of architectural history embodied analogous analysis, referring to his definition of "the construction of physical space." He defined "the construction of physical space" as the battlefield of the confrontation of those several dialectics, which surely adumbrated, in Tafuri's term, "an incontestable fact" through the "margins, remains, and residues" of that mere battle. "Here," wrote Tafuri, "a vast field for inquiry opens up: for inquiry into the limits of languages, the limits of techniques, and the thresholds that 'give thickness'. The threshold, the boundary and the limit 'define': and it is in the nature of this definition that the object so circumscribed immediately becomes evanescent. The possibility of constructing the history of a formal language arises only by destroying step by step, the linear nature of that history and its autonomy: traces, fluctuating signs, unhealed fissures remain. The 'movement of the horse, becomes historical as a 'game' completed in itself, and thereby tautological. The 'many languages' of forms discover thus that the limits of form itself do not enclose nomads casually

floating in their ‘divine’ self-transformation. The boundary line…is there to mark the points of impact which condition the interaction of meaningful practices and practices of power endowed with specific techniques.”[435] This defined a condition in which the limits of disciplines were “specifically” defined, as if prohibiting any “transcendental unification” provided by the infiltration of one into other, a condition in which “the autonomy of techniques” signaled a “permanent crisis,” stemmed from in Tafuri’s terms, “a conflict among languages, and even among the various dialects within the same language.”[436] So, for Tafuri, the validity to raise queries on “when and why” all these happened was as incontestable as to expect benefit from such queries within the framework of our disciplinary task, which was to “acknowledge the increasingly radical fragmentation [of the field of architecture] from the eighteenth century on, in disciplinary areas that only a delayed idealism would like today to bring back to an operative unity.”[437] As this required incontestably to expose “the theme of origin” for the act of “criticism,” then the requirement to ‘return’ to the “question of genealogy” in Nietzschean sense emerged uniformly as, in Tafuri’s words, “‘construction’ in the true sense of the word, an instrument (susceptible to modification and to being consumed) in the hands of historian.”[438] To rephrase Tafuri: “Historical genealogy is presented with all characteristics of labor, a deconstructive and reconstructive labor, which displaces the Nietzschean ‘stones’ and reunites them, and *produces* meanings by removing the ones offered.”[439]

The act of “elimination” in Nietzsche’s theorizations then appeared to be determining for “analysis,” as also indicated within Freud’s conception of the “work of deciphering” as an “essential” segment of “analysis.” Then, if to be deciphered in a reductivist manner, the criticism of a text required, its deconstruction and the reconstruction, in other words, a “distortion” of the original text, then Tafuri returned to the Freud’s observation about the “distortion of a text” in his *Moses and Monotheism*. There, Freud wrote: “In the distortion of a text, there is something analogous to murder. The difficulty does not consist in the perpetration of the act, but in the elimination of traces. It would be necessary to restore the word *Enstellung* the double meaning it has a right to, although today the custom might be lost. This term should not only mean ‘modify appearance of something’, but also ‘put elsewhere, move (*verschieben*) to another place’. This is why in numerous cases of the alteration of a text, we hold it necessary to find hidden somewhere, albeit modified and torn from its context what has been repressed (*das Unterdrückte*) and

what has been denied (*das Verlergnete*). But to recognize it is not always easy."[440] Tafuri's aim was, in a sense, to draw the evidences in regard to the repressive characteristics behind any "critical analysis" or "historical analysis," in which the "languages" were "codified" via "a series of censures, repressions, or negations." It was significant to recognize that any criticism, including textual, iconological, semantic, Foucaultian genealogy, or his own act, for Tafuri, were all "techniques" to "decipher" while omitting some traces, including others according to the subjective "will" of particular states of mind. In that case, the "language of criticism," in Barthes' terminology "the language which ought to 'move and break the stones'," presented an analogous being with a "stone" Barthes discriminated. This was the "danger," for Tafuri, in the analyses of Barthes, or of Derrida, for example, the danger to fall into the same state with that of which one pretend to "prevent." Tafuri claimed:

> Willingly assuming plural aspects of objects which themselves are written in plural —literary works as human sciences—the critical languages of these authors are prevented from ever passing the threshold that seperates language from language, one power system from others. They can violate works and texts, construct fascinating genealogies, hypnotically eliminate historical notes otherwise hidden by an easy reading. But they have to negate the existence of a historical space. There is no doubt that the task of the science is to dissect and not to assemble. And there is equally no doubt that the true supra-significant metaphor, so much so that it turns out to be impenetrable, is the linear nature of scientific discourse: a discourse which by statute has eliminated every metaphor itself. It is not, therefore, the acceptance of metaphor and aphorism within the historical sciences that we protest. The real problem is how to design a critique able constantly to call itself into a crisis while forcing reality into a state of crisis. Reality, that is, and not merely its individual segments. [441]

According to Tafuri, history's being a "representation" was after all a certainty, so to regard it analogously as the "fruit of a dismissal, or a negation" was a possibility which simultaneously led the obscurity of a constructive problematic, in case that mere negation was solidified as "*a fixed abstraction*."[442] As definite as the "limits of fixed abstraction" was —here, the referent of limit was used due to the perpetual capacity of the "fixed abstraction" while "calling itself into question," or of "transforming and rupturing the materials of its own analysis," in other words of transforming and rupturing "its own ideological dams" —then it could utilize to conduct the theoretical work properly, by transforming both itself and its language. In other words, "criticism," for Tafuri, had value if its limits were well determined, if it had the capacity to transform the language and its subject matter, if it managed to "disintegrate the apparent unity of reality" by

displacing "the ideological barriers which conceal the complexity of power strategies."[443] After putting all parameters in operation then, the "labor" then merely focused on, in Tafuri's terms, "how to construct a history that will reach to the heart of these strategies, that is, their means of production."[444] Yet, since the determinative value of those means were vague due to the degenerated nature, aggravated by the repressive capacity of "current ideologies", since the "genealogy" of a "power system" lacked to present "a universe closed within itself" once being isolated, there obviously aroused the risk of "infinite" probabilities of traces for the act of analysis. "As labor, in fact, analysis has no end, as Freud recognized; it is infinite by nature."[445]

Another fundamental predicament was due to the characteristics of "ideology." Seeing that "ideology never act[ed] as a 'pure' force," and "ideology" and "praxis" were always in a helical-process of contamination, Tafuri indicated that the ideologies, both thetical and "antithetical," obviously loaded a complex, even "expanding," input block, effective during the "construction" process of "reality," due to their complex practice as a group presenting an indefinite "intertwining" capacity. Tafuri continued: "Negation of the subject, sacredness of the banal, Schopenhauerian mystical practices, devastation and reaffirmation of the material, celebration of the 'enigma of goods' and exasperation before it: all are indissolubly interlaced in the poetics of the negative avant-garde. The vision of the work ethic translated into ascetic images, characteristic of the 'radical' and constructivist architectural and figurative currents, displaces the factors that composed that interlacing."[446] Nevertheless, within the practices of that day, for Tafuri, the "ideological implications" might be considered as a cold case since, in his words, "they ha[d] exhausted their historical tasks, revealing a viscosity that must be combated, but which first should be analyzed in its peculiar characteristics."[447]

Herein, as "ideologies and languages" were accepted as "social productions," the analysis of its peculiar characteristics might lead one to think that, to Tafuri's mind, "their theoretical illumination through pure historical analysis" had the aptitude for an "efficacious and operative dismissal."[448] Yet, was that a verity? What kind of path for inquiry should be traced if the fact that every social production had a confrontational relationship with its equivalents was a collective recognition? Or, what would prevent any proposed path decided by a subjective will from falling into "a low-level idealism," to

repeat Tafuri's indication. "Perhaps," wrote Tafuri, "it is not yet possible to offer valid and concrete responses to our question: but it is important to grasp its centrality for the present debate, and precisely to the extent that it is an exquisitely political problem." He continued:

> Anyone who does not want to mythicize 'theoretical' space today faces that unresolved question: the socialization and productivity of historical space. Analysis and design: two social practices divided and connected by a bridge that is for now artificial. And here the disquieting theme of *interminable analysis* returns. Interminable for its internal characteristics, for the objectives which as such it is obliged to pose. To enter into practice, such analysis is forced to give itself boundaries, albeit partial and provisional ones. Historical work, in other words, is obliged to betray itself consciously: the final page of an essay or a study is necessary, but it should be interpreted as a pause, which implies point of suspension. In any case, every pause is productive to the extent that it is programmed.[449]

Inasmuch as the linkage between "design" and "analysis" had terminated in that period's condition, the analysis was consciously operated by a return to the origins with certain strategies. As this "labor," for Tafuri, required to progress through a linear or helical sequence in history, he posited that the "methods" of such progress should be assigned according to their capacity for a "perennial transformation," the mode of which was adjudicated by the very "material" under investigation. As indicated by Tafuri, to define "history" as solely a "therapy", as Freud did in his analysis, was rudimentary due to the productive nature that necessitated the cross-examination of "its own materials" which situated the mere act to a state beyond therapy, in which the "construction" of materials called forth the perpetual "reconstruction" of history itself. It was in this vein that one could state the "genealogies" obstructed historical analysis as for their being "provisional barriers," shielding "the conditionings of meaningful practices or means of production," ignoring the "plural" structure of the workspace., and therefore yielded a "linguistic problem in history." According to Tafuri's theorization, if historical criticism was regarded as "as criticism of meaningful practices," the only way that it could "speak" was hidden in its performance to return the critical "doubt" about "reality" onto its very being. Drawing an analogy between history's destructive intervention during "its own construction" and the "slices with a surgeon's knife," Tafuri compared the outcome of that very act to a body with "unhealed wounds" whose "solidarity" was damaged.[450] That is why; Tafuri narrated "analysis" as an act, operating within the core of a "struggle,"

which evoked altering upshots, caused by “intervening mutations,” and therefore claimed “every analysis” as “provisional” acts that only “measured” its own upshots and “measured” by the processes it occasioned. Such “historiographical labor,” therefore, should be “read as expressions of removal,” since as to Tafuri: “They are no more than defenses or barriers which hide the reality of historical writing. They incorporate uncertainty: the ‘true history is not something which cloaks itself into the mantle of disputable ‘ideological proofs’, but which recognizes its own arbitrariness, and sees itself as an “unsafe edifice’.”[451] Others, Tafuri defined them as “fields of artificially pre-established inquires,” were for “transforming reality, power systems, and ideologies” by “differentiated power techniques” and spoke of customized “languages” that masked the very conflict, generated from “its melting into a universal language” and “its *tendency toward another*.”[452] Yet, in Tafuri’s words, to “construct improbable bridges between different languages and techniques remote from one another” was not among the tasks of “historical space,” but if the issue was to discover “what such remoteness expressed,” and expose “what is presented as *void*,” then it fell within its duties. In that case, as confirmed by Tafuri, the construction of the “historical space” involved “an operation which descends into interstices of techniques and languages.”[453] The task of the historian, then, appeared as to “operating within the interstices.”[454] Herein, what emerged as crucial was to comprehend with what kind of aspiration the historian operated within *voids*: it definitely expelled of any recuperative attempt, but rather embraced an endeavor “to explode what is attested about the limits of languages.”[455] This was how, for Tafuri, the “historical labor” challenged “the division of labor in general, tend[ed] to expand its own borders and *design[ed] the crisis of given techniques*.[456]

It was, then, important to understand Tafuri’s definition of “history as ‘design of crisis’” in this framework. A design that could never promise an “absolute validity.”[457] Accordingly, Tafuri was in complete consciousness about the “demystifying power of historical analysis in itself,” about its contingent sanction, incompetent for any revolutionary transfiguration of so-called regulations. Nevertheless, the modern-day strives for restructuring the mere mechanisms of “history” by means of a premeditated interrogation of “its own connotations” was pregnant with hazardous consequences, with “at least a provisional ‘unfeasibility’,” as Tafuri epitomized.[458] In this sense, having comprehended the completely hazardous conditions of the very activity, Tafuri’s query in regard to how its being interpreted within the field of architecture, in its writing seemed as

appropriate. As already mentioned, Tafuri did believe in the efficacy of associating a "system of differences" in the case of architecture that would develop out of the absolute recognition of "diverse practices." So as to concatenate the discussion to its initial point, Tafuri reaffirmed that:

> Only in more felicitous moments—at least, for the historian—do architecture, techniques, institutions, urban administration, ideologies, and utopias came together in a formal work or system. Such a coming together has often been called for by the intellectual establishment, especially since the Enlightenment, but only because the fragmentation of the classical *ordo* has dispersed and differentiated the separate approaches to the structure of the physical environment. Many histories come to be written, for just as many different disciplines. But as far as architecture is concerned, it is often found more productive to start with fragments and unrealized ideas, with the purpose of putting back in their contexts works which would otherwise appear to be without meaning. … And in order to fully understand the dialectic that shapes twentieth century avant-garde tradition, a dialectic drawn between the extremes of the tragic and the banal, isn't it more useful to go back to the dazzling buffooneries of the Cabaret Voltaire than to examine works in which the tragic and the banal are reconciled with reality."[459]

"The manipulation of forms always has an objective that transcends the forms themselves": this principle that was "beyond architecture," for Tafuri, was one of the ultimate rationales behind Modern Architecture's "break from past."[460] Yet, as the task of a historian for Tafuri resisted such stance, as he was nominated to recover past in a sense, Tafuri professed the substance of being in full awareness of this decisive factor and the necessity of a continual act of "disassembly" while calling Modern Movement into question.[461] As for Tafuri, the "monumental structure of the Modern Movement" was established on the "quicksand of sublime mystifications," then its "research" with such a disassembling method, was definitely prompted from the presumption that "a chemical analysis of that quicksand" by means of "reagents of an opposite nature" was compulsory.[462] Such institution of a compulsory dialectic obviously required a particular effort, oscillated between "*concrete labor*" and "*abstract labor*" of Marx, as it was the only way that enabled one to read "architectural history," in his words, "on the basis of historiographical parameters relative to both the development of intellectual labor and the development of modes and relations of production" for Tafuri.[463] He further mentioned about "diverse responsibilities" of architectural history: the very responsibility to "critically describe" the course of its physical establishment, an outcome of "*concrete labor,*" and the responsibility to be a "part of the general history of the structures and

relations of productions," embracing its "reactional" embodiment, parallel to the "development of *abstract labor*." These all constitute the major pretext why Tafuri claimed, "Architectural history will always seem to be the fruit of an unresolved dialectic."[464] According to him, when the "intellectual foresight," "modes of production," and "modes of consumption" included as decisive constraints to any consideration, which meant that their complex "interrelation" appeared to be the "synthesis" of the work, their synthesis required to be obstructed by an "explosion," which gave the possibility to "expose disunity, fragmentation and 'dissemination' of the work's internal unities. [465] To liberate the components of the whole, such as "consumer relations, symbolic horizons, avant-garde hypotheses, methods of restructuring production, advanced technology," at the same time, was to provide the mere opportunity to conduct the analysis one by one, estranged from the "ambiguous" nature the work itself "demonstrated."[466] The fundamental point to be emphasized, however, was the lucid mainstream that such fragmented analysis did not intend to consider "the 'totality' of the work" in Tafuri's terms, but rather to provide the efficacious opportunity to articulate on different disciplinary fields—such as "iconology, political economy, history of thought, of religions, of science, of popular traditions"— through "individual fragments of the disassembled work."[467] For example, the way to several "foundations," such as "bourgeois intellectual ethics in formation," and so on, might be opened by a critical synthesis of Alberti's work, for Tafuri. He claimed:

> The critical work will consist of the 'reassembly' of the separate fragments once they have been historicized. Jakobson and Tynjanov, and later Karl Teige and Jan Mukarovsky, spoke of the continuous interrelation between the linguistic and extra-linguistic series. The final *historicization* of the multiple 'non-linguistic' components of a work will have, in this sense, two results: that of breaking the magic circle of a language by obliging it to reveal the foundations on which it rests, and that of permitting the recovery of the 'function' of language itself.[468]

As through this remark Tafuri returned to his preliminary postulation, he stated that: "To study how a language 'acts' means to examine its incidence in all the individual extra-linguistic spheres touched upon by the 'dissemination' of the text."[469] According to him, there were two "alternative" and "legitimate" methods of approach for such scrutiny of a text, conditional on the preset aspirations. The first one was an approach into text, through that of Barthes, achieved by the multiplication, division or variation of

"metaphors *within* the architectural text."[470] The second one was an approach-out-of-text, to "resort" the argument "to factors *external* to the text, extraneous to its apparent structure."[471] If Tafuri's choices had to be scrutinized, then one opportunity might be, in his words, "to put [himself] in what [he] defined as the magic circle of language, transforming it into a bottomless well." He continued: "this is what the so-called 'operative criticism' has been doing for sometime 'serving up' like so much fast food, its arbitrary and pyrotechnical hair-splittings of Michelangelo, Borromini and Wright. But in so doing, I would have to be very clear that my objective is not to write history, but rather to give form to a neutral space in which I would have floating, above time, a heap of metaphors devoid of substance. In this case my only concern should be to be charmed, that is, pleasantly deceived."[472] Another opportunity, which seemed rather antagonist, was, in his words, "to measure the real incidence of the language on the extra-linguistic series to which it is connected." His exemplar was as follows: "That is, I would have to measure, for example, in what way the introduction of the concept of measurable figurative space is a reaction to the crisis of renaissance bourgeoisie; or in what way the disintegration of the concept of form corresponds to the formation of new metropolitan universe; or in what way the ideology of an architecture reduced to the status of a 'negligible object,' a mere typology, a plan for reorganizing the building industry, fits into a true perspective of 'alternative' city planning."[473] So, he figured out a reassembling exposition of the previously "disassembled" fragments exploded for synthesis in which "the intellectual labor and the conditions of production" acted as operative agents of an "interrelation" for "recomposing" act. The very fact to be aware of was that, rather than regressing to "vulgar Marxism," the major intention behind this act was to emphasize the "specific characteristic of architecture," not to ignore them. The "verifiable parameters," the operative agents of recomposition, constructed the basis on which a "reading", revealing the very capacity of influences that overruled the "planning decisions within the dynamic of the production transformations," could be performed.

Those two opportunities, however, yielded "two immediate consequences," one regarding "classical historiography," the other regarding "the debate over the analysis of artistic language." The first one was due to the emerged necessity to "review," reconsider the "analytical criteria" of "classical historiography," for a projected "reconstruction." As for Tafuri, the major objective of historical analysis was to "construct *structural cycles*, in the fullest sense of the term," then to inaugurate a systematic amalgamation of the

“intellectual foresight” and the “modes of production development” within the continuously mentioned ‘dialectic of abstract labor and concrete labor’ had fallen in the “responsibilities of historical analysis.” The second consequence of debates on artistic language, on the other hand, was the generated risk to switch the attention from the level of “direct communication” to the level “underlying meanings.” Due to this situation, for Tafuri, the analysis of architectural work was compelled to estimate the level of “productivity,” innovated by the so-called linguistic experiments, and to cover the “domain of symbolic forms” together with its major duty to examine the “historic legitimacy of the capitalist division of labor.”[474] Indeed, it was the latter duty that Tafuri founded the central assumption of his research: “the historical role of ideology.” According to him, due to its “superstructural nature”, ideology had conduced concrete innovations. Thus, the “historicization” of those concrete innovations instigated an untouched, thus “original” field of inquiry. In such research, the most important task was to bear the “ambiguous face of the superstructure” in mind and to, in his words, “prevent it from multiplying ad infinitum in the engrossing game of mirrors that it presuppose[d] as its own attribute.”[475] And, added that:

> The parameters proper to a history of the laws that permit the existence of any architecture must thus be called upon—like the threads of Ariadne—to intricate and labyrinthine paths traveled by Utopia, in order to project on a rectilinear grid, the “knight’s move” institutionalized by poetic language.[476]

The “knight’s move” in the game of chess was referred by Viktor Shklovsky when speaking of the “trajectory of poetic language.” For Tafuri, there was an analogy between the semantic plays in artistic productions and Shklovsky’s “knight’s move”, since both indicated a “swerve,” or better to call “a side step, with respect to the real.” More specifically, the semantic structure swerved from the reality, as did the knight by an L-shaped move. This stepping-aside from the real engendered the “process of estrangement,” for Tafuri, thus enabled its perpetuation in a “surreality.”[477] It was this “surreality” and its complex relationship with “technological universe” that the philosophers, such as Max Bense, had devoted themselves to examine in the case of avant-garde art. Due this complex relationship, for Tafuri, the innovations of “technological universe” had been stimulated, which naturally was related to ideology. Therein, Tafuri made a warning: “To define ideology *tout court* as the expression of a false intellectual consciousness would be totally useless.”[478] According to him, forasmuch

as the theories of "mirroring" and "reflection" had become invalid in time, the possibility of any "work" to "reflect" a preexisting ideology increased. However, it was a fact that the so-called "swerve" of the "work" was aggravated by ideology, since it compelled to assume specific forms (as the signs in semiotic works), which always had the risk to generate an ambiguity. All were important to understand how he formulated the role of ideology and related it to the design process. Having understood the inner meaning of Tafurian terminology, it becomes easier to comprehend his following argument that relates all "swerving" process to avant-garde activity. For Tafuri, the avant-gardist art and architecture's deed of "reducing, to the point of nullifying, that 'swerving' or distance between the work and all that is other to it — between the object and its conditions of existence production and use" was of great significance.[479] By it, the opportunity to execute a" detailed critical operation" was provided through the dissection of "ideologies" behind architectural practice into various components, each of which had extra capacity to invite a "detailed critical operation." Tafuri classified three additional modes of ideology, founded on the certain edifices revealed in history. In Tafuri's words:

> a) A 'progressive' ideology—typical of the late nineteenth, early twentieth century avant-gardes—which advances the theory of a world-wide embracing of the real: namely, the avant-garde ideology which refused any sort of mediation … and which in the final outcome, found itself fighting the mediation of consensus (consensus came to regard this approach as pure "propaganda");
> b) A 'regressive' ideology: that is, a "utopia of nostalgia," expressed most accurately from the nineteenth century on, by all the different forms of anti-urban thought, by the sociology of Tönnies, and by the attempt to oppose the new commercial reality of the metropolis with proposals tending to recuperate mythologies of anarchistic or "communal" origin;
> c) An ideology which specifically calls the reform of primary institutions necessary to urban territorial or building management, and which anticipates not only veritable structural reforms, but also new modes of production and a different order to the division of labor.[480]

As he had already noted, the interrelationary nature of ideologies, how they could change its itinerary, made possible to judge a single work, having presented two different categories, for example, in a body. Le Corbusier, for example, appeared to be both an instance of progressive ideology and an ideology for structural reform. Herein the significant motive was not to mystify those "different levels of analysis."[481] On the contrary, the act essentially required the complex execution of, in Tafuri's words, "differentiated methods" in order to signify the differentiated modes of the "productive

order" behind each component. For Tafuri, such an attempt had the risk of being misinterpreted as "methodological eclecticism," yet one should be in full awareness of another fact: It was a result of the very acceptance of, in fact, "the ambiguous role of transition" as a significant ingredient of the "fragmented and multifaceted discipline of architecture."[482] All criteria, mentioned by Tafuri, were, in fact, was to broaden the logic of the very term "architecture" due to his belief of the very necessity of such a comprehensive adaptation.[483] Clearly speaking, the "modern and contemporary periods," for Tafuri, embraced all the analyses, thus the transformations in the meaning of 'intellectual labor' showed that a similar path was pursued due to the demands of 'building industry'. Tafuri defined this situation as the "skin of artificially confused threads," and proposed that the "disentangling" of this situation could be possible by "plac[ing] many histories alongside each other" for a recognization of "any conflicts in their nature."[484] He continued: "The 'beyond,' to which modern architecture tends by definition, should not be confused with the reality of urban dynamics. The 'productivity of ideology' is measured only by its concrete results in the history of political economy as manifested within urban history."[485] The next passage from his text explained the subject more clearly:

> The relation between referents, values and *aura* is immediate; no history can be given of the actual attempts to reduce the work to the pure presence of the act that mimes the artistic process, nor can any historical account be given of modern architecture's successful attempt to break down the barrier between the language of forms and that of existence, except in dialectical juxtaposition with the historical cycle of classicism. To "actualize" this cycle would entail recognizing its structural depth and individuating, diachronically, its closed systematics. But it will also entail the understanding of a dual characteristic within the cycle: the emergence of a mode of intellectual production that we have still not yet fully reckoned with, and the appearance of a conception of language directed solely toward "referents," which the "dialectics of the Enlightenment" would undertake to destroy. For this reason, the history of classicism itself reflects the difficulties of the modern art; for this reason, also the method we are trying to elaborate must be able to apply itself, with the timely adjustments, to the prehistory of bourgeois civilization.[486]

Clearly drawing the boundaries of the methodology, Tafuri in a way criticized the current approaches out of such analysis and concluded his words, by claiming that:

> It is useless to lament a fait accompli; ideology has become reality even if the romantic dream of intellectuals who set themselves the task of "guiding" the productive universe has remained, logically, within the superstructural sphere of

> utopia. As historians, our task is to reconstruct lucidly the course followed by intellectual labor through modern history, and in doing so, to recognize contingent tasks that call for a new organization of labor.[487]

The "Historical Project" essay of Tafuri and the "After Historicism" essay of Vidler were of great importance since they signified a beginning of a new era, by assigning new tasks to the people of architecture. Indeed, *Oppositions* 17, with these two seminal essays, had instigated an alternative approach to neo-historicism, and put a significant mark in the journal's history with its theoretical implications. The issues after that, although they were not as fertile as the "After Historicism" issue, continued to expand similar themes. The attention was mostly on Modern Architecture, and the debate was formulated to expand the limits of its tenets. The special issue, *Oppositions* 19-20, edited by Kenneth Frampton, entitled "Le Corbusier, 1933-1960," was a generous study, perfectly illustrating this growing interest. The examination of the repeatedly mentioned themes continued until the end of the journal's publishing life. However, within the complex list of articles, submitted to the magazine, three articles, written by Italophiles, that of Giorgio Grassi, and Massimo Cacciari, published in *Oppositions* 21, and that of Francesco Dal Co, published in *Oppositions* 23 had, I believe, continued to represent the Italian debate in the journal. They, moreover, sometimes symbolized the espousal of related philosophical agendas with the preeminent theories of Tafuri, and sometimes represented the collision between ideas. Yet, all signified a reality, as if giving the signs of a search for a more concrete basis for the critical debate in Italy, pioneered by Manfredo Tafuri.

Giorgio Grassi's essay "Avant-Garde and Continuity" in *Oppositions* 21 was one of those articles, which attempted to expand similar themes with that of Tafuri, but with a perspective completely conflicting with that of Tafuri. In this sense, Grassi, in the essay, focused on the reality of avant-garde similarly, but through a dual-presumption: on the one hand, concerning the fakeness of its contemporary significance, or the exaggerated degree of significance of the avant-garde architecture by the virtues of "militant criticism." On the other hand, concerning the paradoxical contradiction between the "avant-garde position in architecture" and the "definition of architecture" itself.[488] Grassi, however, paid attention to develop whole argument about avant-garde architecture through the architectural "*works*" themselves, rather than the "ideas" or "thoughts" behind their formulation, or in his words, through the "concrete matters," rather than

"polemical issues." Grassi's opinion was clear: he thought that a work's value of significance depended on the comprehensive degree of "monumental" peculiarity preferentially. The theme, "monument," therefore, had "primary importance" within the "laws of architecture," leaving any other constraints aside as "secondary." Yet, as those "secondary" constraints were mostly correlated with the "critical" or the "experimental" value of the object itself, they became critically important for the ultimate connection of object with "public"— in Grassi's words, "a public which has however been shrewdly turned away from the real object of its perception and judgment."[489] In this perspective, for Grassi, one might suspect the loss of the very connection of "Modern Movement" with the "public" was due to the "exclusion of the rest" in the architectural "forms" of the Modern Movement's "vanguards." Thus, for Grassi, in any case of inquiry, regarding the "real changes," the "real transformations brought about by architecture," one could realize that the very "contributions of so-called avant-gardes" had little effect on, for example, "the growth or indeed transformation of cities, of their purposes, and of their forms, the modification of the landscape, etc."[490] The catalysis for such paradigms had always been "specific practical and material conditions of the city, and the structure of its elements;" that is, as Grassi noted, the main determinants of its "path." So, Grassi's questioning about the kind of relationship between the "new forms" of avant-garde throughout history and the real conditions, problems, of that era was raised due to such prescriptions. Therefore, to read his following statement in this framework is comprehensible, to quote:

> The avant-garde of architecture seems to be stuck in a permanent condition of trying to solve *false problems* (in any case of trying to solve problems that have nothing to do with transformation); and of starting from these "problems" as motives and justifications for their "new forms," as though in this process the meaning (and therefore the recognizability) of the forms themselves could be exhausted.[491]

Grassi unified the whole process of the avant-garde architecture to that of "figurative arts," as they both presented a being by "borrowing slogans, or inventing their own, and then as if they were rebuilding their world upon these, according to their own representation of it."[492] Regarding the "isms," such as Cubism, Suprematism, and so on, as particular "forms of investigation" special to the realms of figurative arts, their transfer to the field of architecture by means of early modernist works were all for Grassi shots of an experimentative transplantation, only due to the emulation of vanguards to the

"new doctrines." Oud with De Stijl and Mies were exemplifying such actuality, thus these exemplars were of great importance since he also saw that the present practice of architecture entrapped into similar emulations. In his words:

> The 'isms' of Modern Movement have certainly produced the bulk of material impressive for its variety and novelty. We must recognize that for the most part of the contemporary architecture still bases its formal choices on this material. Hardly a reassuring sign! But how else does one explain for example the recent fortunes of a Terragni, studied both in the united states as though he were Vitruvius? The illusion, the myth of 'new' persists. And it renews itself in the most negligible, the most idiotic, historicist pastiches.[493]

So by stating that his intention was far beyond any deductive concentration in regard to the "historical and ideological motives behind the 'formalistic' choices of the modern vanguards," he actually questioned the "validity" of still believing that "denunciation or protest" appeared as an "option" for the definition of architecture, when the "contemporary city" was considered. Obviously not, due to the incapability of the "dominant cultural superstructure" in "expressing collective meanings," therefore, in "creating architecture."[494] These all constituted the very reasons of architecture's being "in a state of perpetual denunciation," for Grassi.[495] On the contrary,

> A superstructure, which tends to the reactionary always approves of everything that conforms to its own characteristic stylistic preferences, that is, to everything that serves to dissimulate contradictions rather than expose them: such as formal experimentation as an end in itself, innocuous heresies, autobiographism, etc. Such a superstructure seems to have a particular predilection for all that is expressed ambiguously, or in a complete or provisional way—one need only think of the success of the so-called "paper architecture." For this reason, it is my opinion all the more absurd to give credence to or to get involved with that area of architectural research which more or less openly makes ambiguity its program, or focuses on experimentation as a search for unusual and peculiar connections, nuances abnormalities, and so forth.

This was a problem for Grassi. Any contemporary attempt, which used "architecture as an instrument with which to probe contradiction," in this regard, required an evaluation "in light of this specific problem." Grassi's claim might be read as an announcement of the very risk architecture was faced to his mind: "I believe that for architecture today to enter, in a real sense, into conflict with the cultural superstructure according to which it is judged, it must be unambiguous, to the point of deductionism, and not vague or indistinct. I believe that research, especially at the present moment, must be concentrated on

proposing forms that can be interpreted in only one sense. And this 'sense' must be consistent with the object of representation."[496] Here by object, Grassi mentioned "architecture itself": "the history of its forms, and their constant connections with everyday life and with the uninterrupted thread of hope and progress."[497] The path of such examination, therefore, necessitated to be directed to backward for Grassi, or in his terms, "to go back to architecture's historical experience; to return to those elements which define its specificity; that is, to go back to architecture as practical activity and as cultural specialization."[498] Methods might present variations. But, the final work would be the "expression" of "collective meanings," to a great extent, "mirrored by architecture," which, at the end, would define "the indispensible, dramatic realism of architecture," expressed through "form."[499]

Massimo Cacciari's short essay "Eupalinos or Architecture," published in the "forums, letters, and review" section of number 21 was a review of Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co's *Modern Architecture*. This short article also took place within Hay's anthology *Architectural Theory since 1968*. Although it was categorized among the book reviews at *Oppositions*, it was, for Hays, a continuation of Cacciari's early meditation on the "relation of architecture, the metropolis, and nihilism," but this time configured upon Tafuri and Dal Co's seminal book on Modern architecture. In this context, I believe, it was a continuation of previously stated arguments of Italian theorists, but it forwarded the whole to a different standpoint originated on Heidegger's philosophy. "Eupalinos" was a term used to express the "original tectonic meaning of architecture."[500] The essay, "Eupalinos or Architecture," in this sense, began with Cacciari's stress on the Heidegger reference at the end of the book. For Cacciari, the reason why the authors preferred to describe the developments of Modern architecture with the themes "difference" and "renunciation" was due to their priviliged will to display the "tragic point of view" behind those developments. It was due to this intention Cacciari approached Tafuri and Dal Co's book as being beyond a study on "history."[501] On the contrary, it was, for Cacciari, a piece of work dealing with the "problem of Modern architecture," or in Cacciari's words, with "its *Fragwürdiges*," a term which covered "its fundamental relation to the world and to the things, its language of existence of such a relation."[502] Such a provision, for Cacciari, *necessitated* citing Heidegger, since his formulations had helped to conceive the hidden "Values and Purposes" which "nourished" the development of specific cases. By referring to Heidegger's formulations, Cacciari uncovered the current criticism of

"Modern Architecture" with or within Heideggerian mode that necessitated the deconstruction of Modern Architecture's "language of existence," or its *Fragwürdiges*. The major objective behind this minor tribute was to critically grasp the concern behind the "fundamental aspects" of "contemporary architecture."[503] As Cacciari claimed, Heidegger was engrossed with the "tectonic aspect of architecture," which at all weaved around the complex connotation of building-dwelling dialectics.[504] If the "spiritual" nature of this dialectic had been vulgarized by the dynamics of 'metropolis,' then, the recall of building and dwelling dialectic into question once again should be regarded as the demand of the discourse. This demand was because its being "productive," yet nestling the "estrangement" of "spirit" from "dwelling."[505] To quote Cacciari:

> The problem of dwelling lies not in the quality of the edifice, of services, or of design. We should either speak of it in its own language or not speak of it at all: dwellings is being in the *Geviert*, experiencing dwelling as a fundamental condition of one's own being, and feeling one to be a 'dweller.' However, is it possible to build *for* 'dwellers'? Only 'dwellers' can do so. And it is precisely the 'dweller' that is absent today.[506]

According to Cacciari, "our separation from dwelling-building" was a result of the paradigmatic transitions in "Western thought," for example "the translation of Greek *tekne* into European technique."[507] He stressed that the "form" or the "quality of the edifice" was far away from being the focus of an analysis on *Fragwürdiges* of any period. The focus, on the contrary, should have been on the problem of *building*, which in Heideggerian terminology corresponded to that of *dwelling,* as "to build is to dwell, to dwell is to build."[508] This problematic, however, was not at all considered, for Cacciari, in the present condition. This was a desperate fact of contemporary condition, a fact that deserved no discussion, the "fate of contemporary man."[509] In fact, this was what interested Cacciari. In this light, he referred to Heidegger and his theorization of metropolis man as "shepherd." He referred to Nietzsche and his thoughts in "great city." And, he made a rereading of the contemporary condition upon themes such as "man's living-as-dwelling," "alienation," "detachment of man from his house," "measure," "measure of *poesis*," and "man's intuition of poetry" with regard to dwelling: *undichterisch wohnet der Mensch.*[510] Cacciari stressed repeatedly this concept of Heidegger. For him, Tafuri and Dal Co perpetrated the "manifold forms" of this so-called unpoetic world in their "history," nonetheless this was never raised as a subject by the authors.[511] The theme comprised that, in Cacciari's words:

> The home is past, it no longer is. The unity of building and dwelling, which forms the home, has become nothing. The nullification of home is a fundamental aspect of the conviction peculiar to western metaphysics, that pure Being (*l'ente*) is nothing (*niente*). The separation of lodging from home, in which the lodging is only in time, is not a literary allegory for the fundamental separation of being-in-time (*esse*) from pure Being (*ente*) —the separation through which the Subject of metaphysics takes possession of pure being —but is this separation itself. The home is posited as nothing, or is made to remain solely as ruin or memory, for the purpose of demonstrating even more clearly its nullity, its achieved nullification. On this basis, the Subject is "free," it can move freely, can carry on its work and its destiny of separating all atemporal Being from being-in-time, of reducing all Being to time—to the time of Subject's own movement. The Subject lodges in time—it does not dwell in homes.[512]

In this context, for Cacciari, one can clearly grasp the difference between "dwelling," "building" and "making poetry," thus he put emphasis on its significance for comprehending "the fundamental nihilism of Western metaphysics-techniques." The importance of architecture in this "history," for Cacciari, could be understood better from this viewpoint. To quote Cacciari:

> … it represents one of the decisive forces which separates pure Being, from its connection to being-in-time and which obscures the vision of Parmenides, for whom all Being is eternal and united. At its origins, with being-in-time. Architecture *may* be valid as one of these forces—as silence may also be valid, the silent custody of the home's empty form. What condemns architecture to the most despicable misery is the adornment of our deserts with traditional forms and archaic ruins, the disguising of artifice with nature and of Being with eternity, the branding of technical functions as "poetic," and the "ennobling" of the harsh conventions of the *diverse* politics that comprise technique.[513]

Following this long explanation of *undichterisch wohnet der Mensch*, Cuicci claimed that the major concern here was the "practical result of the analysis of form, or the *apriori* conditions of possibility, of *dichterisch wohnen.*" And, continued: "this result should be kept 'pure' of any form of nostalgia or utopian transcendence. Of interest, here are only the conditions and phenomenology of *undichterisch wohnen.* Such is the theme — and the method of approach — of Tafuri and Dal Co's 'history'."[514]

Cacciari's theorization of Tafuri and Dal Co's work upon Heiddegger and his revelation of the phenomenological and tectonic aspects in Tafuri and Dal Co's history were of great significance due to his privileged intimation to determine the basis of their work. In fact, Cacciari's attempt showed that Tafuri and Dal Co's seminal work began to be the

implicit query of discussions also in Italy. Francesco Dal Co's essay on "Notes Concerning the Phenomenology of the Limit in Architecture," published in *Oppositions* 23 might be seen as an extension of this interest. The essay was a critical inquiry on the very basis of different "intellectual attitudes," represented by certain modernist architects, whose built works presented oppositional existences in accordance with the changes in phenomenological interpretations of certain limits in architecture. For Dal Co, if "the project is an assemblage of differences," then the "intelligibility of its lines of difference" was the main variable that assigned the vigor of its expressive value; the "concreteness" of a project, therefore, was determined by its "clarity and radicality of the limits of which it [was] made."[515] He stated:

> The limit itself produces clarity to the point where, in classical formulations, *renunciation* prevails in the face of the evidence of the multiplicity traced by the disjunctive sign. Even in the extreme diversity of their formulations, those contrasting practices that have been examined in relation to the meaning of the limit in the project fulfill a function of extreme importance, one whose purpose is to connote the real, but not always manifest the complexity of contemporary architectural experience."[516]

To delineate the instances of this "complexity" seemed as a necessity for Dal Co, if the point was, in his words, "the fundamental opposition between certain intellectual attitudes." The specific examples of Dal Co for such examination were composed of significant figures of Modern Architecture, such as Peter Behrens, Adolf Loos, Mies Van Der Rohe, and Frank Lloyd Wright. For example, regarding the "effort" in Peter Behren's work as "one of the contradictory efforts made by Modern Architecture," Dal Co determined that the limits of his effort was defined by the will "to pre-establish the strategies of control over the transformations effecting the evolution of forms and languages of technical creativity" by implementing "a dialectical relation with tradition."[517] In his words:

> It was an effort which was resolved in a kind of *reduction* of architectonic form to a classical fixity, where the value of the *image* tended to take on a predominant importance. Behren's design extended to the most diverse 'objects,' with the purpose of exorcizing their unstable appearances and above all their continual modifications of form. The classical mask of a world in search of new orders, Behren's architecture aimed at reviving a sense of tradition, making tradition the strongest 'coil' of a program that … coiled up on itself to reconstitute new possibilities for uniquely livable and communicable experiences.[518]

However, the tendency in the work of Adolf Loos was of the other extreme, which stood against the very "mediation between the diversity of separate parts and situations." The quality of Loos' built forms, for Dal Co, or in his words, its mere "characteristic," had nothing to do with the "control of forms" by any program; neither did they strive for the "obvious" in Dal Co's terms, but rather cared for "the time lived within an *interior.*" They, therefore, proposed "inflexible" and "ambiguous" conditions, shaped by the "peculiar character of experience," which renounced "to satisfy an understanding that is pursued through the opacity of external appearances of architecture."[519] Mies Van Der Rohe, on the other hand, for Dal Co, such ambiguities lost appearance. The conception of "difference" also constituted a major role in the spaces of Mies, but his priority was different from that of Loos. Instead of an interior-prior formulation, Mies, for Dal Co, proposed "labyrinthine solutions," in direct opposition with the sense of "warmth" as underscored in Loos' "conception of environment."[520] In Dal Co's words:

> His design does not connect but connect but rather communicates the cold tasks of the operations of assemblage into which the strategies of modernization are translated. Mies exposes the ambiguity of such strategies, as well as that of technical apparatus that gives them substance, without himself intervening in the process. Hence, his great sheets of plate glass: these are great exemplars of transparency, but at the same time, impenetrable barriers, or even mirrors meant at once to multiply images and to repel them. As labyrinthine immobility, the Miesian environment is articulated through the indication of such ambiguities as the only possible form of experience; we were thus led to recognize the intrinsic reversibility of every value promised by the technical modernization that brought to an end the past age of the experience of inhabiting.[521]

As already mentioned, the Heideggerian perspective of Cacciari, the phenomenological articulation of Dal Co were the indications of a change in discourse. And this change was naturally due to the transformations in cultural climate. The protest and liberation days of the late sixties had ended, and the air had altered considerably. The Italians were also reevaluating their contributions, and had been directed to alternative means of understanding. This meant that *Oppositions* had lost its source of inspiration. This climate naturally called forth the demise of *Oppositions*, thus the termination of their initial desires. Or, it may be stated that, the clues of the international discourse on that of Italophiles might be sensed through those discussions. This is not the place to discuss the degree of impact on the Italians. But a significant event proves the Italian impact on the discourses in the United States. This was a symposium, held on 13 March 1982 at the

IAUS, under the title "Architecture, Criticism, Ideology." This was a final representation of the regular meetings of a study group under the title "Revisions," to which selective theoreticians and students contributed. The proceedings of this symposium were published as a book, titled identically, in 1985.[522] Among the contributors, there were significant people, such as Alan Colquhoun, Mary McLeod, Joan Ockman, and Bernard Tshumi, among others.[523] In the editorial statement, it was claimed that the whole issue was based on the main objective to draw attention to the relationship of architecture in particular and politics, which, they believed, had not received sufficient significance in contemporary American architectural discourse yet. Putting emphasis on the tradition of ideological criticism, pioneered by especially Manfredo Tafuri as the mainspring of all arguments, they narrated their engagement as in some way or another to respond to the Tafurian position and to open up a new perspective for the critique of ideology. Having admitted the "operative" role of Tafuri in the development of critical discourse worldwide from the very beginning, the event, in a sense, sanctified the influence of Marxist theory, promoted by the expressions of Manfredo Tafuri, Massimo Cacciari and Francesco Dal Co on the twentieth-century architectural criticism and theory.

The same year, *Oppositions* published only a special issue on "Monument/Memory." This was its 25th issue and the editor was Kurt W. Forster. Until 1984, the magazine ceased to publish any issue. Two years later, in the spring of 1984, *Oppositions* 26 was published, and with issue number 26, the magazine ended its publishing life. Colquhoun's essay, entitled "Three Kinds of Historicism," published in the last issue, put sort of an end to the era, instigated by Vidler's "After Historicism" article. It was later published in Kate Nesbitt's anthology of architectural theory, in the section dedicated to "Historicism: The Problem of Tradition." In the essay, Colquhoun made a survey into history and tended to unveil the "ambiguous" uses of the term "historicism." Nesbitt reminded, in the introduction she wrote for Colquhoun's essay, that the definition of the term "historicism" in the late eighteenth century German romanticism referred to a "modern" concept in close relation with the Zeitgeist, the "spirit of the age." Such a connection with Zeitgeist, in fact, amended the meaning of the term to, in Nesbitt's words, the "study of society's institutions 'in the context of their historical development' on the basis of an organic model of growth and change."[524] Colquhoun signified other uses of the term on the basis of the "attitude," which for Nesbitt was used in terms of "sympathy towards the culture and customs of the past," and on the basis of "artistic practice," which referred to its use

with a sympathy towards the forms and imagery of the past. It was in this context that Colquhoun interrogated the meaning of the term within two antagonistic traditions, "modernism" and "postmodernism" in regard to those three uses, and their ambiguous and paradoxical consequences. The last two forms of the use of the term, for Colquhoun, comprised the basic characteristic of "postmodern historicism." The former form, on the contrary, corresponded to several features of the modern project due its very call for a new Zeitgeist, as a response to classical tradition. Though the latter born as a reaction to the former, Colquhoun defined "modernism and postmodernism" as "two sides of the same coin."[525] Irrespective of their counter approach to the past, Colquhoun asserted both as the phenomena of "modern" related to the theme of "tradition," therefore, to his mind, the phenomenon of present "historicism" should essentially know the necessary elements of its counter. If current practice in history, in other words, "postmodern historicism," sought for a new "tradition" as a response to that of the modern, then to look at the other side of the coin arose as a valid methodology: "to see which of its elements inevitably persists in our attitude towards work of art and architecture."[526] And, he stated that:

> It seems to me, therefore, that it is valid to approach the problem of tradition in architecture as the study of architecture as an autonomous discipline—a discipline which incorporates into itself a set of aesthetic norms that is the result of historical and cultural accumulation and which takes its meaning from this. … The aesthetic comes into being anew through the existence of a particular material situation, even if it is not wholly conditioned by this situation. Today's historians tend toward investigation of material conditions of the artistic production of the past; today's architects should be equally aware of the transformation of the tradition brought about by these conditions.[527]

Within this argument, Colquhoun claimed, one could find the implications of the approval of historicism's being, in his words, "a theory by which all sociocultural phenomena are historically determined."[528] Colquhoun concluded his argument by stating that:

> … all systems of thought, all ideological constructs, are in need of constant conscious criticism: and the process of revision can come about only on the assumption that there is a higher and more universal standard against which to measure the existing system. History provides both the ideas that are in need of criticism and material out of which this criticism is forged. An architecture that is constantly aware of its own history, but constantly critical of the seductions of history, is what we should aim for today.[529]

As Kate Nesbitt also claimed, Colquhoun's essay was a critical rereading, exposing the "paradoxes of the historicist view," and advancing "architecture as an autonomous discipline" that internalized its own traditions.[530] Together with Aldo Rossi's "Recent Works," Giovanni Battista Piranesi's "Thoughts on Architecture," in "Documents" section, Francesco Dal Co's "The Stones of the Void," Phillipe Junod's "Future in the Past", and Diane Agrest's "Architecture of Mirror/Mirror of Architecture," the appearance of Alan Colquhoun's "Three Kinds of Historicism" was not surprising, due to its provocative tone against the misunderstandings of the very term "historicism" that started to ruin the mere essence of the discipline itself. Ironically enough, the cessation of *Oppositions* with this issue, covering both the works of Italians, and the significant people of American lobby, though they all were non-American, represented the European impact of the magazine more clearly. To answer the query in regard to what was the motive was that caused *Oppositions'* cessation was explicit in Ockman's following statements:

> The specific story of *Oppositions*'s demise is linked directly to Institute itself, in turn responding to internal and external transformations in the cultural climate. This is not the place to tell that story, but one may simply note here that the Institute's compromise of its original mandate as an antiestablishment institution of progressive architects, planners, and thinkers followed closely upon its bureaucratization, its cultivation as a fashionable salon and power base in New York, and its solicitation of mainstream patronage. At the same time, the journal's editors became increasingly polarized, not only by intellectual and aesthetic frictions, but by the unevenness of their contributions to the magazine and their changing ambitions. Meanwhile the air outside had altered considerably, from the protest and liberation days of the late sixties, on which inspiration *Oppositions*, like the Institute, was spawned, to conservative mood and postmodern reaction of the late seventies. The unvarying red cover was so totally consumed by this point that its heroic aspirations could henceforth read only as a nostalgic anachronism."[531]

After Oppositions demise: A question mark on Deconstructivist architecture, was it an extension of Tafuri's deconstruction?

About sixty years after the illustrious "International Style" exhibition, held in 1932, Philip Johnson, directed another MoMA exhibition as a guest curator, with the collaboration of Mark Wigley. Presented under the title "Deconstructivist Architecture," the exhibition once again served MoMA to usher a new era for the architectural world. From 23 June to 30 August 1988, the "devious" works of seven architects, designed and built since 1980, were presented to the American public as the unique examples of a "devious architecture," the definition of Wigley, in which the forms were distorted to reveal the essence inside, and the final form presented itself as anew.[532] The selective architects included Coop Himmelblau, Peter Eisenman, Frank Gehry, Zaha Hadid, Rem Koolhaas, Daniel Libeskind, and Bernhard Tschumi.

As the acknowledged mission of museums was to reveal the so-called styles in the discipline of either art, or architecture, and as the reputation of MoMA in this task was evident, the presentation of "Deconstructivist Architecture" exhibition was quite extraordinary. This time, its curator, Johnson, completely refused any and all prospect for the declaration of a new style. Indeed, he clearly underscored that it had been some years since the quest for a new style of architecture, likewise the prosperous 1932 MoMA achievement, ended. The conditions had changed. Primarily reminding the attempt in the 1932 exhibition which was "to prefigure an international style which would supersede Gothic or Romanesque of the previous century," Johnson claimed that no such stylistic paradigm was emulated for the "Deconstructivist Architecture." The overall quest was neither to invent a style, nor to supplant a former paradigm, but to "narrate" a condition, in the core of the present history. In Philip Johnson's words:

> As interesting to me as it would be to draw parallels to 1932, however delicious it would be to declare again a new style, that is not the case today. Deconstructivist architecture is not a new style. We arrogate to its development none of the messianic fervor of the modern movement, none of exclusively of that catholic and Calvinist cause. Deconstructive architecture represents no movement; it is not a creed. It has no "three rules" of compliance. It is not even "seven architects." It is a confluence of a few architects' work of the years since 1980 that shows similar approach with very similar forms as an outcome. It is a concatenation of similar strains from various parts of the world.[533]

Contrary to Philip Johnson's declarations, the mere reflections of the "Deconstructive Architecture" exhibition were observed in the practice of architecture worldwide. "Deconstructivism" as a discourse was considered as a second wave of 'post' movements, criticizing the former wave, "postmodernism." Even though a majority that contributed to the exhibition refused to be labeled under such a template, particularly Eisenman and Tschumi announced the theories of Derrida as being a direct source of influence. In fact, Mary McLeod outlined the impact behind the conceivement of deconstructivism, its formal hermeticism, the political agenda behind its formal subversion, in her 1980 essay "Architecture and Politics in Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism," published in *Assemblage*. There, she drew particular attention to the donation of special terms, such as "unease," "disintegration," "decentering," and "dislocation" to architectural discourse. With this terminology, unveiled from Eisenman and Tschumi, and Wigley, the act was theorized as a critical and political intervention.

It is only because of the terminology used, could deconstructivist architecture have extra influences beyond Derrida? And, if so this factor was of great importance in the context of this study. Reminding here the Tafurian "critical act", which was clearly defined by him as the process of destroying, of disintegrating, of dissolving the object under analysis, the deconstructivist act, as espoused by Eisenman and Tschumi, and theorized by Wigley similarly emulated such a process during its critical intervention to form. Therefore, even though this exhibition was the introduction of a stylistic approach to the American public, one could also interpret it as the representation of the mere "flirtation" of Tafurian metaphors with current practices, the solid evidence of the mere infiltration of Tafurian terminology to discourse after a decade, and finally the archetypal verification of a "transplantation" from Italy to the United States, as aimed by Ambasz in 1972 INDL exhibition.

Tafuri stated in an interview he made with Richard Ingersoll in 1986 that he found the Eisenman and Hedjuk's work in the mid of 1970s more interesting than their present work. Because for Tafuri, the current work of them was a direct indication of a very significant problem of Americans looking to Europe. In Tafuri's words: "what they choose to look at was an 'Americanized' Europe—Eisenman's Terragni is an architecture without human history. Using the theoretical precepts of Lévi-Strauss and Chomsky (rather than the more pragmatistic American pragmatism), they succeeded in emptying

their historic sources of human subject."[534] This was a criticism of Tafuri on Eisenman's reductionist manner of theoretical production. According to Tafuri, there was no such "criticism," as promoted by Eisenman and others in *Oppositions*. For him, "[t]here [was] only history," and the things that were presented as criticism in such architectural magazines, were produced by architects, in Tafuri's words, who "frankly [were] bad historians."[535] Thus, "if an architect needs to read to understand where he is, he is without doubt a bad architect." For Tafuri, pushing theory into practice was a superfluous act, and this was exactly what Eisenman did for the last decade. He stated that:

> I don't see it as being prophetic, but what I was saying fifteen years ago in Architecture and Utopia has become a fairly standart analysis: there are no more utopias, the architecture of commitment, which tried to engage us politically and socially, is finished, and what is left to pursue is empty architecture.[536]

Notes

[1] It becomes important here to state an anecdote ensued at the beginnings of 1990 that Martin paid particular attention in his dissertation. The major reason for Martin's emphasis of that particular period, 1990s, is because it constructs the date when "critical theory" had started to be discussed in the intellectual debates, because of the stylish endeavor that made "critical theory" lose its initial ideals. Architectural historian, Sylvia Lavin was one of the key-figures who activated those discussions. Accordingly Lavin, as Martin construed, rather than architectural, "critical theory was a brand of literary criticism that had lost its original object, namely literature" because of its irrepressible expansion as a brand to all sorts of disciplines. Hence, when "the techniques of literary criticism" had inserted to "architectural literature," there "critical architectural theory" lost "its own object, namely architecture and architecture's concern with ideas about form." Consequent to the loss of its object, architecture, for Lavin, none of the developed "critical theories" could make "a serious contribution to the world of architectural ideas." Louis Martin, p. 1.
[2] It is an anthology consisting seventy-four documents of critical commentary, which are selected among critical and historical writings from the dates of the Second World War to the student revolts of May 1968. It was produced at Columbia University, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation and was first published in 1993 by Rizzoli International Publications. The editor of the anthology is Joan Ockman with the collaboration of Edward Eigen. Ockman was the director of Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture at Columbia University in 1993, where she still teaches in the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation. Eigen is a graduate of Columbia University. Some critical commentaries in this volume are among hard-to find sources, and some are translated into English for the first time. The documentary anthology outlines the evolution of modern architecture between predefined time-period.
[3] For example, ARCH 513 of METU has been including then in the method course for graduate studies.
[4] Sylvia Lavin, Sep. 1999, "Theory into History; Or, the Will to Anthology," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 58 (3), Architectural History 199912000, p. 496.
[5] Ibid., p.496.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., p.497.
[8] Martin, 2002, p.5.
[9] Ibid., p.5.
[10] Mark Wigley, 2000, "Post operative History," *ANY: Architects New York* 25-26, (New York: Any Cooperation), pp.47-53, quoted from Louis Martin, 2002, *The search for a new theory in architecture: The Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976,* Unpublished Thesis, Princeton, p 2.
[11] K. Michael Hays, 1998, "Introduction," *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Massachusetts: MIT Press), pp. x-xv, quoted from Martin, p. 3.
[12] Martin, pp. 3-4.
[13] Joan Ockman presented a version of this paper at the symposium "The Building and the Book," held at Columbia University on February 28 and March 1, 1986. The symposium was sponsored by Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture. Joan Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde: The History and the Program of Oppositions," in Joan Ockman and Beatriz Colomina (eds.), 1988, *Architectureproduction* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.181
[14] Ockman, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," p.198.
[15] Joan Ockman, Jan.-Feb. 1995, "Venice and New York," *Casabella: The Historical Project of Manfredo Tafuri*, Vol 619-620, p. 57.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," p.198.
[18] Mitchell Schwarze, Sep, 1999, "History and Theory in Architectural Periodicals: Assembling Oppositions," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. *58, No.* 3, Architectural History 199912000, p.344.
[19] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," pp.188-189.
[20] Ibid., p.189.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., p.192.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Schwarze, "History and Theory in Architectural Periodicals," p. 344.
[26] This was because none of the editors was neither a permanent member of any university, nor a practicing architect at that time. However, this position later changed. Ibid., p. 344.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., pp. 344-345.
[31] Ibid., p. 345.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," pp.192-193.
[34] Ibid., p.182.
[35] Ibid., p.181.
[36] Ibid., p.182.
[37] Ibid.
[38] An argument of Michael Hays, in his introduction of *Oppositions Reader*. Michael Hays, 1998, "An Introduction: The Oppositions of Autonomy and History," *Oppositions Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.x.

[39] See, Stan Allen, and Hal Foster, Fall 2003, "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," *October*, No 106, October Magazine Ltd., MIT, pp.42-43.
[40] Kate Nesbitt (ed.), 1996, *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture : An Anthology of Architectural Theory,1965-1995,* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p. 111.
[41] Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, and Mario Gandelsonas, January 1974, "Editorial Statement," *Oppositions 2,* no page.
[42] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," p. 194.
[43] Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, and Mario Gandelsonas, January 1974, "Editorial Statement," *Oppositions 2,* no page.
[44] As an instance, the article "Fountainhead" which was written by Rosalind Krauss had written for *Oppositions* 2, and published under the subtitle "Theory," was of Eisenman's interest. Aside the certainty of Eisenman's entire affection for Krauss, the hidden motive under the significance of the essay was due to its being a delicate instance of an "enquiry into meaning in contemporary sculpture." As Eisenman stated that it was Krauss who called his attention to the theme `doubling,` Rosalind Krauss' "Fountainhead" signified the context in which she elaborated the themes, "doubling" or "double- meaning" with respect to the critical interpretation of contemporary art works, by means of a methodological decoding of Duchamp's critical activity.
[45] Ibid., no page.
[46] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," p.184.
[47] Hays, p.ix.
[48] See, Stan Allen, and Hal Foster, Fall 2003, "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," *October*, No 106, October Magazine Ltd., MIT, p.43.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," p.184.
[51] Hays, p.ix.
[52] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," pp.182-184.
[53] Ibid.
[54] See, Stan Allen, Hal Foster, "A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton," p.43; and Hays, p.ix.
[55] Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, and Mario Gandelsonas, September 1973, "Editorial Statement," *Oppositions 1,* no page, quoted in Michael Hays, 1998, "An Introduction: The Oppositions of Autonomy and History," in Michael Hays, (ed.), *Oppositions Reader*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p. ix.
[56] Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, and Mario Gandelsonas, May 1974, "Editorial Statement," *Oppositions 3,* no page.
[57] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," pp.182-184.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Michael Hays, 1998, "An Introduction: The Oppositions of Autonomy and History," in Michael Hays, (ed.), *Oppositions Reader*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p. ix.
[65] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," pp.192-193.
[66] Ibid., p.192.
[67] The examination of this significant work would be evoked upon three different pieces of the same article in three different publications. The first one is *Oppositions* (1974); the second one is *The Sphere and the Labyrinth* (1980); whereas the third one is Michael Hays' anthology, *Oppositions Reader* (1998).
[68] This information is gathered from the explanatory notes Michael Hays wrote for the introduction of the article of Manfredo Tafuri, "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language." In Michael Hays, (ed.), 1998, *Architectural Theory since 1968*, (Massachusetts, London: MIT Press, Cambridge), p.147.
[69] "Lionel March was admitted to Magdalene College, University of Cambridge, to read mathematics under Dennis Babbage. There he eventually gained a first class degree in mathematics and architecture. In the early sixties, he was awarded an Harkness Fellowship of the Commonwealth Fund at the Joint Center for Urban Studies, Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He returned to Cambridge and joined Sir Leslie Martin and Sir Colin Buchanan in preparing a plan for a national and government center for Whitehall. He was the first Director of the Centre for Land Studies, Cambridge University. As founding Chairman of the Board of the private computer- aided design company, Applied Research of Cambridge (later owned by McDonnell Douglas), he and his colleagues were among the first contributors to the «Cambridge Phenomenon» -- the dissemination of Cambridge scholarship into high-tech industries. In 1978, he was awarded the Doctor of Science degree for mathematical and computational studies related to contemporary architectural and urban problems. Before coming to Los Angeles, he was Rector and Vice-Provost of the Royal College of Art, London. During his Rectorship, he served as a Governor of Imperial College of Science and Technology. He has held full Professorships in Systems Engineering at the University of Waterloo, Ontario; and in Design Technology at The Open University, Milton Keynes. At The Open University, as Chair, he doubled the faculty in Design and established the Centre for Configurational Studies. He can to UCLA In 1984. He was Chair of the Architecture and Urban Design program from 1985-91. He is currently a Professor in Design and Computation, School of the Arts and Architecture. He was a member of UCLA's Council on Academic Personnel from 1993, and its chair for 1995-96. He is General Editor of *Cambridge Architectural and Urban Studies* (1972 -), and Founding Editor of the journal *Planning and Design* (1974 -). Among the books he has authored and edited are: *The Geometry of Environment*, *Urban Space and Structures*, *The Architecture of Form*, and *R. M. Schindler: Composition and Construction*. He has published a companion volume to Sir Rudolf Wittkower's *Architectural Principles*

in the Age of Humanism entitled *Architectonics of Humanism* available through John Wiley & Sons, Academic Press." Retrieved from the URL page: http://www.shapegrammar.org/people_text.html#march in January 30, 2008.

[70] "Melvin Charney is an artist and architect from Montreal whose site-related installations, drawings, collages, and texts have raised questions and stimulated discussion on such topics as the nature of the city and the connections between the built environment and the world of ideas." Retrieved from URL Page: http://artbooks.the-artists.org/default.aspx?a=0262531100 Also see the explanatory notes Michael Hays wrote for the introduction of the article of Manfredo Tafuri, "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language." in Michael Hays, (ed.), 1998, *Architectural Theory since 1968* (Massachusetts, London: MIT Press, Cambridge), p.147.

[71] Ockman, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," pp. 193-194.

[72] Manfredo Tafuri, 1998 "L'architecture dans le boudoir," in Michael Hays (ed.), *Oppositions Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p. 291. (The emphasis is mine.)

[73] Ibid., p. 291.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Michael Hays (ed.), 1998, "An Introduction: The Oppositions of Autonomy and History," *Oppositions Reader*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.xiii

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., p. xiv.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Manfredo Tafuri, 1987, "L'architecture dans le boudoir," *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to 1970s*, trans. by Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly, (Massachusetts: MIT Press), p.267.

[85] Ibid., p. 268.

[86] Tafuri, "L'architecture dans le boudoir," in Michael Hays [ed.] *Oppositions Reader*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, p. 292.

[87] Ibid., p. 292.

[88] This was a perfect illustration of why Tafuri translations confused the minds of American intellectuals. The passage quoted in the text was from *Oppositions* journal, translated by Victor Caliandro, who had received his bachelor degree from MIT and his advanced degrees from Columbia University. The following passage, which was the translation of the same passage by Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly, is quoted from *The Sphere and the Labyrinth.* The full quotation was as such: "It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that every analysis that seeks to grasp the structural relations between the specific forms of recent architectural writing and the universe of production of which they are functions requires doing violence to the object of analysis itself. Criticism, in other words, finds itself forced to assume a "repressive" character, if it wishes to liberate all that which is beyond language; if it wishes to bear the brunt of the cruel autonomy of architectural writing; if it wishes, ultimately, to make the 'mortal silence of the sign' speak." As could be realized, the differing uses of the terms, such as the transformation of the term "architectural language" in the first sentence into "recent architectural writing" denotes different agendas, which was hard to understand and locate to a proper context for a standard English-speaking reader. Manfredo Tafuri, 1987, "L'architecture dans le boudoir," *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, p. 268.

[89] Ibid., p. 268.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid., p. 269.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid., p. 272.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid., p. 273.

[100] Ibid., p. 279.

[101] The emphasis is mine because it is a fragment from a speech. "Assembly 2," *Assemblage* 27:67-73, 1995, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, p, 68.

[102] Here, Hays referred to the personal contributions of Mario Gandelsonas, Anthony Vidler, Diane Agrest, Manfredo Tafuri and Aldo Rossi. See Michael Hays (ed.) 1998, "An Introduction: The Oppositions of Autonomy and History," *Oppositions Reader*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.x.

[103] Ibid., p.x.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Mario Gandelsonas, Summer 1976, "Neo-Functionalism," *Oppositions* 5, p.1.

[106] Ibid., p.1.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid., p.2.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Peter Eisenman, Fall 1976, "Post-Functionalism," *Oppositions* 6, no page.
[117] Ibid., no page.
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[120] Ibid.
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[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Hays, 1998, "The Oppositions of Autonomy and History," p.ix.
[130] Anthony Vidler, Winter 1976, "The Third Typology," *Oppositions* 7, p.1.
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[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., p.2.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid., p.3.
[138] Ibid.
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[140] Ibid., p.4.
[141] Ibid.
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[143] Ibid.
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[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid., p.192.
[147] Manfredo Tafuri, 1987, "The Ashes of Jefferson," *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, (Mass.: MIT Press), p. 364.
[148] Manfredo Tafuri, Summer 1976, "European Grafitti: Five x Five = Twenty-Five," trans. by Victor Caliandro, in *Oppositions* 5, p. 37.
[149] Ibid., p.38.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid., p.41.
[154] Ibid., pp.41-43.
[155] Ibid., pp.45-46.
[156] Ibid., p.46.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid., p.46.
[159] Ibid., p.47.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid., p.48.
[163] Ibid., pp.48-49.
[164] Ibid., p.49.
[165] Ibid., p.50.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid., p.53.
[168] Ibid., p.50.
[169] Ibid., p.53.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid., p.50.
[172] Ibid., p.54.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid., p.57.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid., p.58.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid., pp.58-61.
[186] Ibid., p.62.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid., p.64.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid., p.68.
[192] Ibid., p.71.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Diane Agrest, Fall 1976, "Design versus Non-Design," *Oppositions* 6, p. 49.
[197] Ibid., p.55.
[198] Ibid., pp. 55-57.
[199] Ibid., p.47.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid., p.57.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid., pp. 57-58.
[208] Ibid., p. 58.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid., p.68.
[212] Ibid., p. 58.
[213] Ibid., p. 59.
[214] Ibid.
[215] In my master thesis, also supervised by Aysen Savas, entitled "Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: The Interpretation of Architectural Space as Void," I attempted to adopt the very methodology of "montage" on the project of Rem Koolhaas, as pragmatized by Eisenstein, and theorized by Tafuri.
[216] Ibid., p. 59.
[217] Emphasis is Hays', he quoted this passage from page number 333 of the collection. Hays., p.ix.
[218] Hays., p.ix.
[219] Hays., p.ix.
[220] Martin wrote: "In the fall of 1970 the Architectural Association Diploma School in London hired him to teach a seminar on urban politics. Inspired both by the political involvement of the French activist architects and by the contemporary practices of the Italian radical avant-garde (Superstudio and Archizoom), Tschumi wanted to develop a theory of revolutionary architecture. In the early seventies, in addition to regular book reviews, he wrote a series of articles on politics and urbanism, deriving his analytical methodology from contemporary French sociopolitical theories of urbanism of structuralist and Marxist tendency, particularly those of Henri Lefebvre and Guy Debord. In a first article, written with Martin Pawley, Tschumi explained the meaning of the events of May '68 for French architecture." see also, Louis Martin, Apr. 1990, **"**Transpositions: On the Intellectual Origins of Tschumi's Architectural Theory," *Assemblage*, No. 11, pp.23-24.
[221] Ibid., p.32.
[222] Bernhard Tschumi, "Architecture and Transgression," *Oppositions* 7, republished in Michael Hays, (ed.), 1998, *Oppositions Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p. 357.
[223] Ibid., p.357.
[224] Ibid., p.357.
[225] Ibid., p.358.
[226] Ibid., p.358.
[227] Ibid., p.358.
[228] Ibid., p.355.
[229] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," p.184.
[230] Anthony Vidler, "Academicism: Modernism," *Oppositions* 8, p.1.
[231] Ibid., p.1.
[232] Ibid., p.2.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid., p.5
[236] "Forum," *Oppositions Reader*, Ed by Michael Hays, pp.672-687.
[237] Ibid., p. 673.
[238] Ibid., p. 674.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid., p.675.

[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid., p. 676.
[243] Ibid., p. 677.
[244] Ibid., p.678.
[245] Ibid., p.679.
[246] Ibid., p. 680.
[247] Ibid.,.
[248] Ibid., pp. 681-682.
[249] Ibid., p. 683.
[250] Ibid., p. 684.
[251] Ibid., p.685.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid., p. 686.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid., p.687.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, Mario Gandelsonas, Anthony Vidler, "Editorial", *Oppositions* 9, p.1.
[262] Ibid., p.1.
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[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid., p.2.
[267] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," p. 197.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Anthony Vidler, Summer 1977, "Commentary," *Oppositions* 9, p.37.
[270] Ibid., pp.40-41
[271] Jorge Silvetti, Summer 1977, "The Beauty of Shadows," *Oppositions* 9, republished in Michael Hays (ed.), 1998, *Architectural Theory since 1968*, (Massachusetts, London: MIT Press, Cambridge), p. 266.
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[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid., p.267.
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[277] Ibid.
[278] Michael Hays (ed.), 1998, *Architectural Theory since 1968* (Massachusetts, London: MIT Press, Cambridge), p.262.
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[312] Mario Gandelsonas, Winter 1977, "Postscript," *Oppositions* 11, p.81.
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[328] Ibid., p. 177.
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[331] Ibid., p.177.
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[367] Ibid., pp.4-5.
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[377] Ibid., p.6: Quoted from Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, la généalogia, l'historie," *Hommage à Jean Hyppolite* (Paris, 1971); Italian translation, (Turin, 1977), p. 43; English translation "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," *Language, Counter-memory, Practice*, selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault, edited, with an introduction by D. F. Bouchard (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 153-154.
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[401] Ibid., p.2.
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[409] Ibid., p.55.
[410] Ibid., p. 56.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Ibid., p. 57.
[415] Ibid.
[416] Ibid.
[417] Ibid.pp. 57-58: Quotation from Foucault, "Nietzsche, la généalogie, l'historie," p.95.
[418] Ibid., p. 58.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Ibid., p.59: He gave extra importance to the very theme of "plurality," since Nietzsche and Freud saw "plurality," by which specific themes "plurality of subject, of science, of institutions" were referred, as essential constraints of "theoretical language," which obviously constituted "one way of organizing reality," and a "dissociation of this very reality" was required for to "discover" this very feature.
[421] Ibid., pp. 59-60.
[422] Ibid., p. 60.
[423] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[424] Ibid., p. 61.
[425] Ibid.
[426] Ibid.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Ibid, quoted from Nietzsche, *Aurora*, p.40.
[431] Ibid., p.61.
[432] Borges wrote in *The Library of Babel*: "A number of possible languages use the same vocabulary; in some of them, the symbol library allows the correct definition a ubiquitous and lasting system of hexagonal galleries, but library is bread or

pyramid or anything else, and these seven words which define it have another value. You who read me, are You sure of understanding my language." (Borges, 1962, pp. 57-8)?.
[433] Ibid., pp.61-62.
[434] Ibid., p.62, quoted from Massimo Cacciari, "Il problema del politico in Deleuze e Foucault. (Sul pensiero di 'autonomia' e di 'gioco')," reported to a seminar on "Foucault's analytical method," held in the Department of History at IUAV on April 22, 1977.
[435] Ibid., p.62.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Ibid., pp.62-63.
[441] Ibid., p.63.
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[443] Ibid.
[444] Ibid., p.65.
[445] Ibid.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Ibid.
[448] Ibid.
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[450] Ibid. p,66.
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[460] Ibid., pp.67-68.
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[472] Ibid., p.69.
[473] Ibid.
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[475] Tafuri, "The Historical Project", in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, p.16.
[476] Ibid., p.16.
[477] Ibid., p.16.
[478] Ibid., p.16.
[479] Ibid., *Oppositions 17*, p.70.
[480] Ibid., p.70.
[481] Ibid., p.71.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid.
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[485] Ibid.
[486] Ibid., p.72.
[487] Ibid., p. 73.
[488] Giorgio Grassi, "Avant-garde and Continuity," *Oppositions* 24, republished in Michael Hays, (ed.), 1998, *Oppositions Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.391.
[489] Ibid., p.391.
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[494] Ibid., p. 393.
[495] Ibid.
[496] Ibid.

[497] Ibid., p.396.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid.
[500] Ibid., p. 399.
[501] Massimo Cacciari, Summer 1980, "Eupalinos or Architecture," trns. by Stephen Sartarelli, in *Oppositions* 21, republished in Michael Hays, (ed.), 1998, *Architectural Theory since 1968* (Massachusetts, London: MIT Press, Cambridge), p.394.
[502] Ibid., p. 394.
[503] Ibid.
[504] Ibid.
[505] Ibid., p. 395.
[506] Ibid., p. 396.
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[508] Ibid., p. 397.
[509] Ibid.
[510] Ibid., pp. 397-398.
[511] Ibid., p. 398.
[512] Ibid., p.399.
[513] Ibid., pp. 399-400.
[514] Ibid., p. 401.
[515] Francesco Dal Co, 1981, "Notes Concerning the Phenomenology of the Limit in Architecture," *Oppositions* 23, p. 37.
[516] Ibid., p.37.
[517] Ibid., p. 39.
[518] Ibid.
[519] Ibid., p.40.
[520] Ibid., p.43.
[521] Ibid.
[522] Joan Ockman (ed.), 1985, *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology,* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press).
[523] The whole list of individuals was as follows: Deborah Berke, Walter Chatham, Alan Colquhoun, Pe'era Goldman, Denis Hector, Christian Hubert, Michale Kagan, Beyhan Karahan, Mary McLeod, Joan Ockman, Allan Plattus, Michael Schwarting, Bernard Tschumi, and Lauretta Vinciarelli. See, "Editorial Statement," p.4.
[524] Kate Nesbitt, 1996, "Introduction: Three Kinds of Historicism," in Kate Nesbitt (ed.), *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-1995, (*New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p.200.
[525] Alan Colquhoun, 1996, "Three Kinds of Historicism," in Kate Nesbitt (ed.), *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture : An Anthology of Architectural Theory,1965-1995*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p. 208.
[526] Ibid., p. 209.
[527] Ibid.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Ibid.
[530] Nesbitt, pp. 200-201.
[531] Ockman, 1988, "Resurrecting the Avant-garde," pp. 198-199.
[532] "Deconstructivist Architecture," in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, p. 677.
[533] Ibid., p.677.
[534] "There is no criticism, only history: Richard Ingersoll interviews with Manfredo Tafuri," *Casabella: The Historical Project of Manfredo Tafuri,* Vol. 619-620, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 99.
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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

It has been the claim of this thesis that the 1972 exhibition, "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape," directed by Ambasz, was a "particular moment" in history. It marked a "point of passage" in Tafurian sense for several reasons. The exhibition mediated the encounter of American architects with the radical designs of Italian architects. The catalog of the exhibition, however, was responsible for the introduction of a complex theoretical and critical body of thought to the American public, but particularly to the prolific fellows of the IAUS. By "doubling" the conflicting design theories in Italy, Ambasz's INDL project set the initial fire of a chain reaction by facilitating the awareness of American intellectuals on this specific discourse, underscoring criticism and ideology, pioneered by Manfredo Tafuri and his colleagues in Venice, such as Francesco Dal Co and Massimo Cacciari. As its successive phases, the Institute, through *Oppositions*, its main publishing body, disseminated the unique and radical interpretations of this unfamiliar body of theory and ideology on that side of the ocean. And the third chain constructed due to this dissemination. Via the impact of Marxist theorizations of Italians, significant parameters triggered the American architectural theory to shift to a more intense and philosophical level, in which a greatly new terminology was insinuated. All signified the traces of what we called "transplantation," and, as we have previously mentioned, the effects of this transplantation on discourse, on architecture in general, and on education was substantial. This is not the place to further underscore its consequences, but one may simply note that each phase of the chain reaction led to paradigmatic transformations, in the conception of both certain disciplinary fields, such as theory, history and criticism, and the absoluteness of a centenarian dogma in the nucleus of the overall progress of architectural discipline since the beginning of the century: Modern Architecture.

Nearly all the theoreticians and critics of the day concurred in the existence of a transition in thought from modern to postmodern after 1968. Even though this was a prevailing progress in general, its reputation as an absolute phenomenon was cartelized through the United States, which was the major power base of the period. The transfer from modern to its 'post' phase, however, might be marked through two eminent tendencies of the period, completely opposed to each other. The first was the historicist and mannerist American and Anglo-Saxon postmodernism, promoted and theorized by Robert Venturi, by his polemical book *Complexity and Contradictions in Architecture*, published in 1968. Defined by cultural critic Hal Foster, as "neo-conservative postmodernism," Venturi's approach was a reaction to the tabularasa of Modernism due to its rupture with its own history. Announced as an American invention, it attempted to transform the zero point to a more humanist extreme by resurrecting certain values in its own cultural history. The second one, on the contrary, was raised as reaction to Venturi's mannerism and historicism. Indeed, Venturi's breakup with Modern became the main denominator of any counter attempt in which that of IAUS had singled out with its direct emphasis on its essence more radically than ever. Objecting such recognition for American architecture, they believed in the necessity of resurrecting the deprived dynamics of the modernist ideals, and advocated to recover its essence from within its own frontiers, by reopening the orthodox-heterodoxy of Modern Architecture and its rational principles into debate. In fact, the first signs of this disposition, were revealed by Colin Rowe's critical interpretation of the mannerist works of the AA student exhibition, in 1959, through Modernist binary oppositions, such as form-function dichotomy, as if seeking for a modernist essence within the postmodern sensibility. Ushering for the long-awaited recognition of Modern project and its tenets on American land, however, was an assertive task, requiring superior knowledge of the project that necessitated unfamiliar sources on the issue and this need forced the fellows to import different systems, which certainly revealed why Hal Foster categorized their attempt as "poststructuralist postmodernism."

Indeed, the transfer of Modernism as a movement to the United States was dissimilar to its institutionalization as an ideological dogma in any of European countries. Due to the seminal 1932 MoMA exhibition "International Style," the mainstream of United States had imported Modernism belatedly as a style, and after the 1950s, the political exiles, Mies and Gropius, from Germany to the United States, they experienced this new style through modernist skyscrapers, built in the metropolis, such as New York and Chicago,

in servile obedience to capitalist ideology. Oblivious of its context, Eisenman and the strange displaced family gathered around his charisma advocated themselves to recognize and re-identify Modern architecture as a dogma, as a belief system, which obviously never happened before in American tradition. As an accomplishment of its international coterie, composed of Eisenman, Frampton, Gandelsonas, Agrest, Ambasz, Vidler, and Forster, who were neither American nor European, the Institute covered an extensive theoretical repertoire for their advocacy. Beyond such advocacy, however, there lay the mere desire to be the heroic avant-gardes of the 1970s. In fact, by resurrecting the first heroic avant-gardes, the Institute attempted to acquire an updated avant-gardist identity that would assure its being a fashionable salon and a power base in New York. That is why; it has been interpreted since then, as an attempt towards the bureaucratization of an architectural bloc on American land that would dominate the entire discourse. Hence, it has been the assumption of this study that Italy had been an imperative model throughout this progress by both its exploration of Modern architecture as a political commitment, and its institutions. Contrary to context-deficient importation to the United States, the institutionalization of Modern Architecture in Italy had a political philosophy and ideology since its first inauguration. Deeply linked to Futurism, institutionalized on the dialectics of the Italian avant-garde culture with the mayhem of Fascism, each phase of the Italian modern architecture was signified under an "-ism" that epitomized its doctrinaire nature for Italian culture.

As the permeation of Modern Movement into the realm of Italian architecture was due to a political aphorism, urging a 'return to order' by doctrinaire ideals, the adaptation of its 'post' ideology, criticizing Modern, naturally traced a different path embracing architecture as a political commitment, which was a far cry from its adaptation in the United States, lacking any political precept. Indeed, this discourse in Italy was contenting similar trace-backs to history simultaneously. The difference, however, was its decidedly critical character towards the ideologies behind all "isms" in modern period, thus towards the upshots of capitalist rationality by a highly Marxist insubordination that nearly reached to the point of not designing. As INDL catalog perfectly illustrated the line of ongoing 'post' debates, mostly influenced by environmental psychology, its impact on the particular party was quite incomprehensible at first sight. But, when the provocative and anarchist regimens at the background of this highly critical and radical discourse is analyzed, it becomes more comprehensible within the major aim to start a new era, by

means of the determinist and deductive role attributed to "history," somewhere between "ideology" and "architectural language." Thus, the critical and historical contributions of significant historians and critics, including Tafuri and Gregotti, Argan, portrayed an unfamiliar body of thought, which was highly authoritative for the intimation of a new "critical theory." The terminology they uncovered was of highly Marxist; the context they indicated was decidedly political in terms of architectural theory and practice. Due to its sway towards a more critical, thus political sphere, I believe, Ambasz might set the Italian case as a model to unveil a "revolutionary" style, yet it was obvious that the fellows of IAUS due to Eisenman's existence in coterie, set Italian critical theory as a catalyst to activate certain rudiments in its own architectural history.

Herein, it must not be superfluous to propose that certain associations in Italy set a precedent for Eisenman. Ironically enough, the tradition of founding an institution had always preexisted in the history of Italian architecture as a legacy a severe political impasse towards partisanship. Especially during the 1960s, it was a common trend to found institutions and associations. As previously mentioned in the second chapter, Benevolo and Samonà's association of the *Società di architettura e urbanistica* (SAU), Zevi's foundation of Association for Organic Architecture (APAO), and Tafuri's foundation of *Associazione Urbanisti ed Architetti,* (AUA) were the most notable institutions named by the title's abbreviation. And, Eisenman and Rowe must be familiar to those institutions because of their frequent visits to Italy during Eisenman's PhD study. Upon this hypothesis, one might regard his early organization of the "Conference of Architects for The Study of Environment, CASE" in the summer of 1964, four years after he returned Italy, and his naming of the regular meetings in succeeding years as CASE meetings, thus his founding of "Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, IAUS" as the clear references of previously mentioned inspiration. Indeed, due to its solicitation of a mainstream patronage in New York, Eisenman's institution "for" architecture and urban studies, IAUS, had invoked an analogous, yet different political impasse for ushering a new debate and holding an instrumental role in the development of an American architectural discourse. The continuation of CASE meetings under the roof of the Institution and its establishment of a publishing body were the necessary agents of its perpetuation. The direction he set for the new debate was revealed by the titles of the journals through his semantic play on terms. Both "Re:Form," the first conception of a journal during CASE meetings, though it never had been actualized, and "O*p*positions,"

which started its publishing life in 1974, notified connotations of oncoming 'post' concerns. Using the terms "reform" and "oppositions," Eisenman in a sense announced and underscored the avant-gardist stance of the journal. Hence, by the allusions of "form," and "zero positions," he disclosed his interest in autonomy and tabula rasa of high-modernism. His play on terms, moreover, indicated the idiolects of deconstruction that justified the impact of the imported systems.

As this study is a "historical criticism" of a sequence, covering the inauguration and intensification of critical theory on American land, the dominance of IAUS on its development and the fundamental role of *Oppositions* in this process were indisputable. Yet, it was a fact that through the pages of *Oppositions,* American audience first came across with a new body of thinking. Covering the contributions of IAUS's inner circle and a completely unfamiliar body, the periodical had achieved a respectable prominence from its very beginning until its end, with the intense theoretical currents of contemporary European discourse it represented to the American architectural scene. Ockman summarized its sway under three main categories: "first an ideological critique of architecture strongly influenced by a post-Marxist or Frankfurt school critique of culture and its legacy of negative thought; second, a mode of linguistic analysis emanating from French structuralist school; and third, a historiographic approach emphasizing institutional and typological themes."[1]

Absolutely, the reputation of *Oppositions* generated from the first mentioned effect, due its being the first to publicize the theories of Venice school and particularly that of Tafuri, who sanctioned architecture as a critique of ideology. Influenced by post-Marxist theories of Frankfurt school, Tafuri ushered a new era in American architectural world, since, as Hays claimed, no one else had ever approached the current situation of architecture more radically. Indeed, *Oppositions,* throughout its publishing life, had an uneven character due to the divergent interests of the three-man on its editorial board, Eisenman, Frampton and Gandelsonas. Later, with the inclusion of Vidler and Forster to the group, the repertoire completely increased. Yet, what unified them were their changing intellectual affinities with Tafuri. For example, Frampton, due to his interest in the Russian Constructivists and their revolutionary energy, influenced by Hannah Arendt and Camilla Grey, provoked a more political stance and made selection of texts in this context. His affinity with Tafuri, I believe, was due the political agenda of his writings. Gandelsonas,

on the other hand, influenced by French structuralist and post-structuralist theories generated around Roland Barthes, promoted a more semiological and critical stance, and with his selection and contribution of texts in parallel contexts, he mediated the superiority of a more unfamiliar body of thought over American-originated phenomena. To illustrate, in his semiological criticisms, his Marxist rereading of the 'signifier' and the 'signified' that transformed their arbitrary relationship into a dialectical one, for instance, subverted Pierce's semiology and called forth its displacement. His affinity with Tafuri, I believe, emanated from Tafuri's antagonist style of critical intervention, especially on the architectural works, using semiology, and his forcing them to a political extreme. Eisenman, on the contrary, was the main custodian of the introduction of the Italian discourse, particularly promoted by the Venice School, to the American architectural milieu. Defined by Ockman as an Italophile, his early interest on Italian Rationalism, particularly on the works of Terragni, rooted in his PhD years, turned him to be one of the most passionate advocators of European avant-gardes. His unique theory of form and its syntactic structure, in his seminal essay "Cardboard Architecture," for example, was defined by Ockman as a reflection of his obsession with both the European avant-gardes, and with the "transformational grammar," theorized by Noam Chomsky. Alongside the influence of Chomsky, Rosalind Krauss contributed to his later progress by introducing first the term "doubling" to Eisenman and by inspiring him to conjoin the liberated, context-free object of Modern painting with architectural form. All sources, though comprised of distinct spheres, had substantial impacts on Eisenman and his selection of texts in *Oppositions*. Yet, his affinity with Tafuri had another reason. As Ockman claimed, the critical attention of such a prosperous figure to his work, Eisenman believed, validated its significance both in the United States and in Europe. Thus, due to rigor of his work, he accepted Tafuri as "a worthy antagonist for [his] radically autonomous architecture."[2]

In time, the magazine was completely forwarded into a more Marxist vein, savoring an American-promoted Tafurianism due to Vidler's inclusion in board. Forster, finally, was a brilliant architectural historian, but referring to the interview he made with Louis Martin, he first heard of Tafuri by the agency of Eisenman.[3] This is not the place to discuss the decidedly distinct spheres of each individual or their differing intellectual affinities with Tafuri. But, one must draw attention to the overall complementary nature. Complementary forasmuch as all sorted out the validity of the repromotion, or may be

better to call recognition, of Modern as a positive utopia on American land, as all accompanied the development of a 'post' ideology for American architectural theory that would eliminate the reputation of Venturi, and replace an American avant-garde.

As the launch of the listed affinities was instigated by INDL project and its catalog, it is crucial to state that after 1972, the interaction between the fellows of IAUS and the selective figures of Italian architecture was perpetuated on both the professional and the intellectual level with increasing frequency. Even, the subsequent years became the scène of the promotion of Italian *Tendenza* to American intellectuals and in return the promotion of the New York Five to Italian architectural milieu. In 1972, Casabella published an issue on the Institute; in 1973, Rossi invited IAUS to Milan Triennial; in 1976, IAUS exhibited Scolari and Rossi's work at the Institute; the same year, Gregotti invited the fellows for Venice Biennale, thematized around the relations of "Europe and America." This event was of great significance, since it, in a way, revealed the line of approaches and the borders of divisions in the architectural world. Ockman narrated this event in following words:

> The 1976 Biennale, organized by Vittorio Gregotti, was titled *Europa / America: Architetture urbane, alternative suburbane*, and paired a roster of fourteen European architects with eleven Americans. During the course of a panel discussion entitled "Quale movimento modern," Aldo van Eyck, among the Europeans exhibiting, launched a bitter effect on Tafuri, who happened to be in the audience; Tafuri's reply and the ensuing debate made it clear that the major divide was no longer across the Atlantic, but rather between the generation of Team X, and heirs of CIAM, and a new generation in tally and America, inasmuch as later shared a "posthumanist" conception of architecture.[4]

While those real-time interactions between the figures of professional world were in progress, the fundamental exchanges on theoretical level were ensued through the pages of *Casabella* and *Oppositions*. In 1972, several fellows of the Institute contributed texts to *Casabella* for its special edition. In 1974, Agrest invited Tafuri to give a lecture at Princeton, the same year Frampton and Eisenman contacted Tafuri to publish the English translation of his lecture in the pages of *Oppositions*. Initiated by this text, "L'architecture dans le Boudoir," the exchange of texts between Italians and Americans in the pages of *Casabella* and *Oppositions* continued increasingly until the end of *Oppositions'* publishing life.

Herein, it is important to remember that the critical theories of Italian architecture was hardly known by Americans before and during INDL, and to be the first to fill this gap was the primary initiative of Ambasz. Moreover, among the practitioners and theoreticians who contributed to the exhibition, Manfredo Tafuri was one of the least known theoreticians, as could be transpired from his receiving less fund than Gregotti. Ironically enough, the first Italian author published in the pages of *Oppositions* was again Tafuri. Within this two-year span, the reputation of Tafuri among the American intellectuals increased rapidly. His articles were frequently published in *Oppositions* from its third issue until the seventeenth, and had achieved such an enormous reputation that the subsequent issues comprised essays of American authors such as Silvetti, Colquhoun, Tschumi and Agrest, which had engaged in responding somehow to the Tafurian position. Thus, with the translation of his books into English, in 1976 *Architecture and Utopia, The American City*, and *Modern Architecture*, in 1979 *Theories and History of Architecture*, in 1987 *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, his theories disseminated in the United States and even infiltrated to nearly every reading list of academicians in American universities.

The 1976 English version of *Architecture and Utopia* and the 1979 version of *Theories and History of Architecture* singled out from this list for several reasons. Due to the preeminent provenances of Marxist distinctions, as implied by their titles, due to the marginal and capitalistic role that was attributed to Modern Architecture, due to Tafuri's dispatching of modern's crisis to a political extreme, they in a way provoked a revolutionary stance for architects. Their provocation of the catastrophic situation of current architecture, by claiming that "[t]here could no longer be a class architecture, an architecture for a 'liberated society,' only a class criticism of architecture," however, transplanted an aggressive and antagonistic mode, critical to the mayhem of capitalism to the American architectural discourse.[5] Actually, the reputation of the two books in Italy was different from their reputation in the United States. In Italy, when *Progetto e utopia* was published in 1973, it had achieved an enormous repute, surpassing *Teorie e Storia* that was published five years ago. Whereas, *Theories and History of Architecture*, when translated into English in 1979, triggered a considerable inspiration for the intellectual lobbies of the United States due to its advocacy, urging the plurality of theory. Its impact had surpassed the stimulus of *Architecture and Utopia*, and triggered the renewal of interest in history and theory with Tafurian motifs. Vidler's "After Historicism"

Oppositions issue published in 1979, and his inclusion of Manfredo Tafuri's text, entitled "The Historical Project," was a proof of this ascending interest. After the second half of 1980s, however, with the English translation of his seminal book *The Sphere and the Labyrinth* that was published in 1987; this advocacy related to the "plurality of theory" was transformed into a new shape, promoting "plurality of history." This shift in Tafuri's thought served to depict the intellectual journey of Tafuri, due to the impact of Venice school, engaged in the readings of the Frankfurt School, Foucault, and poststructuralism.[6] Ironically, in the 1980s, the reflection of Tafuri's theories in the United States underwent a different track from his own intellectual progress. The endeavor of intellectuals in those years was focused on the rereading of Tafuri, and this reareading was especially connected to his implicit critique of postmodernism, and the methodological approach in his ideological criticism. The symposium and workshop, organized by Ockman, the proceedings of which were later published as a book, entitled *Architecture Criticism Ideology*, were the illustrations of this line of impact. Eisenman's book, entitled *Houses of Cards,* which was published in 1987, was another illustration of Tafuri's reputation, but this time an illustration that also proved Eisenman's obsession in Tafuri, besides his mentor Colin Rowe. As Martin also mentioned, *Houses of Cards* was published in both English and in Italian and two introductions were written for its English and Italian versions. Not surprisingly, the writers of them were two important figures behind his intellectual formation: Colin Rowe and Manfredo Tafuri. Referring to Hays, one can easily claim that the agonistic style of Tafuri and his Marxist interpretation of modernism as an idealization of capitalism had common upshots with the analysis of Colin Rowe, who was the most passionate critic of Modern architecture in 1950s, but later turned out the most passionate critic of Eisenman and New York Five's neomodernist approaches. For Hays, as Rowe also posited that Marxism and the historical architectural avant-garde had rooted in common ideologies, that yielded the interfusion of "form" and "word," both critics in fact addressing the failure of modernism by a Marxist viewpoint.[7] Relating its failure to this fusion, as expressed in various dichotomies, like "expression and content, system and concept, practice and theory, building and politics," Rowe necessitated, in Hays' words, "a shift from modernity, fully developed, as the essential desired achievement of architecture to *modernity as architecture's limiting condition*."[8] As these two figures influenced Eisenman, they also had impact on the theoreticians of next generations. Hays narrated their influence in following words:

> For the generation of theorists schooled by Tafuri and Rowe, and loosely held together by journals like Contraspazio and Oppositions, the true social potential of architecture lay not in the prospect of its popular or technological relevance, but in the possibility of converting its autonomy from a historical imposition into a counterideological resistance: architecture's social power resided not in its communication with society but in its ability to resist society's values through specific, technical procedures.[9]

In the atmosphere, pictured by Hays, one can easily realize that there occurred several shifts after the 1970s. A shift from linguistic and semiological concerns to cultural criticism, largely influenced by poststructuralist philosophies, that motivated the institution of concerns on gender, on geopolitics, and on many other. Thus, in Hay's words, "shift of level, as much as of perspective, took place in which architecture's specific forms, operations, and practices could now more clearly be seen as producing concepts whose ultimate horizon of effect lay outside of architecture 'proper,' situated in a more general sociocultural field."[10] Not to mention the custodians of other shifts, if one is speaking of the shift of semiological and linguist studies to critical theory in the United States, it was certainly due Manfredo Tafuri. Thus, as mentioned before, referring to Martin, the intellectual contributions of Mark Wigley and Michael Hays were two conscious, yet opposing endeavors of "critical architectural theory," which clearly presented Tafuri's constructive impact. The psychoanalytic program, suggested by Wigley, was due to his sanction of the tense relationship between theory and criticism, by reinforcing the value of criticism, and undermining the operative nature of theory was an extension of Manfredo Tafuri's "critical history project."[11] As the counter position of Wigley, Hays' reinforcement of "critical theory" as a mediator between architectural form and its social context was, as well, derived from Tafuri's "historical project," that determined criticism as field of science, in which "any and all discourses of power," like history, were forced into "crisis."[12] In fact, the infiltration of Tafuri's ideas and terminology into American critical theory has been frequently mentioned by several theoreticians of present. Likewise the said theoretical treatises, the tendencies such as the destructive practices of Deconstructivist architecture verified differing affiliations of American intellectuals with Tafuri. However, the question is whether Tafuri was understood correctly, with all his thoughts, his political views, his innovations, his discoveries, and so on. In fact, the appropriate answer to this question was again given by Tafuri. In a letter that he wrote to Joan Ockman, after receiving his copy of the book *Architecture Criticism Ideology*, Tafuri replied Ockman as follows:

I have received *Architecture Criticism Ideology* and I thank you sincerely.
I have read your essay attentively, and contrary to my custom, I would like to make some observations. Contrary to my custom: in fact, like Benjamin, I think it is better —to eschew gossip— not to consider misunderstandings: one who writes runs the risk of distortion, given that he is himself an interpreter of himself. However: I have the impression that you have fabricated a Tafuri who is a little too different from the one that I know. First of all, I do not believe that ideology is an enemy. That which we call ideology we might call — it would be better — *representation*, and since humanity cannot do without representations — the 'symbolic forms' of Cassirer — thus in order not to bear this burden unconsciously, the need for '*analysts*.'
The historian is an *analyst*. I do not believe that he has a privileged status, nor does he lead armies, nor do battle with castles in the air. The obsession that is attributed to me to conguer through history what the architect may not confront appears to me a misinterpretation owed to 'American' cultural prejudices. I do not intend, in fact, by the term 'political' a partisan engagement or direct intervention. It is, however, typical for every historian to know that every discipline *acts on its own*, within the ever more intricate microphysics of power. And if architecture has its powers, history has others. Moreover my criticism is directed not at architecture in itself, but at its oversteppings of meaning, its attempts to exceed limits. To know limits is already a good deal, and history can contribute to that. As you see, 'revolution' is not among my thoughts.
Etymologically, revolution (*revolutio*) signifies 'return,' and is related to the perfection of the *origin*. From Hegel on, such revolution is understood as impossible: once it has *completed* its cycle, the Spirit is condemned to repeat: is condemned to the interruption of *traditio* and to the always-the-same of the 'new.' This is what repeats itself the new, which claims to be absolute (=*ab-solutus*, absolved from).
Consequently, my criticism has navigated for many years now on the long waves of history. What is certain is that illusions of earthly palingenesis or epiphanies — revolutions — have always been extraneous to my point of view. I do not believe that it is pessimism or nihilism. Otherwise I would not believe in an activitythat constantly modifies the given coordinates without permitting, at the same time, the direction of one's own actions. (Thus my critique of the 'project'!)
I realize that I am not easy to schematize, but if American culture wants to understand me, why not make an effort to abandon facile typologies (Marxism, negative thought, etc.)? Another thing that strikes me is that those who write about me in the U.S.A. never put things into their historical context: 1973 is not 1980, is not 1985…
I hope that these confused clarifications of mine do not offend you: they are written only to demonstrate how distant the personage that you have constructed is from the one who lives, changes every day, and works as a historian by profession (not a historian of architecture, but *also* a historian of architecture).
Thank you again, and a warm greeting.[13]

The thing that Tafuri emphasized sharply was the Americans' emptying of all political and philosophical precepts behind an idea. This was the major criticism that reflected the "contamination" of mytical figures by American theorists and professionals. The Americanized-Tafuri was really by what Tafuri and his colleagues such as Cuicci, Dal Co, and Gregotti were alienated. The critical endeavors, in this sense, were founded on an empty base that lacked any political view, and that did not push the reader to produce any idea on Marxist thought, and the legacies of negative thought. Therefore, when looked from the other side of the coin, the models they proposed seemed only creative efforts for a theoretical achievement, but lacking to provide any *Zeitgeist*. The position of this thesis might seem to fall into the same void, and it might be true.[14] Nevertheless, our position is far from those critical approaches. This study is a pragmatic approach to comprehend Tafuri's theorization "historical project" by practicing it. The aim is not, however, to propose a model or program that would sooner or later verify the operative role of Tafurian criticism, nor to evoke a new critical theory of Modern or contemporary architecture. ıt is, on the other hand, to produce a "historical criticism" of a sequence. The sequence, however, does not refer to a defined period in the linear flow of time. The beginning and the end of this sequence are indefinite. It, in fact, is a "historical criticism" of this particular interaction between two parties, which decidedly influenced the development of architectural theory after 1968. The term "historical criticism," as mentioned in the introduction, is derived from the complex list of terms, donated to the architectural world by Tafuri. As the very meaning had been complexified in his "historical project," this study unveils its critical methodology upon two definitions. The first was Tafuri's definition of "history," in his essay "The Historical Project." He noted "history" as "production," that produces meanings by analyzing the "signifying traces" of events. He defined it as an "analytical construction that is never definite and always provisional."[15] He typified it as an "instrument," a tool to "deconstruct" the realities, the veracity of which is always open to discussion. This was the context, in which history becomes both determined and determining, for Tafuri. The traditions in its own limits, the objects of analysis, and the adopted methods determined the historical production. But, in turn, it redetermines those traditions and the ascertainable realities it deconstructs. Therefore, for Tafuri, its language should imply techniques to produce the "real," because while it "contaminates" the languages and those techniques, at the same time it is "contaminated" by them. This definition of Tafuri supplied the necessary tools to

determine the "signifying traces," to "deconstruct" the ascertainable realities, to unveil the "language" of analysis, thus to outline the moments of its "contamination" and its being "contaminated." The second one was Tafuri's definition of "criticism," and his characterization of the act behind it, in his essay "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir." As he explained, such a "critical act" should involve "the process of destroying of dissolving of disintegrating a given structure," as "without such a disintegration of the object under analysis … no further rewriting of the object is possible."[16] He proposes that this "disintegration of the object under analysis" ultimately requires the "doubling" of the object. Accordingly, "doubling" refers to the act of criticism itself, which recreates the object. As for Tafuri, the process of doubling and the act of criticism starts simultaneously. Deriving its critical strategy from these two definitions, this thesis creates its own tension between the object and the analysis. To "produce" a "history," revealing both the mere constructs that it contaminates, and to reveal how it is contaminated by them, it chooses its object of analysis as the catalogue of 1972 MoMA exhibition, "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape." By deconstructing and then reconstructing it, this study "doubles" the catalog by a Tafurian strategy, and maps out the "knowledge" of the sequence scientifically, in Marxist sense, outlines its motivating tenets, the laws that shaped the thought of period, its *Zeitgeist*, that constitutes the origins of the architecture in a sequence. Thus, by adopting a Tafurian terminology to its method of analysis, it attempts to demonstrate that INDL catalogue could be the architectural object of a "historical criticism," that assures tracing back and forth in that particular sequence with Tafurian critical activity.

This study, in its broadest sense, is a critical attempt to show how the Tafurian project is a theoretical model for revealing the said significance of INDL exhibition, which had not been revealed until recently, and to show the role played by an intellectual "transplantation" and seek for its "original breeding ground." Despite the risk of being blamed as a pragmatic attempt, it devotedly attached to the defined process of "historical criticism," to develop a dialogue to the practices, theories, histories of past so as to establish the significance of present practices, embedded in the historical sequence of its production. It is a "historical project" in Tafurian sense. As Tafuri claimed, "what is essential to understanding architecture is the mentality, the mental structure of any given period. The historian's task is to recreate the intellectual context of a work."[17] This study,

consequently, is a critical inquiry to understand the mentality, the mental structure of the sequence under examination. Therefore, in its entirety, the whole work is concerned with the *problem* rather than its *object*. The selection of INDL exhibition and its catalogue as the object of a broader analysis that probes the concatenations in a folded sequence may seem irrelevant on its own, but it has meaning in the way that it addressed the problem and reveals the related moments of crisis, as Tafuri described. Concluding with a quotation from Tafuri might seem unconventional, but unavoidable, since no one can define the major motive behind our study, as Tafuri did once outstandingly: "There exist, in the history of architecture and art, in general, particular moments or singular 'cases' that assume a critical determining value for the comprehension of the entire cultural cycles."[18] Accordingly, the 1972 INDL exhibition and its catalog assume the said critical determining value for the comprehension of the entire sequence under examination. And, this study conspicuously uncovers "a moment of crisis" in a culture, and this moment brought about fundamental continuities. Therefore, to conclude the study with Tafuri's words was, on one hand, to reiterate a great esteem for once, and still, the prominent figure of architectural world, and, on the other hand, to expose how this study unfolds Tafuri.

Notes

[1] Joan Ockman, "Resurrecting Avant-garde," p.192.
[2] Joan Ockman, "Venice and New York," in *Casabella: The Historical Project of Manfredo Tafuri,* Vol. 619-620, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p.59.
[3] Oral Archives, Kurt Forster, CCA Archives.
[4] Joan Ockman, "Venice and New York," p.61.
[5] Joan Ockman, *Architecture Culture 1943-1968,* p. 449
[6] Ibid., p. 449.
[7] Michael Hays, Aug, 1996, "Editorial," *Assemblage*, No 30, p.7.
[8] Ibid., p.7.
[9] Ibid., p.7.
[10] Ibid., pp.7-8.
[11] Mark Wigley, 2000, "Post operative History," *ANY: Architects New York 25-26* (New York: Any Cooperation), pp.47-53, quoted from Louis Martin, 2002, *The search for a new theory in architecture: The Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Princeton, p 2.
[12] K. Michael Hays, 1998, "Introduction," *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Massachusetts: MIT Press), pp. x-xv, quoted from Martin, p. 3.
[13] Joan Ockman, 1995, "Venice and New York," p. 67.
[14] I have to admit that this study leaves the political views behind Tafuri's oeuvre at the background. This is not because they are not significant parameters to understand Tafuri. On the contrary, they are very important to position Tafuri and Americanized Tafuri. My position, however, is lacking any political stance, because I am a member of a generation who were educated without politic views. This might seem a failure for someone who choosed to study Tafuri, nevertheless such apolitical gesture was what Americans already had, and that is why, it might turn into an advantage for reading Americanized Tafuri.
[15] Manfredo Tafuri, 1987, "Introduction: The Historical Project", in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, trans.by Pellegrino d'Acierno, Robert Connolly. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press).
[16] Manfredo Tafuri, 1987, "L'architecture dans le boudoir," *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*. Trans.by Pellegrino d'Acierno, Robert Connolly. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press), p. 272. Referring to this excerpt, I have analyzed an architectural project of Rem Koolhaas submitted to 1989 competition in Paris during my March study. For more information, see Gülru Mutlu., 2001, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: The Interpretation of Architectural Space as Void.* Supervised by Ayşen Savaş. Unpublished Master Thesis. METU.
[17] "There is no criticism, only history: Richard Ingersoll interviews with Manfredo Tafuri," *Casabella: The Historical Project of Manfredo Tafuri,* Vol. 619-620, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 99.
[18] Manfredo Tafuri with Lydia sopriani, "Problemi di critica e problemi di datazione in due moment taorminesi: Il Palazzo dei Duchi di S.Stefano e la 'Badia Vecchia'," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architectura* 51 (1962): 1, quoted from Anthony Vidler, 2008, "Renaissance Modernism: Manfredo Tafuri," in *Histories of Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press), p.162; also cited in English by Ciucci in the text: Giorgio Ciucci, "Formative Years," in *Casabella: The Historical Project of Manfredo Tafuri,* Vol. 619-620, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 17.

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Figure 4 Table of Contents, from Ambasz, 8.

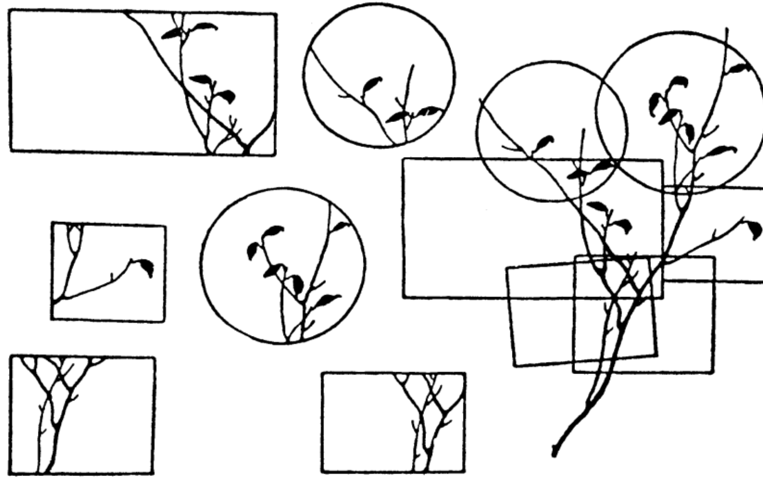

Figure 5 Sergei Eisenstein's imagery of the cinematographic method "which is used in teaching drawing in Japanese schools, from Eisenstein, 1949, 40-41.

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Figure 6 Schematic representation of our methodology according to previous imagery: the process lying beneath this study's "critical act."

Figure 7 *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, installation views of exhibition kiosks for design objects in the Sculpture Garden Terrace, 1972, from Bee and Elligott, *Art in our Time*, 155.

Figure 8 The exhibition kiosks, from Bee and Elligott, *Art in Our Time*, 155.

Figure 9 Cover of the exhibition catalog, designed by Ambasz *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, 1972.

Figure 10 Objects selected for their implications of more flexible patterns of use and arrangement, collage by author, images selected from Ambasz, 119-132.

Figure 11 Objects selected for their formal and techinical means, collage by author, images selected from Ambasz, 28-90.

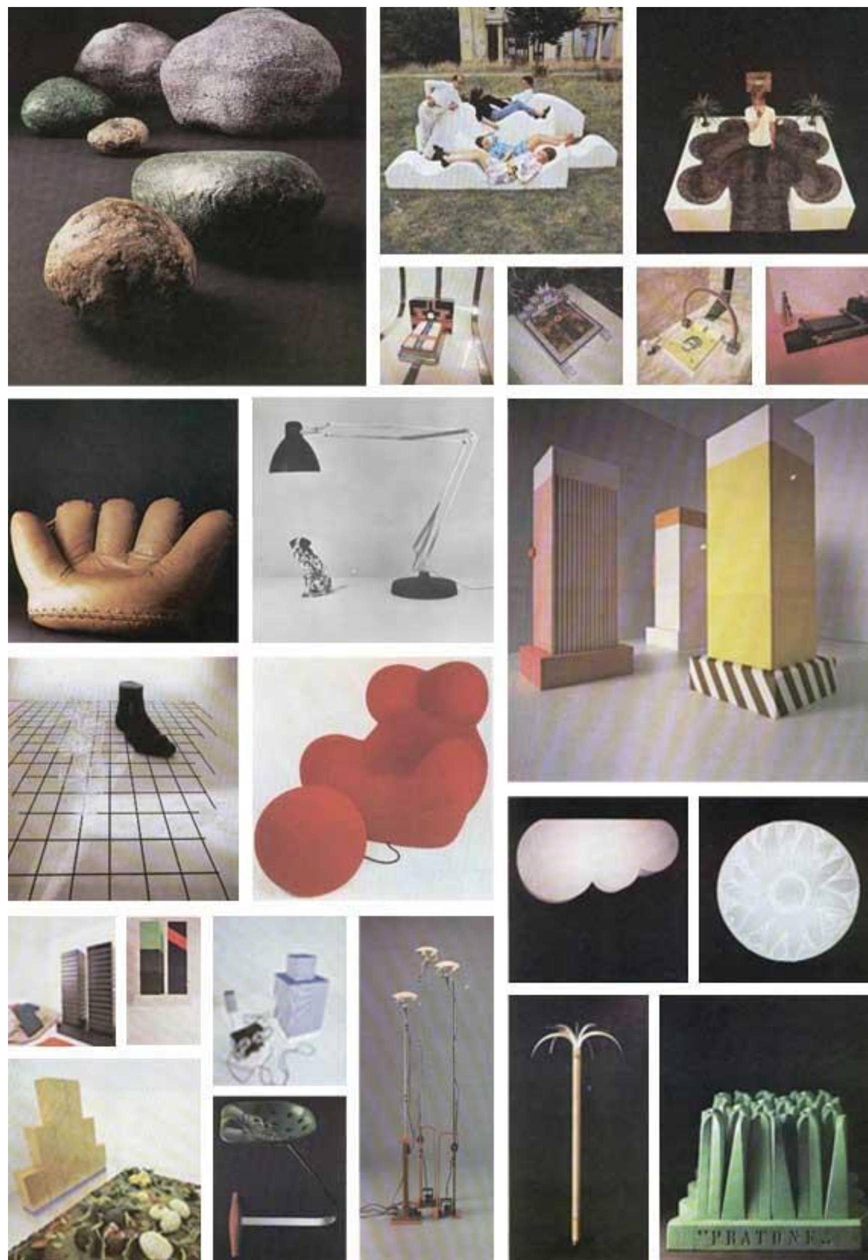


Figure 12 Objects selected for for their sociocultural implications, collage by author, images selected from Ambasz, 95-118.

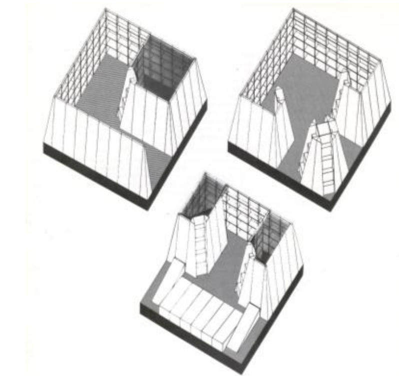
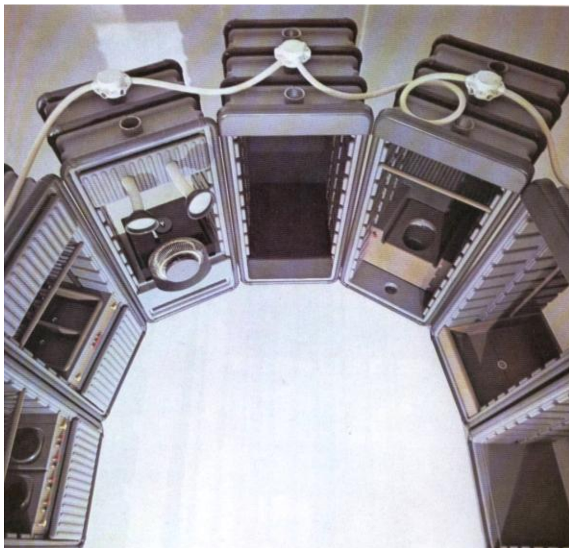


Figure 13 The environment designed by Gae Aulenti for the “Design as Postulation” section, from Ambasz, 154-155.



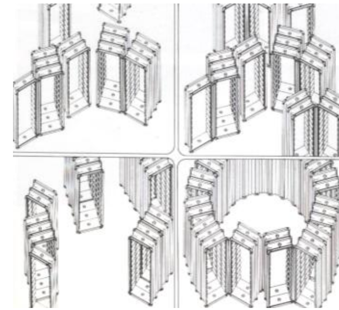


Figure 14 The prototype of Ettore Sotsass, Jr. for the “Design as Postulation” section, from Ambasz, 165- 167.

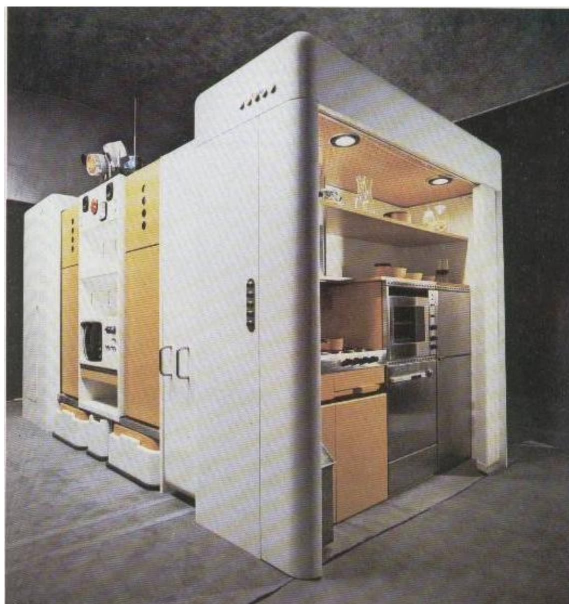


Figure 15 Total Furnishing Unit, designed by Joe Colombo, displayed in the “Design as Postulation” section, from Ambasz, 173-179.

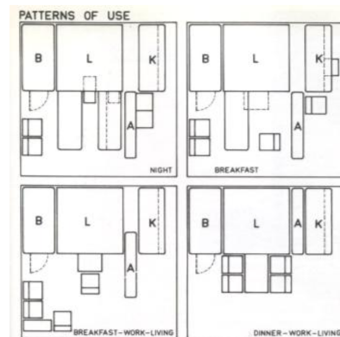


Figure 16 The patterns of use, from Ambasz, 173.

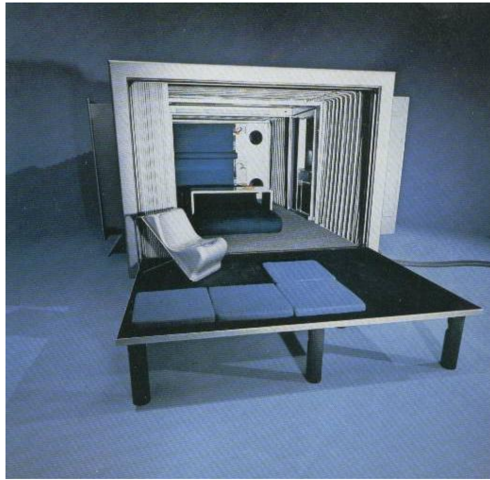
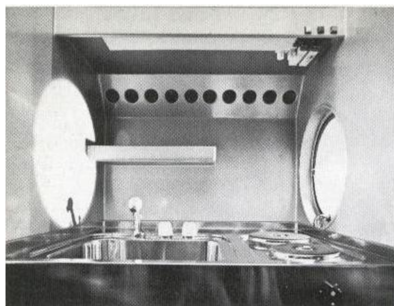
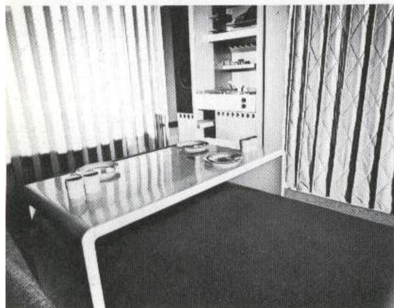
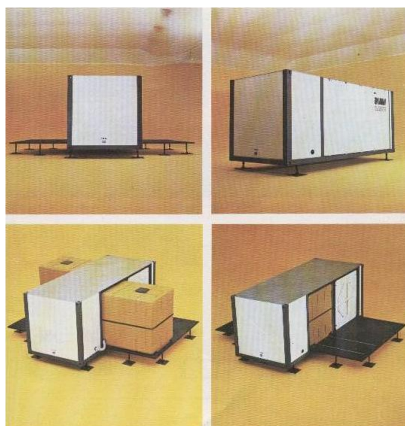


Figure 17 Mobile House, prototype designed by Alberto Roselli in the "Design as Postulation" section, from Ambasz, 185-188.







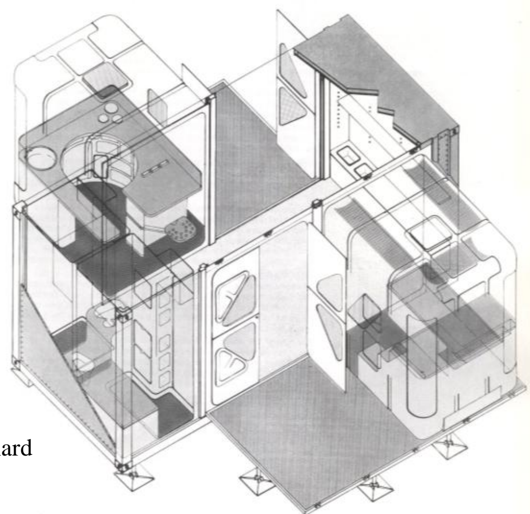
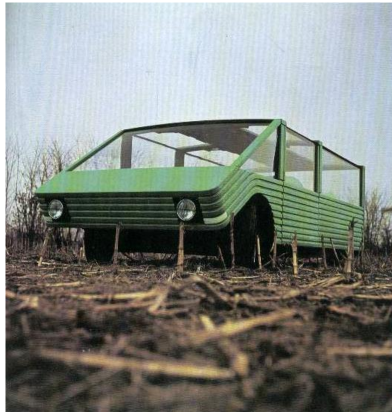
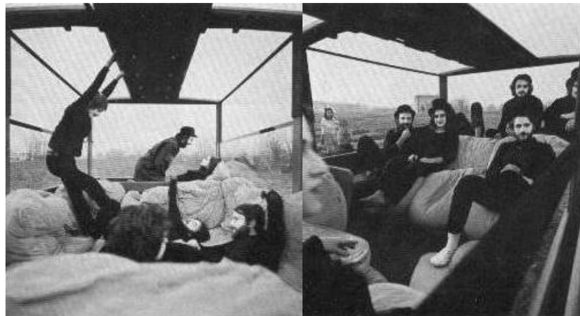


Figure 18 The design of Marco Zanuso, and Richard Sapper, displayed in the "Design as Postulation" section, from Ambasz, 191-196**.**





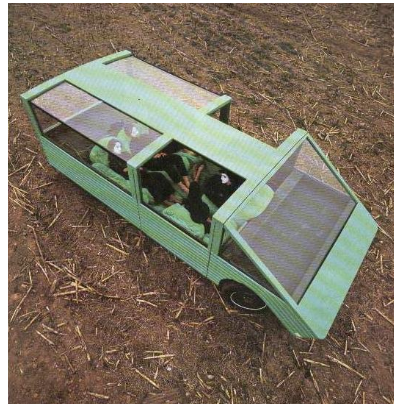
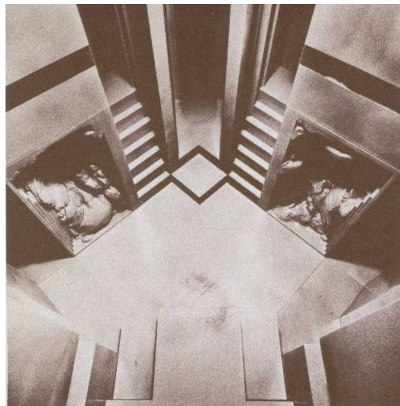


Figure 19 Kar-a-Sutra, designed by Mario Bellini. for the "Design as Postulation" section, from Ambasz, 207-209.



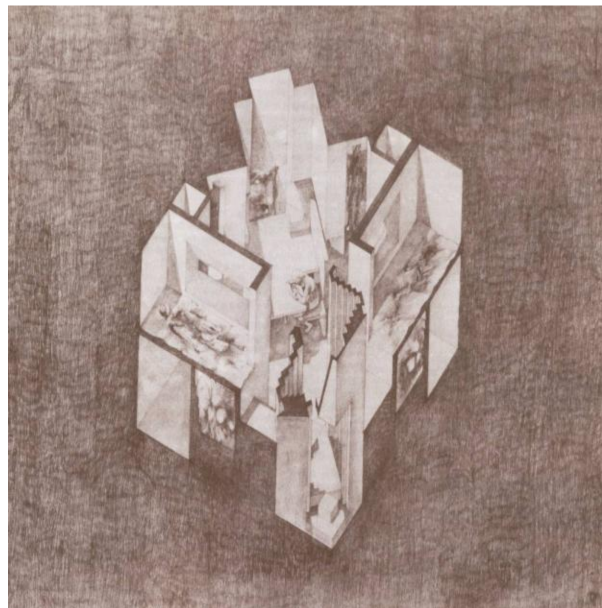


Figure 20 Installation designed by Gaetano Pesce, displayed in "Design as Commentary" section, from Ambasz, 213-220.

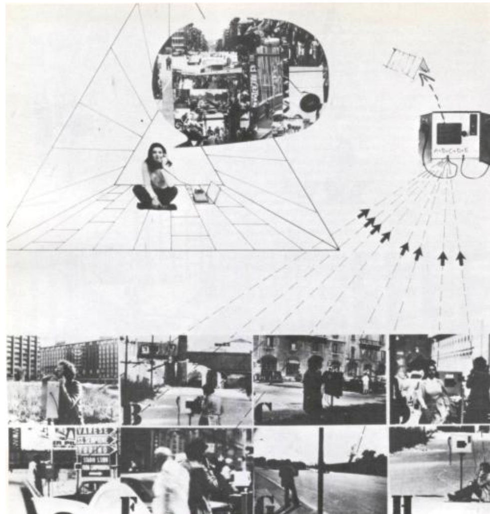


Figure 21 The proposal of Ugo La Pietra, Comprehension Model E: Audio-microenvironment, urban privacy system. Submitted for the "Counterdesign as Postulation" section, from Ambasz, 230.

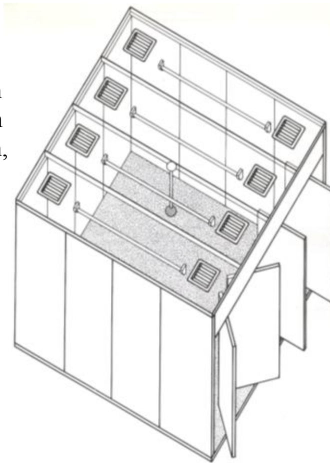


Figure 22 The proposal of Archizoom for the "Counterdesign as Postulation" section, fromAmbasz, 233.

Figure 24 Photo-stories of Gruppo Strum, The struggle for Housing, Utopia and the Mediatory City, "Counterdesign as Postulation," from Ambasz, 257-261.

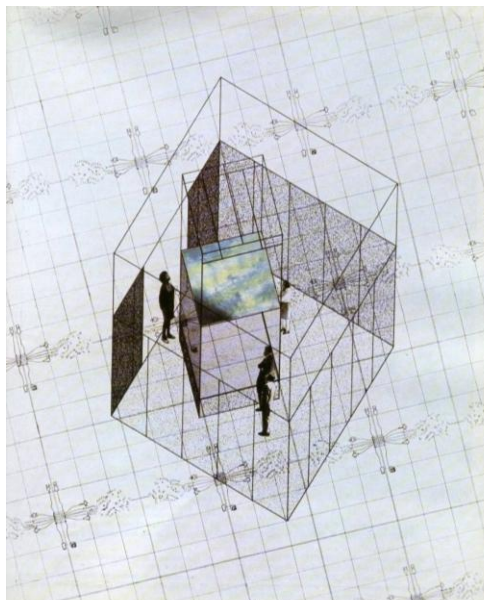


Figure 23 The perspective of the model, designed by Superstudio, for the "Counterdesign as Postulation" section, from Ambasz, 241.

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APPENDIX A

CORRESPONDANCES

Date: Tue, 15 Feb 2005 16:05:12 -0500

From: "Archives, Museum" <Museum_Archives@moma.org>
To: gulru@cankaya.edu.tr
Subject: RE: research on 1972 MoMA exhibition

Dear Gülru Mutlu Tunca,

This is in response to your message of February 11, regarding your research on *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* [MoMA Exh. #1004, May 26-September 11, 1972]. The Museum Archives includes material concerning this exhibition in a number of collections, which I have outlined below:

- The Office of the Registrar and the Department of architecture and Design Exhibition Files contain a significant amount of correspondence and material concerning the planning and installation of the exhibition.

- The Department of Public Information Records include press reviews and clippings about the show.

- Emilio Ambasz discusses the exhibition in an interview we have with him, which was conducted as part of our Oral History project.

You are welcome to schedule appointments to consult these collections. Our policy prohibits the photocopying of unpublished materials, but you may take notes by hand or on a laptop computer.

The Museum Archives is still located in the MoMAQNS Building in Long Island City, Queens. We are open Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, 11:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. by advance appointment only. **Please note that we are closed during July and August**. To schedule an appointment, you may contact us by telephone (212.708.9617), fax (212.333.1215), or e-mail mailto: archives@moma.org

Sincerely,

Michelle Harvey
Associate Archivist
Museum Archives
The Museum of Modern Art
(tel) =12.708.9407; (fax) 212.408.6385
http://www.moma.org/

APPENDIX B

OPPOSITIONS: TABLE OF CONTENTS

September 1973 **<u>Oppositions 1</u>**

Oppositions
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*Peter Eisenman-*From Golden Lane to Robin Hood Gardens; or If You Follow the Yellow Brick Road, It May Not Lead to Golder's Green
*Kenneth Frampton-*Industrialization and the Crises in Architecture
Anthony Vidler- News from the Realm of No-where
Diana Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas- Semiotics and Architecture: Ideological Consumption or Theoretical Work

January 1974 **<u>Oppositions 2</u>**

Oppositions *Stuart Cohen-* Physical Context/ Cultural Context: Including it All
History *Colin Rowe-* Character and Composition; or Some Vicissitudes of Architectural Vocabulary in the Nineteenth Century
Theory *Rosalind Krauss-* The Fountainhead
Reviews *William Ellis- Reyner Banham,* Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies
Documents *Philip Johnson-* Rejected Architects, The Berlin Buildings Exposition of 1931 Architecture in the Third Reich
*Rem Koolhaas and Gerrit Oorthuys-*Ivan Leonidov's Dom Narkomtjazjprom, Moscow
Julia Bloomfield- A Bibliography of Alison and Peter Smithson

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Oppositions *Charles Moore-* After a New Architecture
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(translation by: Victor Caliandro)
William Huff- Symmetry
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Richard A. Etlin ………	Landscapes of Eternity
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	Oriol Bohigas – Aldo Van Eyck or a New Amsterdam School
Theory	*Jorge Silvetti* – The Beauty of Shadows
History	*Kurt W. Forster* – Stagecraft and Statecraft
Documents	Guiseppe Terragni, Relazione Sul Danteum (1938) Intro. by *Thomas Schumacher*

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Documents	*Robert A.M. Stern* – The Evolution of Philip Johnson's Glass House, 1947-1948 *Kestusis Paul Zygas* – Punin's and Sidarov's Views of Tatlin's Tower *Nikolai Punin* – Monument to the Third International *A.A. Sidarov* – Review of Punin's Pamphlet about Tatlin's Monument to the Third International *William S. Huff* – Symmetry 5: Man's Observation of the Natural
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Barry Maitland The Grid
Peter Eisenman Aspects of Modernism: Maison Dom-ino and the Self-Referential Sign
Kurt W.Foster Antiquity and Modernity in the la Roche-Jeanneret Houses of 1923
Katherine Fraser Fischer A Nature Morte, 1927
Brian Brace Taylor Technology, Society, and Social Control in Le Corbusier's Cité de Refuge, Paris, 1933
Julien Caron A Villa of Le Corbusier, 1916
Le Corbusier The Significance of the Garden-City of Wissenhof, Stuttgart (1928)

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Roberto Masiero – Postscript
Ernst Bloch – Formative Education, Engineering Form, Ornament
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Le Corbusier 1933-1960, Special editor: Kenneth Frampton

Kenneth Frampton The Rise and Fall of Radiant City: Le Corbusier 1928-1960
Robert Slutzky Aqueous Humor
Mary McLeod ……… Le Corbusier and Algiers
Stanislaus von Moos Le Corbusier as Painter
Richard A. Mooore Alchemical and Mythical Themes in "The Poem of the Right Angle," 1947- 1965
Stuart Cohen, Steven Hurtt.. The Pilgrimage Chapel at Ronchamp
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Mary McLeod……… Plans: Bibliography
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History *Thomas Hines* – Designing the Motor Age: Richard Neutra and the Automobile
Barbara Kreis – The Idea of Dom-Kommuna and the Dilemma of the Soviet Avant-Garde
Stanford Anderson – Modern Architecture and Industry: Peter Behrens, the AEG, and Industrial Design
Documents *Charles Chassé* – Didier Lenz and the Beuron School of Religious Art, Introduction by *Kenneth Frampton*
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Jean-Louis Cohen – Le Corbusier and the Mystique of the U.S.S.R
Documents *Frederic Starr* – Le Corbusier and the U.S.S.R.: New Documentation
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Theory *Leon Krier* – Vorwärts, Kameraden, Wir Müssen Zurück
Joan Ockman – The Most Interesting Form of Lie
Elmar Holenstein – Excursus: Monofunctionalism in Architecture between the Wars (Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus)
Werber Oechslin – Critical Note to Elmar Holenstein's Criticism of Le Corbusier's Monofunctionalism
Bernhard Schneider – Non-functionalist Functionalism
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Monument/Memory, Special editor: Kurt W. Forster

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Anthony Vidler...	The "Art" of History: Monumental Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Quatremère de Quincy
Ignasi de Solà-Morales Rubiò .	Toward a Modern Museum: From Riegl to Gideon
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	Phillipe Junod – Future in the Past

APPENDIX C

CCA ARCHIVES: EXTRACT FROM IAUS ARCHIVES

Extract from the IAUS Archive Finding Aid
Prepared for **Gürlu Mutlu Tunca**
March 2005

Introduction

- **Note on the IAUS**

The *Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies* (IAUS) was founded in 1967 as an independent educational corporation through the joint efforts of Cornell University and the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). Its founding followed an exhibition at the MoMA titled "The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal". Located at 8 West 40th Street in New York City and led by the architect Peter Eisenman, the IAUS was established as "*an alternative structure within which to practice and teach architecture and urban design*."

The first programs of the IAUS focused on graduate education in design, as well as on pure and applied research. "*In an effort to achieve a synthesis between the theoretical world of the university and the real problems confronting urban centers throughout the country*", the Institute took the structure of an "atelier" in which teachers and students worked together on urban studies commissioned by U.S. governmental agencies such as HUD (Housing and Urban Development), UDC (Urban Development Corporation) and NIMH (National Institute of Mental Health).

During the 1970's, the Institute intended to "*fill the gaps between the training of professional architects and the study of architecture as a humanist discipline*" and widened its educational programs to promote the art of architecture in both academic and public spheres. Several new programs were gradually inaugurated including among others: the IAUS exhibitions series (1971); the Undergraduate Program (1974); the Evening Program of Lectures (1974); the High School Program (1975); and the Design and Study Options Program (1976). In parallel, the IAUS undertook the production of its own publications starting in 1973 with *Oppositions,* the successful journal of ideas and criticism in architecture, which was followed in 1975 by *October*, a quarterly devoted to contemporary arts, and in 1979 by *Skyline*, a monthly tabloid format newspaper reporting on the New York architectural scene. In addition, the IAUS began to publish in 1978 the Oppositions Books, a series which made important foreign texts available in English. At the end of the 1970's, the public programs occupied a central place in the pyramidal structure of the IAUS, next to the initial programs in education and research (see chart on next page drawn from the IAUS prospectus of 1979).

At the time of its maturity around 1980, the IAUS had become an intellectual center of international stature and probably the most influential architectural institution of the USA. In June 1982, Peter Eisenman resigned as the director of the IAUS after fifteen years in service. In the following months, internal struggles ensued and the IAUS ceased its activities in 1983 .

The following references were consulted in conjunction with the preparation of this descriptive notice:

- Announcement 1967-1968 : 57-008 : C3-1
- IAUS prospectus, 1979 : 57-008 : C3-3
- "The Institute turning 15" : 57-010 : D4-6
- Margot Jacqz and Kenneth Frampton, "The IAUS at 15", *Skyline*, December 1982, p. 33.
- Joan Ockman, "Resurrecting the Avant-Garde : The History and Program of *OPPOSITIONS*", *Architectureproduction*, guest editor, Beatriz Colomina, New York, NY : Princeton Architectural Press, 1988, pp 180-199.
- Vincent P. Pecora, "Towers of Babel", *Out of Site: a Social Criticism of Architecture*, edited by Diane Ghirardo, Seattle: Bay Press, 1991, pp 46-76.

- **The IAUS Archive**

The archive is a collection of fifteen boxes of documents generated and collected from 1967 to 1983 by Peter Eisenman as the Director of the IAUS. This material was donated by Eisenman to the American Friends of the CCA (AFCCA) and has been lent to the CCA in 1994 where it is now kept as Fonds 57.
The archive contains various types of documents (textual records, photographic and printed material) and provides an insider's view of the history of the IAUS. This material, which documents different aspects of the administrative, pedagogical, and publishing activities at the IAUS, will also enable historians to better understand Eisenman's leading role in the making of the Institute the foremost intellectual forum of the USA during the 1970s.

- **Preliminary Inventory**

A preliminary inventary has been made in the office of Peter Eisenman. This inventory, which describes the content of three lots of material in the order it was found, is included in Annex 1.

- **About this Guide**

The classification of the archive followed two basic principles:

1) the first was to reconstitute the series of files which were mixed up;
2) the second was to preserve the integrity of the contents of all files.

Series : Labeled files were grouped together according to the IAUS original headings. Several groups, which are for the most part incomplete, were thus constituted and suggested the four-part structure of this guide. Unlabelled folders were classified in the area relating to their content.

Series A - Administration and Finances, 1967-1982 contains five groups of administrative files which describe the birth and growth of the IAUS, its financial history, and include the definition of several projects, programs and activities.
Series B - Activities: Conferences, Research, Lectures, 1965-1976 gathers together seven groups of files documenting various activies such as : conferences and lectures, consultant activities in urban studies, and research projects in architectural design.
Series C - Publications, 1968-1982 includes various documents relating to the publications produced by the IAUS. These documents contain administrative files, manuscripts, art work, photographic material, book models, etc.
Series D - Records of Peter Eisenman, 1967-1983 is a collection of five groups of files documenting the public and personal activities of the Director of the IAUS, Peter Eisenman.
The groups of files forming each series are organized according to the IAUS classification and when possible in a chronological order.

Series A - Administration and Finances (1967-1982)

A.1 Board of Trustees Meetings (1967-1982)
A.2 Administration (1968-1982)
A.3 General Fund Raising (1968-1983)
A.4 Budget (1969-1972)
A.5 Programmes & Publications (1977-1982)

Series B - Activities : Conferences, Research, Lectures (1965-1976)

B.1 CASE Meetings (1965-1971)
B.2 Early Projects for Urban Studies (1967-1969)
B.3 Street Studies (1970-1973)
B.4 Conference on Architectural Education USA (Nov. 11-12-13, 1971)
B.5 UDC/ Low-Rise High-Density (1972-1974)
B.6 Program in Generative Design (1968-1973)
B.7 Lecture Series (1976)

Series C - Publications (1968-1982)

C.1 Periodicals (1974-1982)
C.2 Catalogues & Books (1973-1982)
C.3 Prospectus & Posters (1967-…)

Series D - Records of Peter Eisenman (1969-1983)

D.1 Correspondence (1969-1982)
D.2 Teaching (1973-1982)
D.3 Personal Work (1976-1984)
D.4 Miscellanea (1974-1982)
D.5 Personal Documents (1970-1983)

CCA ORAL HISTORY PROJECT
INSTITUTE FOR ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN STUDIES.
1998-2003

Kurt W. Forster, 3 août 2000 Centre Canadien d'Architecture	Anglais
Peter Eisenman, 15 août 2000 Eisenman Architects, New York	Anglais
Peter Eisenman, 16 août 2000 Eisenman Architects, New York	Anglais
Peter Eisenman, 17 août 2000 Eisenman Architects, New York	Anglais
Peter Eisenman, 3 octobre 2000 Eisenman Architects, New York	Anglais
Peter Eisenman, 4 octobre 2000 Eisenman Architects, New York	Anglais
Frederike Taylor, 4 octobre 2000 TZ Art Gallery , New York	Anglais
Peter Eisenman, 5 octobre 2000 Eisenman Architects, New York	Anglais
Franz Oswald, 8 novembre 2000 Centre Canadien d'Architecture	Anglais
Alan Colquhoun, 15 novembre 2000 Centre Canadien d'Architecture	Anglais
Alan Colquhoun, 16 novembre 2000 Centre Canadien d'Architecture	Anglais

APPENDIX D

EXCERPTS FROM THE CATALOG OF INSTITUTE FOR ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN STUDIES[1]

This catalogue was published by The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies in 1979 in New York, USA. At that time, the trustees and the fellows of the institute was as follows respectively.

Trustees: Armond Bartos, Chairman; Charles Gwathmey, President; Richard F. Barter; A. Bruce Brackenridge; Colin G. Campbell; Christophe de Menil; Arthur Drexler; Peter D. Eisenman; Ulrich Franzen; Frank O. Gehry; Edward J. Logue; William Porter; T. Merrill Prentice, Jr.; Carl E. Schorske; Marietta Tree; Massimo Vignelli; Peter Wolf.

Fellows: Peter D. Eisenman, Director; Peter Wolf, Chairman; Diana Agrest; Stanford Anderson; Julia Authority Bloomfield; William Ellis; Kenneth Frampton; Suzan Frank; Mario Gandelsonas; Andrew MacNair; Stephen Potters; Carla Skodinski; Leland Taliaferro; Frederieke Taylor; Anthony Vidler; Myles Weintraub.

Chairman's statement
"Founded in 1967 as an alternative structure within which to practice and teach architecture and urban design, the Institute has during the past decade developed a unique series of programs which examine architecture in its social, cultural, and political context. During the next ten years we look forward to the consolidation of our existing programs, as well as to the establishment of new programs and services in our field." Armond Bartos, Chairman, the Board of Trustees

The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies was founded in 1967 as a non-profit, independent agency concerned with research, education and development in architecture and urbanism. Many of the young architects and planners who formed the core of the initial Fellowship had already been independently engaged in seeking alternatives to traditional forms of architectural education and practice. The exhibition "The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal" at the Museum of Modern Art, a natural consolidation of these efforts, led the formation of the Institute.

"In 1971, the Institute began the first of its programs devoted to public education with a series of exhibitions concerning the current state of architecture and design. The exhibitions were supplemented in 1973 with two innovative educational programs developed to fill the existing gaps between the training of professional architects and the study of architecture as a humanist discipline. An undergraduate program for students from a consortium of distinguished liberal arts colleges provided an architectural component as a supplement to the traditional liberal arts curriculum, while an Evening Program for the general public provided the most intensive program of lectures in the country, featuring many prominent practitioners, critics, and historians.

In 1974, the Institute initiated the first of its publications with *Oppositions*. Now an international acclaimed journal of ideas and criticism in architecture, *Oppositions* was followed in 1975 by *October*, a quarterly devoted to contemporary arts, and in 1978 by *Skyline*, a lively and informative monthly "newspaper" and calendar about buildings, books, lectures, and exhibitions current in New York and surrounding area.

The public aspect of Institute's programs was further enhanced in 1977 by the consolidation of the Evening Program into Open Plan, an interrelated series of public lecture courses and seminars on architecture, the city, the arts, and design, funded by National Endowment for the Humanities. In the same year the academic programs were expanded by a Design and Study Options Program for students in sixth-

[1] Box IAUS 57-008 Ch. C3-2. Canadian Centre for Architecture Archives, Montreal.

year professional programs, and an experimental program for high school students. The Institute also initiated its National Architecture Exchange in 1977, which sponsors lectures and exhibitions throughout the United States.

In recognition of its position as an important cultural resource, the Institute was awarded a Certificate of Merit in 1975 by the Municipal Art Society of New York, and in 1976, the A.I.A. medal for its contributions to architectural discourse and debate.

During the next five years, the Institute will concentrate on consolidating its present activities while continuing to explore the role of architecture in our culture. Major emphasis will be placed on the generation of critical and theoretical work from both academic and research programs. An intensive publications program will produce a series of exhibition catalogues and Open Plan books, and a new series of *Oppositions* books will bring hitherto unavailable texts to a broad national audience. In ten years the Fellowship has become a major force in the development and debate centering around the new architecture. It is hoped that in the next ten years the first Institute graduates will be joining in that effort."

Purpose

"Architecture is unquestionably the most public of the arts; there is hardly a single human activity that does not take place in its frame. Nevertheless, there is still little awareness of architecture and its relationship to other disciplines. In part this is due to the closed nature of professional practice and to the structure of academic programs which have treated it as a highly specialized discipline accessible only to the initiated. The established institutions in the field have largely failed to confront those broader dimensions —social, economic, political, and aesthetic—which make architecture one of the most visible, tangible, and articulate expressions of the values and aspirations of the society that builds and inhabits its forms.

The Institute consciously addresses itself to bridging this gap between architecture and society. Occupying a unique position within the sphere of architectural institutions, it sees its primary role to foster an increased awareness of architecture as a major cultural expression. While proferring no single philosophy, it encourages an investigation of different ways in which architecture both shapes the immediate environment and is itself shaped by a broad impact of culture, its economy and its social structure. The Institute attempts to maintain a delicate balance between initiating its own research and acting as a forum for lively debate in architecture. Through its activities it tries to create a growing awareness of alternative approaches to public and private education and to professional practice. It is hoped that this awareness will ultimately result in the creation of a more human built environment."

Academic Programs:

General introduction:

"Opportunities for the study of architecture within existing academic structures are limited. Architecture has generally been excluded from the traditional liberal arts curriculum and treated as a technical discipline rather than one of the humanities. At the same time, the professional programs which train architects rarely include more than perfunctory courses on historical, theoretical and critical issues involved in professional practice. As a result, the study off architecture has been circumscribed either within the academic discipline of art history or else the professional training programs. The Institute's academic programs, designed to redress this imbalance and to supplement and enrich the current range of programs , are based on a core curriculum which enables undergraduates to study architecture as they might study literature, the visual arts, or music, and encourages the professional students to explore the broader implications of their profession.

The Institute is not a degree-granting institution, preferring to work in collaboration with established colleges and universities through which credit for its programs is granted. Students from a wide range of institutions come each year to the Institute, which because of its mid-Manhattan location and small, close knit community of students and fellows, creates a center of intense energy.

At present the Institute administers three programs aimed at several different layers of students: an Undergraduate Program for third year college students, an Internship Program for recent college graduates, and a Design and Study Options program for professional and graduate students. These provide a unique sequence of study in architecture and urbanism. Sixty-five full-time students currently enrolled in these programs work closely in small groups with both scholars and practicing architects. The High School Program, which is a part-time study program, enrolls some twenty five students in each semester."

Undergraduate Program in Architecture
"The Institute offers students from a consortium of liberal arts colleges an opportunity to spend a "junior year in New York" studying architecture. This program consists of two components: a rigorous sequence of courses in the history and theory of architecture; and a design tutorial with Institute Fellows. While approximately half of the participants go on to the professional study of architecture, a substantial number pursue on careers in other, unrelated fields. Thus the Undergraduate Program Functions not only as an alternative approach to pre-professional education, but also develops a knowledgeable group of future users and consumers of architecture.

The success of the program is attested to by the steady increase in participating schools and students. In 1974, five schools and twelve students participated, while in the academic year 1978-1979, thirty five students from sixteen colleges are enrolled. Participating institutions include Amherst, Brown, Colgate, Connecticut College, Duke, Franklin and Marshall, Hampshire, Hobart and William Smith, Middlebury, Mount Holyoke, Oberlin, Sarah Lawrence, Skidmore, Smith, Swarthmore and Wesleyan University.
Director: Peter Eisenman
Administrator: Carla Skodinski"

Internship
"The Internship is the oldest and the most organic component of the Institute's teaching programs. It provides a balance between work and study. It offers a year between the undergraduate education and professional training, allowing an individual to assess his or her interests, talents and capacities in a non-academic environment. It provides both a transition and a break for students who do not want to continue with a three year professional program immediately after graduation.

The Internship poses a range of alternatives. It offers college graduates with no previous professional training an introduction to the diverse aspects of architecture and planning. Through work which is on a one-to-one basis with Institute Fellows on a range of projects, including practical solutions to design problems, historical and theoretical research, and the preparation of exhibitions and publications, the intern is exposed to a broad range of academic and professional options.

In addition, Interns can combine work with study and attend the programs of lectures and seminars at the Institute which broaden their understanding of the options available in an architectural career.
Coordinator: Mario Gandelsonas
Administrator: Carla Skodinski"

Design and Study Options:

Design Workshop in Architecture and Urbanism

"The Institute's Design and Study Options program enables students already enrolled in architecture school to spend one year of academic career at the Institute pursuing advanced work-study programs. These students participate in design tutorials, as well as in lecture-seminar courses in history, theory, and design. Electives in urban planning, structures, and special topics are offered as well.

The program's structure allows students at different levels and with divergent interests and backgrounds the flexibility to tailor the program to their individual needs. It also provides them with an opportunity to spend a year away from their parent school in an urban setting, and to work closely with a variety of professionals and academics prominent in the field. In the Design Workshop, using New York as a laboratory for the investigation of urban issues and design problems, they participate in the development of theoretical prototypes which are tested in published demonstration studies and in real contexts involving actual construction.

Participating schools currently include the University of Cincinnati, the University of Miami (Ohio), Syracuse University, the University of Illinois, Kent State University, Texas Technical University, Tulane University, and the University of Maryland. The program is supported in part with a grant from HEW.
Director: William Ellis"

High School Program

"The Institute's high school program in Architecture and the City offers pre-college students an introduction to architecture, design, and urban planning. The program enriches the secondary school curriculum with courses in architecture similar to those generally available at the parent institution in art, music, and literature. Students are encouraged to develop their sensitivity to the build environment through a series of lectures, field trips, and design problems. Courses include such topics as "Mapping Manhattan," which deals with the development of the city. During the academic year the program is offered on Saturday mornings, and in the summer on a more intensive basis for three days each week for a period of six weeks.
Directors: Larry Kutnicki and Deborah Burke"

Continuing Education: Open Plan

"Since 1973, the Institute has presented the most intensive public evening programs on issues in architecture and design. This has attracted thousands of people and created an ongoing and lively forum for discourse and debate. Each year at least one hundred distinguished guest speakers from all fields of interest and all parts of the world have participated. In the fall of 1977 the Institute's Evening Program has expanded and consolidated into Open Plan.

Open Plan consists of a series of four interrelated courses for the general public on clearly defined topics in architecture, the city, the arts, and design respectively. Each course is directed by an architect, historian, or critic who introduces the issues and invites a series of guest lecturers for further discussion.

The program rejects the specialization of "discipline" and the boundaries of traditional academic study, and its structure mirrors this philosophy. Thus during the fifth and tenth weeks of the program— the "Open Plan Weeks"—sessions of each course are opened to all participants. These sessions are the heart of the program; through them, vital interrelationships are explored—a novel opportunity in the public study of architecture.

Advanced courses and seminars, open to those who have participated previously in Open Plan or who possess the requisite experience, develop the themes and questions of the core courses at a more concentrated level.

Open Plan coursebooks assemble introductory texts for all four courses and are distributed to each participant. These texts lay the groundwork for the courses and are supplemented as the program develops with additional materials, such as lecture summaries and bibliographies.

Style and Meaning in Architecture
Robert Stern, Vincent Scully, Robert Judson Clark, Charles Jencks, Philip Johnson, Charles Moore, David Gebhard, George Baird.

Cities Within Cities
Kenneth Frampton, Bernhard Leitner, Douglas Haskell, Carol Krinsky, Leon Krier, O. M. Ungers, Gerrit Oorthuys, Jonathan Barnett.

The Modernist Vision
Anthony Vidler, Carl Schorske, Peter Brooks, Kurt Forster, John Rockwell, Michale Kirby, Rosalind Krauss.

The Language of Design
Diane Agrest, George Nelson, Milton Glaser, Andrew MacNair, Massimo Vignelli, Ivan Chermayeff, Gyorgy Kepes, Ming Cho Lee, Mario Salvadari, Richard Schechner.

The Anglo-American Suburb: Village, House, and Garden
Robert Stern, Leland Roth, Albert Fein, Brendan Gill, Robert Gutman, Norris Kelly Smith.

The Modern House: Form and Sensibility
Kenneth Frampton, Eduard Sekler, Ludwig Glaeser, George Baird, Rosemarie Bletter, Stephanos Polyzoides.

The Interior Landscape: The Theory and Design of Rooms
Andrew MacNair, Beverly Russell, O.M. Ungers, Mario Gandelsonas, Peter Eisenman, Charles Gwathmey, Paul Goldberger, Rodolfo Machado, Richard Rogers, Aldo Rossi, Jorge Silvetti, Paul Rudolph

Forum on New York: the Place of Urban Design
Craig Whitaker, James S. Polshek, Edward Logue, Suzanne Stephens, Jacquelin T. Robertson, Ken Halpern, Lowell Bridwell, Robert Stern, Denise Scott Brown, Robert Venturi.

The Metropolitan Visions of New York and Paris
Rem Koolhaas, Anthony Vidler.

The Arts in Revolution: Russia in the Twenties and Thirties
Anthony Vidler, Margit Rowell, Robert Herbert, Jay Leyda, Victor Erlich, Kurt Forster, Victor Burgin.

The Mind of Design: Memory and Imagination
Ward Bennett, Joseph D'Urso, Robert Slutzky, Alan Chimacoff, Lars Lerup, James Stirling, Lauretta Vinciarelli, Rem Koolhaas, James Wines, Diane Agrest, Charles Gwathmey, Robert Stern.

The Heroic Tradition in American Architecture
Kenneth Frampton, Ludwig Glaeser, Vincent Scully, Aldo Giurgola, Peter de Bretteville, Moshe Safdie, Cesar Pelli, Tom Killian.

Exhibitions:

"In 1971 the Institute presented an exhibition and an accompanying catalogue on art and architecture in the Soviet Union from 1917 through 1932. This exhibition, focusing on a facet of one of the most creative architectural periods of our century, was the first of more than twenty such exhibitions that have been mounted by the Institute. Although most of the exhibitions have been presented in the Institute's own gallery space, the Institute has also mounted exhibitions elsewhere— "Another Chance for Housing: Low-Rise Alternatives" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1971, and "Suburban Alternatives: 11 American projects" the American Contribution at the architecture section of the Venice Biennale in 1976.

The Institute's exhibitions have fallen into three main categories: historical, topical, and theoretical, with a number centering on New York City. All have investigated the relationships between architecture and wider cultural concerns, stressing issues that go beyond utilitarianism on the one hand and decoration on the other.

1971
Art and Architecture—USSR—1917-1932
Another Chance for Housing: Low-Rise Alternatives (at the Museum of Modern Art)
1974
Drawing as Architecture
Mart Stam: Dutch Architect
1975
Goodbye Five: Work by Young Architects
The Design Work of Massimo and Leila Vignelli
Kinetic Sculptures of T. M. Prentice
1976
Massimo Scolari: Drawings and Projects
Aldo Rossi: Drawings and Projects
A Space: A Thousand Words
Suburban Alternatives: 11 American Projects (for the 1976 Venice Biennale)
Idea as Model
1977
The Princeton Beaux-Arts and its New Academicism
Robert Krier: The Loss of Space
The Architecture of Matthias Ungers
Gwathmey-Siegel: Twenty-Four Residences

1978
Ivan Leonidov: Russian Visionary Architect
The Image of the Home: Guiliano Fiorenzoli, Nancy Goldring, Michale Webb
Leon and Rita Krier: Some Ideas to be Built
Nine Quotations and Nine Metaphors: Arata Isozaki
Projects, Sets, Arcadias: Peter Cook and Ron Herron
Philip Johnson: Processes of Architecture
Lauretta Vinciarelli: Projects 1973-1978
A New Wave of Japanese Architecture
1979 (projected)
Drawing and Building: A Critical Perspective
Guiseppe Terragni: Unpublished Projects
Wallace K. Harrison: New York Architect

National Architecture Exchange:

"In order to make information and material generated at the Institute available on a national scale, the IAUS National Architecture Exchange was established. The exchange functions as a distribution center for traveling lecture tours, exhibitions, catalogues, and slide packages produced at the Institute.
For example, in the fall of 1978, five young Japanese architects have been lecturing under the auspices of the Institute at a number of academic and cultural institutions in ten different cities throughout the country. A related exhibition, catalogue, and slide package accompany this "New Wave of Japanese Architecture."
Director: Andrew MacNair

Lecture Tours

"A New Wave of Japanese Architecture"—Fall 1978: Takefumi Aida, Hiromi Fujii, Hiroshi Hara, Arata Isozaki, and Minoru Takeyama
"Debates on the Current Scene"—Spring 1979: the young American architects
"The Berlin Builders"—Fall 1979, (projected): six young German architects
"South American Movement"—Spring 1980, (projected): south American architects, planners, and designers.

Circulating Exhibitions

- Twenty-Four Houses: Gwathmey / Siegel Architects, 1966-1976
- The Work of Ivan Leonidov: Russian Constructivist, 1902-1959
- Nine Metaphors / Nine Quotations: Recent Buildings by Arata Isozaki
- A New Wave of Japanese Architecture: Eleven Japanese Architects

Exhibition Catalogues
- *Idea as Model*; Introduction by Richard Pommer (1)
- *The Architecture of O. M. Ungers*; Introduction by Rem Koolhaas (2)
- *Robert Krier: Projects and Urban Space*, Introduction by Andrew MacNair (3)
- *Aldo Rossi in America: 1976, 1977, 1978*, Introduction by Mario Gandelsonas (4)
- *The Princeton Beaux-Arts: From Labatut to Geddes,* Introduction by Anthony Vidler (5)
- *Massimo Scolari: Architecture of Memory and Hope*, Introduction by Mario Gandelsonas (6)
- *Five Houses: Gwathmey / Siegel Architects,* Introduction by Kenneth Frampton and Ulrich Franzen (7)
- *Ivan Leonidov: Russian Constructivist, 1902-1959*; Introduction by Gerrit Oorthuys (8)
- *Philip Johnson: Processes, The Glass House, 1949 and the AT&T Corporate Headquarters*; Introduction by Craig Owens and Giorgio Cuicci (9)
- *A New Wave of Japanese Architecture;* Introduction by Kenneth Frampton (10)
  Editor: Kenneth Frampton, Managing Editor: Silvia Kolbowski

Publications

“*Oppositions* is a leading international journal of architectural ideas and criticism. It addresses itself to the development of models for a theory of architecture, but does not limit itself to recent work, seeking to link the present to the past by assessing the contribution of major historical figures and movements to the position of architecture today. *Oppositions* started publication in 1973, and now has approximately five thousand subscribers and more than two hundred corporate, foundation, institutional, and individual sponsors who support it. Discussion forums on specific topics of critical interest are held at the Institute at the publication of each issue.

Editors: Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, Kurt Forster, Mario Gandelsonas, Anthony Vidler.
Managing Editor: Julia Bloomfield
Designer: Massimo Vignelli
Publisher: The MIT Press

“*October* is a quarterly devoted to criticism and theory of contemporary art in a social and political context. It focuses on a variety of contemporary art forms, publishing texts on film, performance, the plastic arts, music, photography, as well as poetry and some fiction. The Institute’s sponsorship of *October* illustrates its commitment to promoting communication between architecture and the other arts.

Editor: Rosalind Krauss
Publisher: The MIT Press

“*Skyline* is a monthly newspaper which serves as a central record of events in architecture and design in the New York area. It was initiated in 1978 with the partial support of the New York State Council on the Arts in response of the proliferation of public interest in architecture and design. Each month *Skyline* lists upcoming exhibitions, lectures, symposia, and publications. This calendar is supplemented by several pages of short reviews, interviews, editorials, and feature articles which make the paper a sounding board for critical discourse about current events.

Editor: Andrew MacNair, Craig Owens
Managing Editor: Ruth Kreitzman

Research and Development Projects by the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

1967-1968
Design Study for the Jerome Park-Kingsbridge Heights Area of Bronx
Directors: Peter Eisenman, Colin Rowe
Client: The New York City Planning Commission

1968-1969
The Development of a Formal Typology of Streets and a Zoning Case Study
Directors: Colin Rowe, T. Reynolds Williams, Steve Quick
Client: The New York City Planning Commission

1968-1970
New Urban Settlements
Directors: Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman
Client: New York State Metropolitan Transit Authority
New York State Office of Planning Coordination
New York State Pure Waters Authority
New York State Urban Development Corporation
New York State University Construction Fund

1970-1973
The Street as a Component of the Urban Environment
Directors: William Ellis, Stanford Anderson (Phase I)
Peter Eisenman, Peter Wolf (PhaseII)
Client: U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development

1970-1976
The Design of Alternative Low-Rise High-Density Housing
Directors (IAUS): Arthur Baker, Peter Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, Peter Wolf
Directors (UDC): Theodore Liebman, Anthony Pangaro, J.M. Kirkland
(Joint venture of the U.D.C. and the Institute)

1972-1973
Regenerative Components: The Adaptive Redevelopment of Old Industrial Structures
Directors: William Ellis
Client: The New York State Council of Arts

1972-1973
Generative Design Problem: An Analysis of the Problems of Communication and Meaning in Architecture
Researchers: Diane Agrest, Peter Eisenman, Mario Gandelsonas, Duarte C. de Mello
Client: National Institute for Mental Health

1972-1973
Union Square Redevelopment Project
Directors: Peter Wolf
Client: Community Board 5, Manhattan, New York City

1975-1976
A Survey of Designated Landmark Buildings in New York City
Directors: William Ellis, Stuart Wrede
Client: Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and the New York Landmarks Conservancy

Architect's Circle

"The Architect's Circle of the Institute consists of a number of prominent firms and individual architects in the New York area who, through their membership in the Circle, support the public programs of the Institute. The Circle offers both financial support and advice, standing as an expression of interest and professional endorsement of the Institute's work. Through the year, the Circle sponsors a number of special events for its members. Members are closely involved in the public programs, and often act as lecturers in Open Plan and on other occasions. The Circle is directed by Tim Prentice, a Trustee of the Institute.

Members:
Edward E.Barnes Architect
Davis Brody and Associates Architects
Conklin and Rossant Architects
Ulrich Franzen Architects
Gwathmey/ Siegel Architects
Johnshon/Burge Architects
Richard Meier & Associates Architects
Mitcell/Giurgola Architects
I. M. Pei &Partners, Architects
Paul Rudolph Architect
Skidmore, Owings & Merrill Architects
Robert A. M. Stern Architects"

CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MArch	METU, Architecture	2001
BArch	Gazi University, Architecture	1997
High School	TED Ankara College	1992

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2007- Present	Çankaya University	Instructor
2001-2007	Çankaya University	Research Assistant
May 1998-2001	APSA, Authority for the Protection of Special Areas	Specialist, Architect
June 1999	SERTA, Atelier of Designing Exhibition Centers	Architect
July 1994	Orhun Mimarlık	Intern Architecture Student

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

HOBBIES

Tennis, Movies, Gourmet, Literature, Swimming.