

Oscillations of the Project

A narrative on the New York-Venice alliance

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Prologue

The notion of the *project*

As far as architecture is concerned, this research should first proceed through a radical rethinking of the notion of the 'project', which modernity has transformed into the idea of an autonomous productive cycle...¹

Vittorio Gregotti

In order to unveil the discourse that emerges from the project it is useful to consider the word's etymology, meaning and genealogy. As both a verb and a noun, the *project* denotes the actions of planning and causing to move forward, as it derives from the Latin word *projectum* (*pro-* 'forth' + *jacere* 'to throw'). Consequently, it was used in the senses of preliminary design or tabulated statement. Originating from an early sense of planning, thus, it begins as an idea that then requires to be developed into a planned undertaking. The *project*, whatever we may mean by the term today, had various connotations in theoretical and ideological discourses of architecture attained through major architectural narratives.

When the word *project*, for instance, is placed next to *modernity*, a particular dialectic emerges. Conforming to the above pairing, what modernity as a universal project wanted to realize was a new type of social experience, both collective and individual, with an orientation towards the *future*. The key to understand this coupling lies then in the word *future*. What is fundamental to this conception is that this future is perceived as a clear site, a *tabula rasa*. Hence, the *forthcoming* would not be predicted but required to be envisioned and controlled. This important detail encloses the relationship between the *forthcoming* and the *modern*. By *modern*, in this case, meaning present or current, implying as its opposite the notion of earlier, of what is past. Similarly, Massimo Cacciari has made a linguistic and philosophical analysis of the term:

"Producing and project are joint terms representing, in our language, a single family. The project is understood as intrinsically productive: it elaborates models of production. Producing is included in the project whose meaning and purpose it illuminates. In the project, therefore, it is a question of strategy on whose basis something must be produced, something must be brought out, to presence. The project foresees, so to speak this future presence; it unfolds its character in advance. But in the project, precisely, one is not limited

to 'project' (ideare) the presence; one has to show with what means and in what ways presence is actually producible. The tone of the project, therefore is that of anticipation, of prediction and of concrete production... It is necessary to realize how the anticipating emphasis of the 'pro' tends to conceal a presupposition... Therefore, the project itself, so understood, belongs to that 'oncologic-existential constitution of being precisely within the sphere of the actual potentiality-for-being."²

Massimo Cacciari

By negating the past and propounding the entire present into the scheme of reconstructing the world in the light of the future, the *project of modernity* undertakes its reformative task. Project and modernity have been associated with both the notions of production and the discourse on the future, with which the way to the new is paved. Similarly, advocates of modernity -like Jürgen Habermas, who considers it an *unfinished project*- interpret this project as one of "progress and emancipation."³ In other words, *the project of modernity* becomes a promise of redemption; as the potential for liberation and cultural enrichment of everyday life are inherent to it. In fact, as Matei Calinescu asserts, it could be considered as one of the major "stories of emancipation."⁴ Emancipation from the presence of an original sin that the culture of architecture, on reflecting itself, has sensed and that finally needs to be purged.⁵

Expecting to be salvaged, however, is not rational; it belongs to the discourse of major religious concepts and accordingly it is something one should not expect while alive. Therefore, salvation, of any kind, is merely an excuse and as a concept it does not represent the actual premises of modernity. Modernity is strongly associated with a certain humanism –with expectations towards a reformative vision vis-à-vis what society ought to be- that indeed has little to do with deity. Thus, this story becomes just a pretext for seizing power over the hypothetical future; a rational control that was forged by a "philosophy of progress."⁶ The *project* within this context is unequivocally political in its nature. Politics, constitutes the decisive moment for the construction of the city (*polis*) and vice versa. Modernity unites politics and culture into one scheme, which is mediated primarily through architecture and urban planning.

Modernity would then falsely become a value in itself, leading to a break with the actual values that composed it. Modernity was realized in a very restricted manner, forging a limited oscillation between the terms and concepts of *project*, *production*, and *progress*. The *project* – hitherto, seen as an autonomous productive cycle - needs to be reassessed.

1

Architectural Theory before 1968

Through the above brief analysis on the notion of the *project*, two principles seem to be encompassed herein; an irrefutable aspect of humanism and its political implications expressed through the architectural project. These two principles will be the main points of focus in this thesis, either in their totality or in complete absence, leading the discussion towards a definition of the *project* anew. The following text –expanding on architectural theories and criticism- attempts to contextualize a certain period of time in which a major shift in architectural theories occurs. Perceived as a turning point, this shift happens almost simultaneously in Europe and America but stems from different bases.

What follows is the framework and a critical reading of the discourses in the 1970s that originate from pre-1976 critical writings of architectural history, theory and critique on ideology. Subsequent to this examination, the work of Italian theorists –such as Tafuri, Cacciari, and Gregotti- who have referred to the notion of the *project* (*progetto*) becomes prominent. Due to the importance of the Italian contribution to the development of architectural theories, an academic dipole or *axis* begins to formulate between Venice and New York. This axis becomes the heart of architectural debates during this decade and around its two poles many interesting events –one of which will be altogether disclosed- take place.

Historical Backlash

Resuming from the *project of modernity* and the acceptance of its rejection, architectural ideology entered a phase of ambiguity from which it never left; the post-war recuperation of the modern movement was reduced to a matter of legacy. The theoretical proposals of the intellectuals operating in the 1950s were progressed around those lines. On the one hand, there was an advocacy of the values of modernism by Team X, and on the other, an interest in history by the younger generation. Both proposals “were centered on the reinvention of a number of theoretical objectives already mapped by the modern movement.”⁷ However, as being different on their objectives they became the center of the most politically engaging architectural debates of the 1950s and the 1960s.⁸ In Italy, these cultural proposals

-advanced by the Italian critics like Bruno Zevi, Carlo Giulio Argan, Ernesto Nathan Rogers- would prepare the ground for the *new directions in architecture*.

The ever-lasting perpetual dispute –taking place in conferences, exhibitions, or less polemically, in publications- would reach a climax during the CIAM XI in 1959 at Otterlo, the Netherlands, coinciding with CIAM's dissolution.⁹ Although, the first interruption was provoked earlier in 1953 by the members of Team X (including Jacob B. Bakema, Georges Candilis, Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo Van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson, and Shadrach Woods),¹⁰ the final break occurred when the Italian architect and critic, Ernesto Nathan Rogers was accused of historicism for his newly built tower *Torre Velasca* in Milan.

Out of this confrontation two theoretical approaches emerged; the one developed by the polemics of Team X and the other by the editorial team of *Casabella-Continuità*. It is from within the rhetoric evolving around *Torre Velasca* that the title *Casabella-Continuità*, the magazine managed by Rogers, takes up its full meaning: "continuity with *Casabella* manifested its full force, a continuity with the historical Italian culture inherited from the Renaissance, a continuity linked to the periodic reactivation of the historical reference to ancient Rome."¹¹

The Discourse on Politics

It is within the context of these studies that one should place Aldo Rossi's *L'architettura della città* (1966), which inscribes the French tradition of urban geography, or Manfredo Tafuri's *Teorie e Storia dell'Architettura* (1968), where the influences from the Frankfurt school and French theories on semiology are indisputable.¹² While, history becomes central in both studies, as a tool of analysis, the importance of the present should not be neglected. Writing around 1966-1968 relates to a specific context and events, which should be considered in order to grasp the two theoretical works in their totality. Considering the broad political context out of which they are emerging -just before the riots of May 1968 in France and the beginning of the political turmoil in Italy- it is expected that they propose rather revolutionary ideas.

These studies would move the discussion even further towards "an analysis of the rapport with history, carried forward by the social and political discourse that was being renewed by a critical reading of Marxism."¹³ Tafuri, for instance, undertook the task of facing the ideology of the modern movement by outlining the reasons of its demise in a rather pessimistic way. While opposed to ideology or representa-

tion, he believed that city planning and architecture got disjointed from the values of Marxism while having lost touch with reality; and that a critical revision of Marxism would provide a source of prospects and values for the future. His focus on Marxist ideas reveals an anguish towards a revolution that was thought to come. By revolution –originating from the Latin word *revolutio*- signifying return and the etymological relation to the perfection of the origin. In this light, Tafuri and others, withdrawing from making actual objects throw themselves into a pursuit towards political action and philosophical postulation.¹⁴

By the same token, Frédéric Migayrou explains that “what marked the final exploratory phase for urban and territorial methods of investigation, as well as an intensification of research on disciplinary renewal was the 1968 political climate.”¹⁵ However, in Italy the climax of this phase –provoked by the political struggles of the communist party (PCI)- was not reached in 1968, but endured for an entire decade. The political situation in Italy was stigmatized by the manifestation of the communist party whose profound link to cultural and intellectual life attested to the formation of a leftist intelligentsia. They would be the protagonists in a demand for renewal that would be materialized via two routes; primarily, with the reemergence of political struggles and new social conflicts; and, with the emergence of theories that supported the first.¹⁶

The *Intellectual* as a concept

Major influence to the formation of the *intelligentsia* had been important intellectual figures of the past, such as Antonio Gramsci. With the publication of the critical edition of Gramsci's *Prison notebooks* in 1971 in English, his theoretical work had been reintroduced to a broader international public; “an entire dogmatic tradition concerning the relation between politics and culture was brought into question.”¹⁷ By examining carefully the context out of which Gramsci's work appeared one should be able to see that its origins lie in the radical questioning of the individual's role in politics. This was how he invented a theory for the figure of the *intellectual* as a vocation and an organic figure within society, a concept that was first presented in the literary work of the poet Franco Fortini.¹⁸

Gramsci also thought “that it is from architecture that rationalism can migrate to other arts”; since architecture is connected to life in the most explicit way, it has the power to reform all its aspects unlike the other arts.¹⁹ As a result to *Gramscian architecture*, the architect-ideologist as a figure who would act as an organic figure within society came into existence. “As a political agent, the architect had to as-

sume the task of continual invention of advanced solutions, at the most generally applicable level," said Tafuri.²⁰ The identity crisis of the architect already happening from the 1920s returns in the 1970s in a different disguise. But, what was clear in the 1920s was the architect's political role; the assertion "architecture rather than revolution" relied on this idea.²¹ What was rather ambiguous in the 1970s was the role of the architect-critic, who had chosen history over politics.

*There is no criticism,
only history*

"If we have a crisis on hand, it is not the crisis of criticism, and not just from yesterday, that has upset the great ideologies, conceptions and systems. And this should not be, by itself, a cause for despair: criticism is built on crises, and one should only think of it as criticism that goes beyond its own results. The outcome of the crises is unforeseeable: criticism does not allow predestined salvations or condemnations. However salvation – salvation of the critical spirit inherited from the Enlightenment by modern art and culture – is likely, if criticism is to be criticism of experiences and not of hypotheses: if it will show itself to be, even in art, historical criticism."²²

Carlo Giulio Argan, 1957

A need for a historical criticism is among the anxieties that were expressed in the works of this generation of critics in which Argan belongs. The crisis that Argan was referring to, originating from development in the domains of politics, economy and culture, would be addressed by re-establishing the role of the individual through the action of criticism.

However, "there is no criticism only history," asserted Tafuri eleven years later when he proclaimed his own project. In fact, what he coined as operative criticism is the project of "planning past history by projecting it towards the future."²³ This notion of the project that employs history as a tool of projection and an instrument of planning stems from Gregotti's ideas found in his work *il Territorio dell'architettura*, published in 1966. Gregotti wrote:

"This task, in which history and planning merge, could be defined as the essence of architecture. A search that doesn't lead to the discovery in itself of the object, but to the realization that it is (for us) changing in a certain direction. In a way one can rediscover such an essence by conceiving history itself as a project..."²⁴

Alluding Walter Benjamin's argument in the *Author as Producer* Tafuri perceived the role of the architectural historian "not as a specialist in language, but rather as a producer."²⁵ As Tafuri asserted, the architect and critic have but one role to play,

which “is to do away with impotent myths, which so often serve as illusions that permit the survival of anachronistic hopes of design.”²⁶ In other words, criticism or the *historical project* allowed the formation of a discourse that was based on the solid ground of theory replacing the abstracted ideological positions encompassed in the *project of modernity*.

Tafuri and Rossi

Hence, there were two main theoretical paths, that both employed history as an apparatus, emerging from two very important academic cores of the Italian intellectual scene; Politecnico di Milano (Rossi) and IUAV (Tafuri). The two valid choices in architecture included; on the one hand, “a political testimony of the autonomy of architectural *poiesis*; and on the other, a critique of the ideology of the capitalist city as this ideology manifested itself in the post-war recuperation of the Modern Movement.”²⁷ Although different in most of their aspects, the two approaches would be advanced around the same time from two theorists with similar political aspirations. Both involved in the Left party, they were preoccupied with architecture’s political role from dissimilar standpoints. Therefore, the formation of a –not so mysterious- strong bond would become the center of many debates of the late 1960s in Italy.



fig. 1 'Architecture Assassinated'
Aldo Rossi
(1973)

This relationship becomes even tighter - when Rossi moved to Venice in 1975 to become professor of design, evidence of which is the cover of the English edition of *Progetto e Utopia* dedicated perhaps polemically to Tafuri. *Architecture Assassinated* is the title of the Rossi's watercolor of 1973, where his dreams are presented in a state of collapse. "Memory and history, sign and meaning, the individual and external reality are extremes that are broken and flown off into space, carrying with it the fragments of a painful will for knowledge," wrote Tafuri in regard to the illustration.²⁸ Consequently, the two leading figures in architectural theory operating through the IUAV (Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia), contribute with their work to the didactic success of this school which was already known for its research and theories relating to urbanism.

The most important contributor to the focus of the IUAV studies, but perhaps the least mentioned in contemporary bibliography, Giuseppe Samonà, had undertaken a deep reform of the teaching of urbanism in the 1960s (including the creation of the first chair of urbanism). His analysis of the relation between historic center and periphery had also led him to conceive a new territorial approach, a large-scale vision, one of the urban region, of the urban territory, in his book *L'urbanistica e l'avvenire della città negli stati europei* (1959).²⁹ Joining the first generation of professors (Carlo Scarpa, Bruno Zevi, Ignazio Gardella, Giuseppe Samonà and others), were new personalities (Giancarlo De Carlo, Carlo Aymonino, Aldo Rossi, and Costantino Dardi), "who undertook several case studies to analyze the tensions between the historical city and the territory."³⁰

Their studies cleared the ground of many misunderstandings and prepared it for the new themes of the theoretical debate on the city: "the reconsideration of the architecture of the city is placed against the dissolution of architecture in the city."³¹ "The city became such an important issue that it had to be continually reassessed: even and especially from the viewpoint of architecture," writes Rossi in 1973.³² "While the questions of urban analysis and the city/territory relationship did not emerge in Italian architecture of the Fifties, they impacted the architectural debate of the following decade," a fact that Umberto Eco aptly confirms.³³ Therefore, it is consequential that "what characterized their generation was primarily the replacement of architectural history interpreted within art-historical perspective by urban history understood in relation to political development."³⁴ A first step away from the modern movement had been taken.

2

Dialogues Europe/America³⁵

“In the 1970s Italy, and most particularly Venice, had been a major center for architecture’s theory and practice. By a phenomenon for which Jean-Louis Cohen has coined the name *italophile (Italophilia)*, architects from France, but also the USA and elsewhere, turned their gaze to Italy, where was appearing the figure of the architect as intellectual who could, alongside the activity of building, produce books and other discourses, as they were fully aware of the independence of their discipline.”³⁶

Léa-Catherine Szacka

In the mid-1970s the vanguards of American and Italian architecture, experienced a mutual attraction for each other, confirms Joan Ockman.³⁷ Through the phenomenon coined as *Italophile* a significant axis was established –which as will be explained later reached its peak during 1976- between New York and Venice. Perhaps the first instance of the presence of an axis occurred in 1971, when Peter Eiseman with Piero Sartogo and Alessandro Mendini “put together a special bilingual issue of the magazine *Casabella* 359-60 -the first ever published- with the title *The City as an Artifact*.”³⁸ Mendini, then editor of *Casabella* further explained the reasons of this interaction in the introduction to the issue. He wrote: “we resolved that Europe should hear of these ideas – ideas which, in the U.S., had already brought about approaches to planning radically different from orthodoxy practice and had grafted on as yet unexplored criteria of expressivity.”³⁹

The New York-Venice axis, to be precise, was more an alliance forged between IAUS and the IUAV. The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), founded in 1967, was an independent research, design and educational corporation in the interrelated fields of architecture, urban design and planning. The institute, operating independently as a think tank, but at the same time, linked with academia, was very active in the domains of design education, research, exhibitions, and publishing. Its aims and objectives were to propose and develop theories and solutions to problems of urban nature; to advance theory and architectural criticism; and to amplify the relation between theory and practice.

Generally, the second half of the 1970s saw increasingly close ties forged between

American and European architecture centered around this axis. From 1974 and on a series of articles written by Tafuri, Francesco Dal Co and other Italians would be published in the IAUS journal *Oppositions*.⁴⁰ Tafuri was introduced to the editorial of the *Oppositions* by Dianna Agrest and Mario Gandelonas who came across his work through French semiology and Althusserian political philosophy.⁴¹ One of the most discussed articles in the U.S. was Manfredo Tafuri's *L'Architecture dans le Boudoir*, which was first delivered as a lecture at Princeton and was published in 1974. The next equally essential, *The Historical Project*, in which Tafuri questioned his own critical method was published in 1979 and then again in 1990 as an introduction to *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*.

However, this alliance should not be reduced to circulations of texts between the editorial of the IAUS journal and Italian critics or in other words to a matter that involves merely academia and the domain of publications. In fact, the publication of those articles would often be reflections on events of greater significance. For example, the *Oppositions 5* -published in the summer of 1976- coincided with the Venice Biennale of 1976 and would be considered as the Italian issue, since most of its pages were dedicated to or written by Italians. Similarly, in many instances the articles published in the issues of *Oppositions* or *Casabella*, *Lotus* and other journals would employ the dialectics advanced by exhibitions and debates of that time.

The theoretical and design success of both poles of the axis can be identified in their international celebration in architectural and design exhibitions both in Italy and in New York. This success assented with particular exhibitions that converted the theoretical work of the contemporary movements into successful design approaches. Americans and Europeans, who in the 1960s are conspicuously different, were attempting to form a universal movement, in the same way CIAM had founded the modern movement in the late 1920s. Instrumental in bringing an aspect of the Italian context to American attention was a major exhibition at MoMA in 1972. Equally significant are the exhibitions that introduced the American discourses to the Italian public. Altogether they should be considered as a series of events that finally led to a breakthrough; the reinvention of a new unanimous project.

The New Domestic Landscape

One of the major museum events of that decade, stemming from the so-called axis, was the Museum of Modern Art exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, curated by Emilio Ambasz in 1972. In this MoMA show, Ambasz "celebrat-

ed the innovative aesthetic style of the neo-avant-garde radical architecture” but at the same time provided an extended analysis of the Italian context and transformations in design.⁴² Apart, from the projects presented in the show, Ambasz invited some of the most important Italian historians to write a series of critical essays for this special occasion. Among them were critics like Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco, Leonardo Benevolo, Vittorio Gregotti, Ruggero Cominotti, Italo Insolera, Carlo Giulio Argan, Alessandro Mendini, Germano Cellant, Manfredo Tafuri and Filiberto Menna.⁴³ For example, in his essay Argan explained the desire to raise Italian society to the level of international life and culture, which explicates further the reason of the formation of an international axis and the gaze towards Italy. He specifically writes that “the so-called *Italian Style* was not a mere status symbol but represented the Italian’s wish to appear less provincial and, in fact, as international as possible.”⁴⁴

Architettura Razionale

The Fifteenth Triennale in Milan, titled *Architettura Razionale* and curated by Aldo Rossi in 1973, was yet another vehicle for bringing international acclaim to Italian design. In this exhibition, “Rossi extended the project of autonomy to other international groups” and was able to form a new canon known as *Tendenza*.⁴⁵



fig. 2 La Città Analoga at the XVth Triennale 1973.

From left to right: Richard Meier, Julia Bloomfield, Meier’s assistant, Silvano Danobrega,(unidentified), Antonio Monestiroli, (unidentified), Aldo Rossi, Arduino Cantafora, Gianni Braghieri, Fabio Rehinhardt, Aldo Aymonino, Bruno Reichlin, Daniele Vitale, Franco Raggi, (unidentified), Massimo Scolari, Michael Graves.

This much discussed image of the architects of the Tendenza in front of Cantafora's collage –seen in almost every publication that mentions the Triennale XV- indeed proves that American architects had already turn their gaze to Italy. Aldo Rossi – at the head of the Tendenza or Neo-rationalist group – invited, *The New York Five*, Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hejduk and Richard Meier to exhibit as a group.⁴⁶ "The most ambiguous of the Italian rationalists entered into the genealogy of the *Five*,"⁴⁷ or was it perhaps the other way round? Rossi and his team sought this occasion as an opportunity to present first and foremost a generation of architects emerging from Italy. This is something already implied in the title *Architettura Razionale*, which draws a link to the Italian Rationalism of the 1930s.

École des Beaux Arts

In 1975 another important but historical exhibition was organized by MoMA and Arthur Drexler this time on the drawings of the *École des Beaux Arts*. History had returned into the conscience of the American discourse. Why this event was considered to be so significant was explained best by Peter Eisenman who wrote a year later:

"Seeing 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."⁴⁸

Again, this exhibition served as a testimony that history begun to appear within the discourse in order to provoke new associations of architecture with its past for the future. The poetic tradition of the nineteenth century design was able to be "restored to a position of influence," said Stern. He continued: "the Beaux Arts exhibit suggests that Modern architecture might find a way out of the dilemma of the late Modern Movement by entering a period where symbolism and allusion would take their place alongside issues of formal composition, functional fit, and constructional logic."⁴⁹

Europa/America

In the context of this axis one must include the exhibition 'Europa-America, Historic center - suburban alternatives' of the 1976 Venice Biennale; the first international exhibition of contemporary architecture in the context of the Biennale and also a first encounter of this kind in Italy. The theme *historic center- suburban al-*

ternatives, reminiscent of the IAUV original point of reference, becomes prominent again not as a discourse of the so-called *School of Venice*, but of the transatlantic axis. A few months before the summer of 1976, Vittorio Gregotti and Carlo Ripa Di Meana decided to include architecture once again in the 38th edition of the Venice Biennale art event titled *Environment, Participation, Cultural Structures*.⁵⁰

The exhibition, held at the *Magazzini del Sale alle Zattere*, Venice's former salt warehouse, becomes notable today as it presented a broad spectrum of architectural projects of the 1970s under a specific theme: the different approaches between European and American urbanism and the theories that support them. The Europeans presented built projects or poetic declarations treating the subject of the insertion of contemporary architecture into historic centers, whereas the Americans proposed imaginary projects or experimental ideas for suburbs.



fig. 3 Seven Gates to Eden by Raimund Abraham.
Presented in the exhibition 'Europa-America, Historic center - suburban alternatives' in 1976 at the Magazzini del Sale.

This event perhaps is the most important of all with regard to the axis, since for the first time the two groups were in direct confrontation as equally important. Finally, this exhibition proved that this axis was a two way street; theory traveled both ways. This was confirmed by Eisenman, who wrote in the exhibition catalogue:

“Usually, ideology, theory, and models for our urban development come via Europe. We are suggesting that this time, we will be putting forward ideas into the international context which originate from America.”⁵¹

Peter Eisenman

3

Questioning modernity anew

“A generation of architects (those in their Forties and Fifties) - a generation which has made an important name for itself in the world of international culture, and which is personally shouldering the heavy responsibilities of these uncertain times, after having been for so long the restless offspring of the masters of the modern movement. It is a generation that is full of new contradictions within itself, rather than certainties, but one within which we must start to differentiate and classify.”⁵²

Vittorio Gregotti

The exhibition *Europa/America: Centro Storico/Suburbia* is then a first attempt towards a classification of the multiple languages in architecture. Construing Gregotti's words, the *Europa/America* show serves as a reflection of the numerous controversial architectural theories regarding the theme of the city that appeared within a time frame of almost twenty years. Already implied in the title, the show pronounced a confrontation which did not aim at promoting one style; it was not canonical, like in the case of the much celebrated exhibition *The International Style* and others, faithful to the path that MoMA curved. Instead, in accordance with its own time and context the *Europa/America* show is an accumulation of different viewpoints on contemporary architecture, of diverse approaches and interpretations stemming from already established theories of the 1970s.

Inasmuch as this event can be appreciated for presenting original architectural projects, it was also an opportune occasion for contemporary architects to gather and debate upon a prolific ground in order to register the changes that occurred and create the potential for a new discourse. Therefore, it was not an attempt to create a new category or style where the architects would attain yet another new identity (e.g. neo-rationalists and neo-radicals, or 'greys and whites'). It was a direct confrontation which, within a historical perspective, will prove to be vital for outlining an important move towards a new mode of thought.

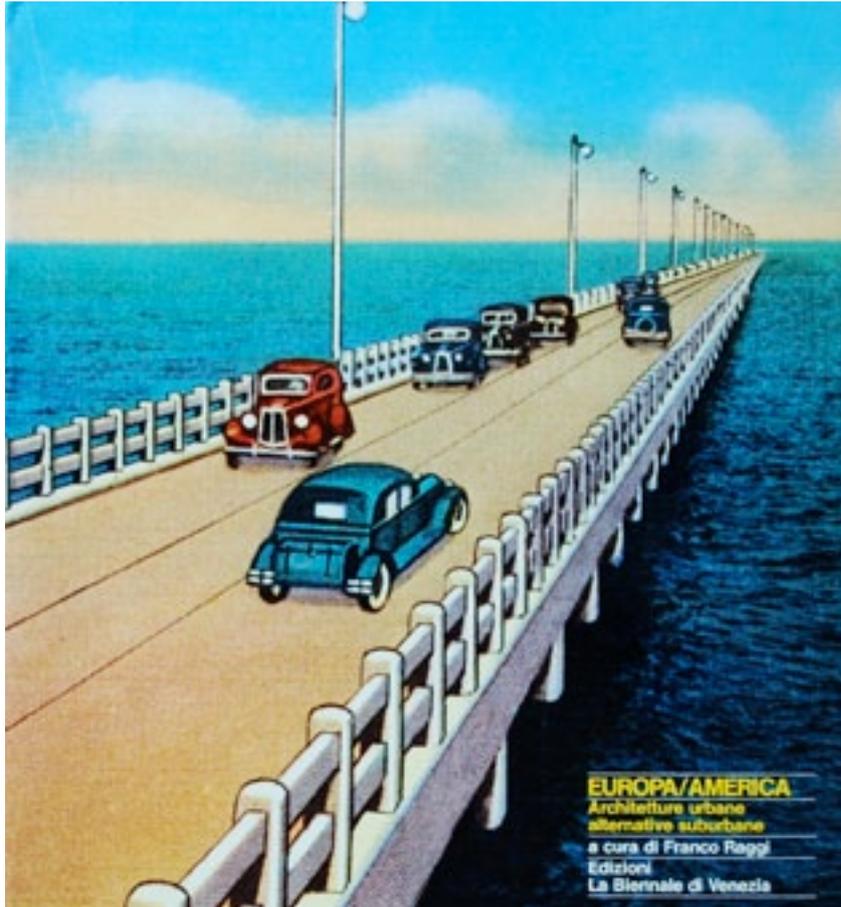


fig. 4 *Europa/America*, exhibition catalogue, Venice Biennale 1976, designed by Franco Raggi

The image on the cover of the exhibition catalogue, which was mysteriously published two years after the event, takes on a specific meaning within this context. Some critics, states Léa-Catherine Szacka, have been merely stating the obvious when asked about that image; a bridge with cars going in both directions, despite the fact that the bridge goes to nowhere. Szacka, though, expands on this simple description by thinking of it as a representation of the dialogue between Europe and America going both ways for the first time at this particular exhibition in 1976. Franco Raggi himself explained to Szacka that it was taken from a postcard he had found in Florida; it depicts the coast highway to Key West. While, Robert A. M. Stern, when asked in an interview about this photo, remembered that this image had always reminded him of a well-known painting by, the American precisionist, Ralston Crawford.⁵³

When comparing the postcard to the painting, two diverse views of the same bridge, what appears to be common is the immense space that characterizes the



fig. 5 Overseas Highway (1940), Ralston Crawford, Whitney Museum

American landscape; the long bridge is a typical American space which when compared to European spaces it seems so large, says Stern.⁵⁴ This view, which expresses in the best way the transcendent man made landscapes of the US, would become a point of departure for the American participation in a confrontation with their European counterparts. On this basis, stemming from this difference, American and European urbanism and architecture could never have developed in the same manner or with similar focus points.

“The utopian vision of the twentieth-century American landscape has been delivered in the fact of the automobile and the suburb. On the other hand America has seen the city as the dialectical process resulting from the interaction of isolated entities (the house) and mediated through the intervention of the automobile... The house as a symbol of the American vision was always seen as relating through the automobile to the city and not to the suburb... The American suburb is one of the most relevant concerns for American urbanism in the next quarter of a century, that is, the notion of a suburban alternative or a suburban prototype.”⁵⁵

Peter Eisenman

The exhibition was set up in a way that would highlight the opposition of the city to the suburb, although a contradiction as such is in reality based on dissimilar criteria. Thus, there is a suggestion or even a promise in the rhetoric of the title, which refers to situations in which architects operate in the two different geographical and cultural areas/conditions, that is never fulfilled. As Eisenman admits,

"we did not see this as a debate between historic center and suburbia, this was never in our true intention, it was merely a vehicle to present our ideas on the relationship of architecture to the problem of building, of urbanity, of suburbia, of society."⁵⁶

Novelties

"The idea of the exhibition is that the American architects will prepare original projects for the exhibition, with original programs, polemical texts and designs on the subject of a suburban alternative. The exhibition will comprise original models and drawings. We feel that such an exhibition of original architectural projects will also be an innovation in American representation in international exhibitions."⁵⁷

Peter Eisenman

The exhibition was comprised of more than one novelties; the first, as explained by Eisenman himself, is that the Americans for the first time exhibit original projects which are specifically created for this occasion and with no intention to be carried out. The second, would be that the American discourse and tradition should be considered equally important to the European; the selection of the theme of the suburb reflects a confidence from the American side and an intention to allow each architect to speak theoretically and practically. "I think that for the first time we are bringing ideas from America," stresses Eisenman. "I think," he continues, "we are able to say that now because in this period of change of the modern movement, we feel that we had been less affected by functionalism and modernism."⁵⁸

Another novel element about this show is that for the first time contemporary architecture is exhibited at the Biennale on an international level. It is a prelude to the exhibitions-to-follow, after the architectural sector within the Biennale organization will be established in 1979 signing the beginning of a new era for the Biennale. The presence of the American group in the Venice Biennale that had just started exhibiting architecture, proposed that an important and influential place for contemporary architecture was under formation. Gregotti's contribution to the Biennale is still appreciated but not Eisenman's, although the idea of organizing the event around a central argument or opposition clearly derives from the IAUS dialectic of the title *Oppositions*.

The exhibition *Europa/America* saw the group of fourteen Europeans, under the guidance of Gregotti and Franco Raggi, placed in confrontation with eleven Americans under the direction of Peter Eisenman and Robert A. M. Stern. The selection of the participants was based on the following criteria: one was their age,

there was a specification that they be under fifty; two, that they be representative of different ideological positions and from different geographic areas of the United States and Europe; and three, that they were designers, as opposed to program or method architects.

Participants

Europeans:

- Carlo Aymonino
- AUA
- Giancarlo De Carlo
- Herman Hertzberger
- Hans Hollein
- Lucien Kroll
- Oriol Bohigas
- Aldo Rossi
- Alvaro Siza
- Alison & Peter Smithson
- James Stirling
- Taller de Arquitectura
- Oswald Mathias Ungers
- Aldo Van Eyck



fig. 6 From left to right clockwise: Carlo Aymonino, Aldo Rossi, James Stirling, Giancarlo De Carlo, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Alison & Peter Smithson.

Americans:

- Raimund Abraham
- Emilio Ambasz
- Peter Eisenman
- John Hejduk
- Craig Edward Hodgetts
- Richard Meier
- Charles Moore
- Cesar Pelli
- Robert A.M. Stern
- Stanley Tigerman
- Robert Venturi & Denise Scott Brown
- Scott Brown



fig. 7 From left to right clockwise: Raimund Abraham, Emilio Ambasz, John Hejduk, Charles Moore, Stanley Tigerman, Robert Venturi & Denise Scott Brown, Robert A.M. Stern, Craig Edward Hodgetts, Peter Eisenman.

In order to express a broad range of standpoints Gregotti decided to organize an adjacent event where the architects would have the chance to exchange ideas on contemporary architecture. In the format of a public debate the participants had the opportunity to contribute with their theoretical positions in a discussion that prompted from the issue of the modern movement's legacy. As it happened in both languages simultaneously in the form of a panel discussion the transcribed text is almost impossible to read, the dialogue is so fragmented by the delay and misunderstandings of the translation that sometimes there is no flow in the discussion, says Léa-Catherine Szacka.⁵⁹ The debate, which took place the next day of the exhibition's opening, is probably the most thought-provoking and intriguing aspect of the whole event, as it implied two fields of confrontation. As Szacka stresses, "the first stemmed directly from the show's dialectical approach (Europe vs. America), while the second, perhaps more subtle and fortuitous, was the confrontation of two generations."⁶⁰

Quale Movimento Moderno

Gregotti, as the director of the visual arts section of the Biennale, opened up the discussion with an introductory speech on the theme of the debate. By posing a rather ambiguous proposal as a title for the debate – *Which Modern Movement* – Gregotti immediately mapped out a context for the discourse-to-follow. This title, says Gregotti during the debate, "can be followed by either an exclamation point, a question mark, or a comma" – depending on punctuation it can take up several interpretations. By construing Gregotti's clarification it is obvious that the title was intentionally left unpunctuated, in order to be able to acquire one of them perhaps at the end of the debate, just like Aymonino subsequently suggested. However, it is interesting to consider how the connotation would change in each case as a prelude to what follows.

When the exclamation point is placed next to the title then one could suggest that it could imply to a possible admiration for the legacy of the modern movement. Accordingly, the role of the architect in relation to a society that is conceived upon the values of humanism would be the main focus of the discussion. However, if a question mark followed then immediately the title becomes a question and possibly a critique. The basic values that composed the modern movement would be questioned, criticized and decomposed in an attempt to arrive at a new interpretation of modernity and to find a way out. Finally, the comma could provoke a discussion on whether there is a way to establish continuity or discover what

comes after. Immediately, this prepares the ground for a discussion that relates to the transformations of the architectural language and its implications. If we accept that the unpunctuated title implies all three interpretations, then the purpose of the debate is to allow a possibility of many possible discursive trajectories.

The issue of the Legacy

“For us, the modern movement is no longer a critical entity, but a notion that everyone refers to in his way. It will, therefore, be valuable to understand our relationship to the modern tradition. For our generation, it has become a complex matter but also the key to filter our relationship with the immediate history. One of the themes that will be clarified today will be the Oedipal relationship that our generation has with the generations that preceded it.”⁶¹

Vittorio Gregotti

Gregotti's intentions and his own relationship with the modern movement are disclosed through this assertion. As it seemed, though, this occasion would be the end of a discussion that the late members of CIAM had initiated long time before 1976. The same architects that in 1959 at the Otterlo Congress first began to question modernism and those that negated revisionism would again be leading the discussion regarding a legacy had been imposed on them.

The weight of the legacy, felt mostly by the Team X members, would be an imperative issue in this discussion as from within its dialectic emerges a strong argument. This argument would quickly transform to a bitter attack towards Manfredo Tafuri by Aldo Van Eyck. Tafuri, who happened to be in the audience, correctly pointed out that the major divide was no longer across the Atlantic, but rather between the heirs of CIAM and a younger generation which shared a post-humanist conception of architecture.⁶²

The advocates of modernity believed that the discourse of humanism was still valid as a concept and design should have a reformative role as it is intended for people. They did not exactly perceive modernity as an unfinished project but they praised its moral values as the only acceptable choices in architecture. Architecture was understood in this sense not as an art but rather as a moral and ethical discipline based on the humanist concepts first demonstrated by people like Goethe or Schinkel.

On the other hand, the younger generation of architects acted less apologetically to the values of humanism and functionalism, and rather promoted historical con-

text and linguistics in parallel to modernist tools and values. Their arguments were largely based on the notion that what humanism, as a key value of modernity, promotes is not constrained to culture but reaches all aspects of human life, such as language. Eisenman characteristically asserted that “the notion of ethics and the ‘boy scout’ attitude, are fundamental to architecture and so is it to literature and poetry, music.”⁶³ According to humanism, art must communicate a clear meaning, but this is not always the case. Eisenman continued:

“I don’t believe that James Joyce or William Butler Yeats were too worried about whether anyone really understood or not what he was writing and I also don’t believe that Joyce was a fascist or anti-humanist. Architects continue to think that they are the only ones who deal with people directly. The notion of humanism is not merely cultural but is universal. It had always existed and will continue to exist. Sometime in the 19th century an alternative sensibility to functionalism and humanism was recognized in many of the arts. This sensibility was not replacing functionalism or humanism but was rather parallel to it.”⁶⁴

In this excerpt Eisenman contravenes the assertion of his adversaries that digressing from modern architecture is associated with anti-humanism, as humanist values are present in history and linguistics, domain which post-functionalists or neo-rationalists get their inspiration from. This statement will take the form of a verbal confrontation subsequently.

Van Eyck vs Tafuri

“Whether it is imitated mannerism or imitated Marcel Duchamp, it is 30 years late thus missing the point (out of context); architecture is always too late... Then there are those who have been already blessed with charisma, and talk very scholastically with a sophisticated air and they sometimes carry a very slit fascist sense. Italy has always been a “volt” of new tricks, and is appealing to those who are trying to make fun. We have a gang of pseudo Tafuris in Holland, and one of the best things I can introduce is to give capital punishment to get rid of them. So, if Tafuri is here, I’d like to tell him that I dislike him, and what he says even more, I think he is absolutely horrific, nauseatingly cynic, very stupid, he just has bad taste and he does not realize the influence he has. Tafuri is trying to persuade architects on something that does not exist... Humanism has hardly begun.”⁶⁵

Aldo Van Eyck

Many of the participants recall that after this explicit attack by Van Eyck, a confrontation occurred which was taken outside of the *Palazzo del Cinema*; thereof it was never recorded. However, in the exhibition catalogue a summary of Tafuri’s answer

appears where he mainly stated that “the terms society and man were invalid since the time of the Enlightenment.”⁶⁶ He continued by posing a series of certain questions targeted at the discourse of humanism that architecture embraced. “The architects are obsessed with the discourse of power and see their job as a way to transform structures into power. But is this architecture or public administration? Is it architecture or an anatomy and an analysis of what is architecture?”⁶⁷

This aspect of the debate casted a shadow over the whole event, but shed light on the lag between the architects that were pro-moderns and those standing on the opposite stance. It would seem that the questions: who is the architect and what is his place in society? -problems that the modern movement had emphasized- had been replaced by more ambiguous questions like: what is architecture, what does it consist of, and what are its problems? The answers to the above questions lie in this discussion which, as it is impossible to reconstruct in its totality, will be presented partially and in relation to the projects that were actually presented in the salt warehouse.

History as a way out

Historical revisionism expressed in the guise of neo-rationalism -the architectural trend initiated by Aldo Rossi and Oswald Mathias Ungers- proved to be the most successful response to functionalism in Europe.⁶⁸ History would be employed in an attempt to recognize and systematize a simplified and minimalist typology of elements that altogether would comprise a system of signs. “Architecture so seen is not diminished in terms of its own significance because of its urban architectural context or because a different scale introduces new meanings; on the contrary the meaning of architecture of the city resides in a focus on the individual project and the way it is structured as an urban artifact.”⁶⁹

Architecture language, in that manner, although employing history, would be transformed into an autonomous project and open towards new meanings, freed and captivated by the order of things. “By deploying a syntax of emptied signs, of programmed exclusions, of rigorous limitations, it reveals the inflexibility of the arbitrary—the false dialectic between freedom and norm inherent to the linguistic order,” writes Tafuri in his essay *L’architecture dans le Boudoir* regarding Rossi’s collage of 1976.⁷⁰

“We have snatched elements from the history of architecture to propose them anew as a driving force. History is viewed from the perspective of struggle and not as the mere relation of facts... The coherence of typologies

within an architectural project is the ultimate goal towards which we are working. That is the project."⁷¹

Aldo Rossi

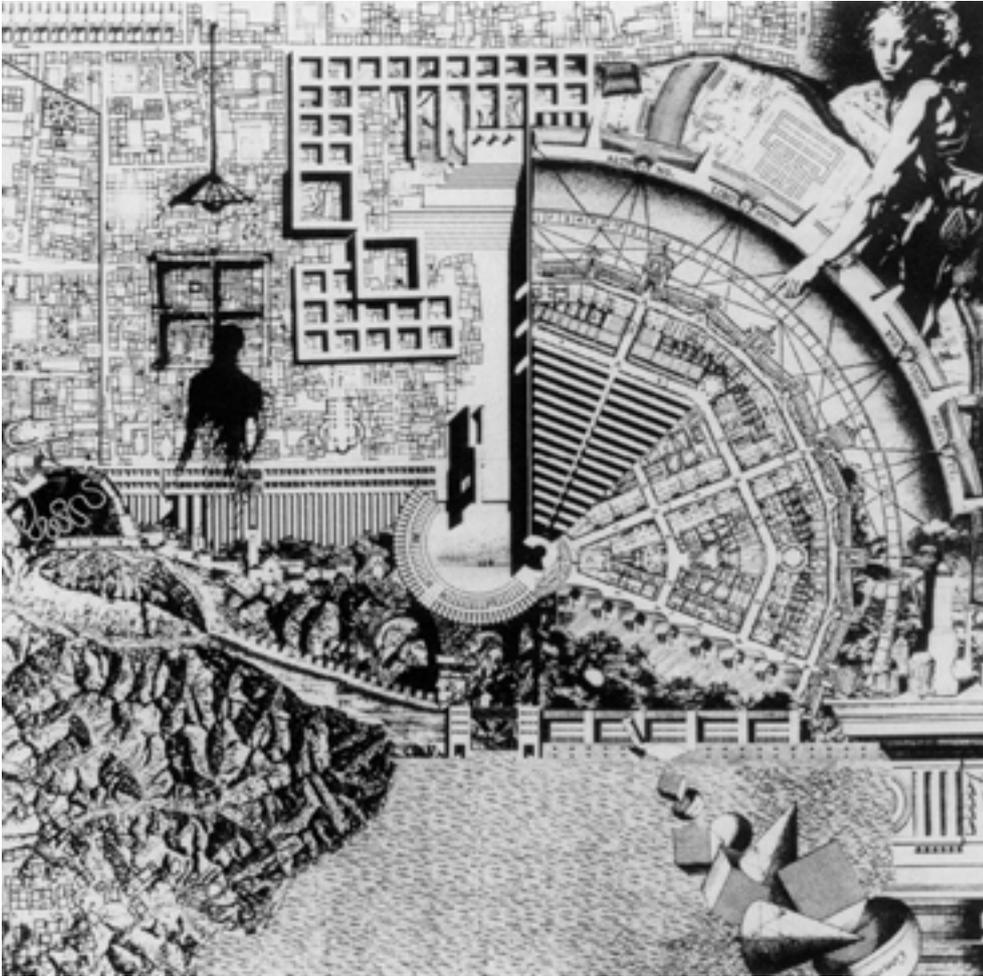


fig. 8 Collage La Città Analoga, 1976
Aldo Rossi with Eraldo Consolacio, Bruno Reichlin, and Fabio Reinhart

Rossi's collage stands as a graphic metaphor of his theory of the analogous city. Beneath his composition, says Tafuri, "there could very well appear the inscription", scrawled in childish handwriting as in *Architecture Assassinated*, "ceci n'est pas une ville," meaning that there is no real site. Rossi's hypothetical inscription would be echoing *The Treachery of Images* and produce the same discursive slippage that occurs in *Magritte's Pipe*.⁷² Clearly caught in the web of linguistics his theory on analogy is proposing another understanding of the city, that of grammatology. In 1978, in the introduction of the first American edition of *The Architecture of the City*, Rossi explains further his concept: "analogy expresses itself

through a process of architectural design whose elements are preexisting and formally defined, but whose true meaning is unforeseen at the beginning and unfolds only at the end of the process. Thus the meaning of the process is identified within the meaning of the city."⁷³

The Dadaist theme

"By enclosing the linguistic discourse, architects act like bad painters. It is no coincidence that many of the exhibitors have chosen the collage technique; a collage full of stuff was presented by Aldo Rossi, a hidden collage by Aymonino and similarly Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown worked on the collage poetics. This is the recovery of the Dadaist theme. It inscribes an attempt to isolate, in its purity, the linguistic discourse - which is largely discourse of American architects."⁷⁴

Manfredo Tafuri

Dada, says Tafuri, "is essentially an urban art or a destructive criticism on urban art... its search for a new link between things tends to become a search for a way of action, which takes place in the city."⁷⁵ The Dadaist collage used as a tool of representation, as a way to go back to a zero degree of visual communication and as a way to deconstruct every semantic code.⁷⁶ Rossi's collage represents the deconstruction of the actual linguistic code of the modern city by forging an alternative method of planning. Similar, is Colin Rowe's proposal in *Collage City*, where the *bricolage* serves as an alternative to the scientific methods of planning. *La Città Analoga* or the *Analogous City* first appears in 1973 and then in 1976, thus five and two years before the publication of *Collage City*, the manuscript of which was in circulation from 1973. Hence, around the same time these parallel approaches were emerging, the one in Italy and the other in the US, but ultimately come across one another in the 1978 exhibition *Roma Interrota*.

The New York Five

In Europe, a certain nostalgia for the past -that echoes the modern language, aspects of the dada movement and the surrealist games- had currency, whereas across the Atlantic, this past never existed and had not been part of the American cultural history. "The politics, economics, social and the aesthetics that go hand in hand with functionalism, have not trapped us," says Eisenman who among the Americans, he and the other four (of *the Five*) had already established their relation to the Europeans from 1973 at the Triennale XV. As Rossi with his concept of analogy, Peter Eisenman too, was in search of a syntactic code through his play of modifications. "In our judgment, one of the most interesting and original aspects

in the work of Eisenman is the discovery of the possibility of modifications within architecture which are the result of a shift in the dominant characteristic of architecture from the semantic to the syntactic."⁷⁷ Most of the *Five* architects would be caught in the intermediate stage of the linguistic shift towards the syntactic, by employing myths, poetry, and themes from literature, the meanings of which would be utterly deconstructed.

The myth of Arcadia

One of the myths widely in use in the work of American architects during the shift towards the new was the myth of *Arcadia*; part of Greek mythology that became known through the poems of Virgil. "In both literature and architecture we are trying the return to the myth of *Arcadia*. We have investigated all the open ended and prototypical solutions," said Emilio Ambasz during the debate. As in the case of Abraham's project where the return to the myth of *Arcadia* appears as the notion that controls his abstract conceptual exercises. Poetry and the world of the imagination are employed as sources for the further transformation of his language.

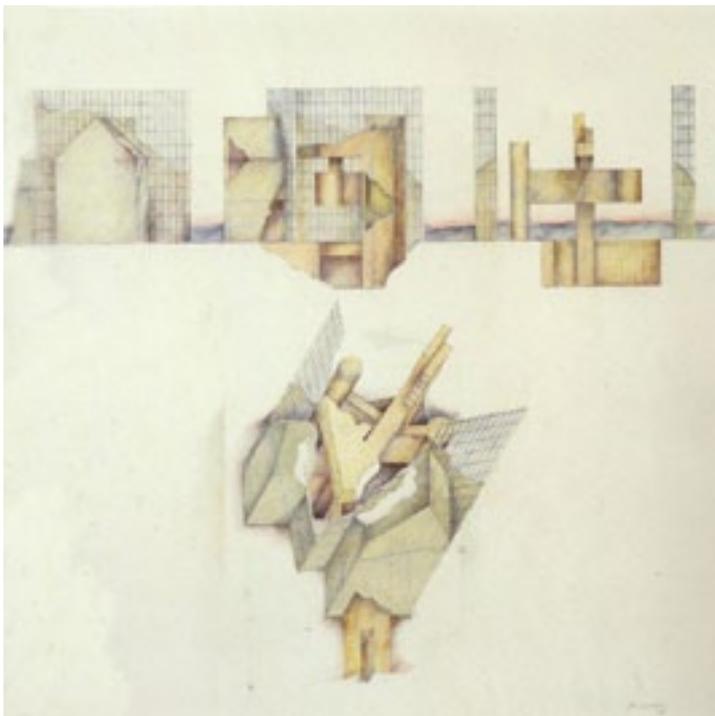


fig. 9 'Seven Gates to Eden' project, 1976
by Raimund Abraham

"Seven metamorphic transformations of One House, squared by One Lot of land and embedded in the singularity of One Man's vision. Seven manifestations of archaeological memories imprinted in walls, shadows and gardens:

An architecture of silence,
buried in the elements of the past.
But colliding with allusions to the unknown.
Seven junctions dwelling in the Suburb of dreams."⁷⁸

Raimund Abraham

The *Seven Gates to Eden* are seven versions of private houses that Raimund Abraham designed in 1976. The work comprised of drawings and models arranged on a linear wall (see fig. 3). Utopian and poetic, these dwellings are a series of experiments bent to fictional constraints. Tafuri's austere condemnation of the 1976 Biennale found in *L'architecture dans la boudoir* aimed at the attempts of inventing utopic, poetic imaginary worlds; Abraham and Hejduk did not escape his critique. He considered their interpretations of the utopic topography of *Arcadia* as mute, trapped into a biblical conception of *paradise lost*. What he writes precisely is that, "the late followers who delude themselves into thinking themselves able to inhabit the old house of Language believe that the return to nature -the landscapes inhabited by the silent witnesses of Hejduk- involves, as an inevitable consequence, biting into the apple of knowledge offered by an Eve eager to accept the serpent's invitation. They find themselves beyond good and evil, and for their mute writing, the beyond is proposition seven."⁷⁹

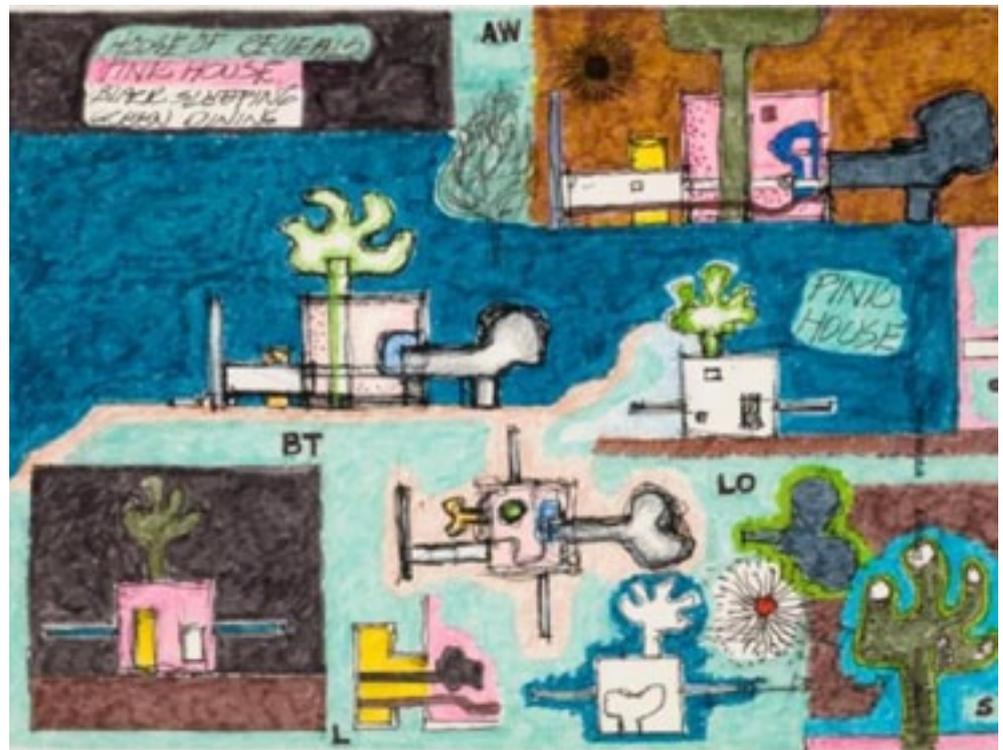


fig. 10 Sketch from the 'Silent witnesses' project, 1976 by John Hejduk

"The title of my 1976 Venice Biennale project is called THE SILENT WITNESSES. It is a 'Detective story.' I have been intrigued by the following authors: Proust, Gide, Celine, Robbe Grillet, and John Hawkes. The project is divided into Ortega y Gasset's thirty year generation thesis."⁸⁰

The Silent Witnesses is indeed a mute detective story, but rather intentionally silent. Hejduk's fictional representation expresses a distance from life. "Rather than pursuing a codified language of architecture, Hejduk more accurately engages the writing of architecture, soliciting writing's potential for disaster, its aspects of materiality and contingency, its undecidable confection as both toxin and cure." Hejduk is in search of Derrida's *pharmakon*, by shifting from "syntax to usage or grammar to performance."⁸¹

Symbolism/semantics

From the other side of the Hudson river, the architectural approaches took a rather different course; rather than exploiting history and language for their undisclosed effects, they entrusted themselves to the "spirit of irony."⁸² As explained by Heinrich Klotz, "the Americans were employing references from the everyday world and pop art, using historical forms with polyvalence and irony. Architecture depending thus on geography oscillates between "wit and seriousness, between perfection and fragmentation, between historical exactness and humorous alienation."⁸³ Instead of producing a syntax, language in this case was perceived as a system of immediate signs carrying many levels of meaning. Meaning or the potentiality of meaning, employed via "explicit denotations, everyday associations, reference to other buildings," and inherent or contrived symbols, becomes the aim of the 'signs of life' project.⁸⁴

Symbolism as a common characteristic between all languages would finally become accepted with the rise of linguistic studies; what the early modernists had deprived of was finding a way back into the architectural discourse. The existence of *association* and *symbolism* in architecture had always been ubiquitous; one should not forget the *machine* and the cubist forms that were paradoxically used in a symbolic manner, stressed Denise Scott Brown. Through symbolism, language and form can be further transformed and thus enriched. "You will see that we have been ourselves searching for a language," declared Scott Brown. "Our project is not in fact a design it is not even a picture, it is in fact an analysis."⁸⁵



fig. 11 'Signs of life' project, 1976, by Robert Venturi – John Rauch - Denise Scott Brown

The Discourse of Language

"Now there has been a great deal of talking today about the language of form, however, someone should have pointed out that we have moved very far from modern movement in order to be able to talk of a new language."⁸⁶

Denise Scott Brown

"For me there is no doubt that there is a clear contemporary language today that is acquired through experimentation and transformation of the existing languages," says Aymonino who confirms by this assertion that the younger generation had indeed moved further away from the one preceding it. "Perhaps, we should consider the instruments that evoked this change," Aymonino continues. "We should be able to identify trends, processing lines, language, as suggested by the exhibition poster, which is a representation of the map of Babylon. This should be the symbol of the meeting. Yet it does not seem to me that we are in a Babylon."⁸⁷



fig. 12 Europa/America exhibition poster, 1976.

Whereas the language in modernism was deceitfully perceived as invented by breaking any historical link - making architecture purely a thing of the present - with *revisionism* architects were able to regain memory and extend this language. The great theoreticians of linguistics from the school of Vienna had come to think that there is no language without rules, and that language is not invented but transformed. In addition to that language, in order to have any meaning, then can never be introspected within the subject, but it should be able to deal with the world. The architects not completely faithful to the rules of language, throw themselves into games of deconstruction and playfulness. This period was the beginning of a prolonged experimentation of architects with history, linguistics, and structure that lasted for over twenty years.

4

New directions in architecture

Turning point

There are upheavals in history that take place behind the scenes. It often requires the judgment of the historian to mark the threshold of an epoch - the point at which one thing emerged from another. Only after the event do we become conscious that something has changed, and that there are good reasons for recognizing the upheaval as a historical turning point.⁸⁸

Heinrich Klotz

If we accept to use the term *upheaval* for denoting the historical turning point, then the events previously described should be considered as the tools for registering an intrinsic upheaval. Through the above two tangled narratives –the one generic and contextual, while the second, specified on the multiplicity of opinions centered around one event- certain dilemmas and problems are sensed equally in both. They all can be summed up rather quickly as efforts towards the de-politicization and reinvention of the architectural project.

In the 1970s, the activities of the international axis, indeed, succeed in registering and provoking, to a certain degree, a change or an upheaval, through a rather transcendent medium, that of exhibitions. Transcendent because the architectural project enters the sphere of the conceptual and brings itself closer to other arts, which are many times free and unbound from reality. Simultaneously, the rhetoric of exhibitions gets entrapped in the image of representation, while, the aspects of the real and the tangible are driven out of the project.

The project -originally generated by the theories that were conceived as contributions to the political and social struggles of the city, in an attempt to avoid the formation of a manifesto- is reduced to representation. The theories that triggered the project become introvert; they are hidden under the blanket of ambiguity. Like in the case of art, architecture became "mired in the discourse of academia and the space of exhibitions, where critics and curators adapted them to the cultural fashion of the moment."⁸⁹ The project thus becomes a matter of fashion, trend or, better yet, of *tendenza*.

What is perceived as the 1968 political climate, includes an extended period of theoretical and political struggles that reaches an outburst in May '68. The Italians, who are observing the French intellectual scene closely and are radically affected by the French social struggle, inaugurate their own fight. The concept of the *intellectual*, analyzed in the first chapter, becomes prominent under these circumstances. The political climate is expressed in all aspects of culture, including journals and exhibitions, which are the main tools of storytelling of this thesis.

"Once again, the intellectual attempted to recognize himself as he entered a room of distorting mirrors, and could only express shock on seeing his reflected image."⁹⁰

Manfredo Tafuri

What Tafuri writes in an almost whimsical way refers to the critic's confusion originating from the instability of the role of the intellectual within the arts. As Alberto Asor Rosa confirms, "during this period, there was amazing vitality in the exchanges between different cultural fields, which is almost unimaginable today, when each discipline has slipped neatly back into its own little box."⁹¹



fig. 13 XIII Triennale di Milano, 1964
Peppo Brivio, Vittorio Gregotti, Lodovico Meneghetti, Giotto Stoppino
International introductory section, Kaleidoscope

The room of mirrors that Tafuri was referring, reminiscent of Gregotti's *Kaleidoscope*, reflects "an uncertain reformulation of roles occurring in the light of a more precisely defined political demand and a persistent confusion among the arts."⁹² As a consequence of the intellectual discourse of the 1960s, culture and politics were discussed together and their fusion created a new perspective on politics and, consequently, on the mediator between politics and people; architecture. Architecture and its contemporary problems expressed through the unrealized experimental projects of exhibitions, such as the Triennale XIII.

The theme of the Triennale XIII, that of leisure, derives from the problems of its own time. Parallel to the Situationist theory, the exhibition comprised of spaces or situations, "moments of life deliberately constructed for the purpose of reawakening and pursuing authentic desires, experiencing the feeling of life and adventure, and the liberation of everyday life."⁹³ The focus on this theme is, most likely, direct effect of the collaboration between the curator of the exhibition, Vittorio Gregotti, with the members of the avant-garde Italian literary movement Gruppo 63.⁹⁴

When contrasting this exhibition to the ones subsequent to 1968, the differences became evident. On the one hand, there is the construction of a collective space that brings into question a political problematic, and on the other, lies the creation of environments that narrate private individual stories. For instance, in the case of the 1976 Venice Biennale, the outline of all the events under the rather misleading title *Environment, Participation, Cultural Structures* is that of the *environment* used in the sense of *ambient/surrounding*. The notion of *participation* brings on undeniable aspects of the polemics of 1968, but it is rather doubtful if the exhibition *Europa/America* falls under this category. On the contrary, this exhibition could be seen either as a testimony of the anguish and lag of values coming from the younger generation or as an unexpected turn of the architectural project.

Taking place around a year before the first publication of *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* by Charles Jencks and four years before the exhibition *The presence of the past* at the Venice Biennale, *Europa/America* could be seen as a breakthrough in architecture. In 1976, although early to speak of a realized post-modern movement, the Americans have already employed the 'post-' dialectic.

"The mere fact of 'coming after' was an exhilarating privilege, democratically accorded to anybody who wanted to claim it; everything worthwhile started with 'post' - post-modern, post-historic, post-human, etc."⁹⁵

Matei Calinescu

Looking back in the recent history of architectural writing the prefix 'post-' was employed for the first time by Joseph Hudnut in 1945, in his essay titled *The Post-Modern House*, where he defended the values of the humanist discourse. Then, in 1966 Nikolaus Pevsner used again the term Post-Modern, in his essay *Architecture in Our Time: The Antipioneers*, denoting the state of 'being opposed to' rather than 'coming after'. Finally, Charles Jencks – one of the most enthusiastic advocates of postmodernism - published the essay *The Rise of Post Modern Architecture* in the journal *AQ* in 1975, just a year before the exhibition *Europa/America*. Jencks did not simply register the changes in architecture, but he defined the term 'postmodern' and set the ground for an emerging movement.

As Jencks asserts in 1977, the results of the work of those architects who have found their way out of the modern movement by "either adapting a mixture of modernist styles, or mixing these with previous modes" do not arrive at a phase of a unanimous style; "they are evolutionary, not a radical departure."⁹⁶ According to the author of the best-selling book *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, the 1970s was still a transitional era since the practicing architects who were already in their forties and trained in modernism could only make hesitant, evolutionary changes.⁹⁷

Although it might be problematic to speak of a unanimous movement within this or any time frame, we should then perceive the 1976 projects and theories presented at the Biennale as premature postmodern narratives. A mixture of approaches that departed from the strict line of modernity in a variety of ways, which often were interconnected through history and semiotics. Within the dialectic that is produced through these projects - historicism, straight revivalism, employing irony, fiction and metaphors for composing almost metaphysical spaces

- there are inscribed many narratives of the postmodern.

An important detail reveals the time that the term postmodern was accepted and spread in Italy but, this time does not coincide with the summer of 1976. During the exhibition *Europa/America* and the debate *Which Modern Movement* the term postmodernism is never mentioned, not even by Stern. Even Eisenman's speech on *post-functionalism* that he delivered during the debate did not have any implications on the European attitude towards the discourse stemming from the 'post-'. However, when the exhibition catalogue is published with a delay of two years, in 1978, Gregotti refers to the term postmodernism several times in his introductory note. Within a historical perspective it is possible to speak of an early postmodernism, but it can only be implied in the same way Gregotti did in 1978.

However, as a movement, postmodernism never became a dominant architectural style or dogma even in its mature phase. Instead, supporting "a broad range of vocabularies and stylistic languages always existed alongside one another," the postmodern dialectic was tolerant to everything but the modern narratives along with their ideological cause.⁹⁸ Postmodernism, by reaching its mature phase, had contributed to the withdrawal of any political scope; to European Marxists, such as Tafuri, postmodernism was synonym to political surrender. To that effect, Tafuri never accepts the term as the Americans had coined it.

In postmodernism, explains Lyotard, two myths are dismantled; the liberation of humanity and the unity of all knowledge. In this light, the *project*, as a term that denotes a political master-narrative, becomes irrelevant; what Jameson coins as *Political Unconscious* derives from the persistence to bury those master-narratives of modernity. But the project itself seizes to exit and becomes an object of the postmodern pastiche. Accordingly, the architectural project enters the sphere of the conceptual (*ideazione*); it departs for a metaphysical trip to the realm of *invisible cities*, as Tafuri would have said.⁹⁹ Its actual purpose becomes the experiment itself through questioning, criticizing and deconstructing the existing language in the sake of forging a new one, empty of political reason.

The project of autonomy

The political becomes a choice, exactly as Aldo Rossi asserted in the final chapter of *The Architecture of the City* in 1966. This choice, sometimes conscious and others unconscious, becomes introverted within the project; it alters its purpose. The political can no longer be an aspect of the project in the same manner as it had been for modernity. However, the architectural project is revolutionized in a completely different way. It gains back its freedom, "a result of the Art of freeing oneself and separating,"¹⁰⁰ thus it becomes autonomous.

The autonomous project is not falsely associated "with a period of recent architectural history in which the autonomy of architectural form from political, social, and commercial significations was discovered."¹⁰¹ Aureli emphasizes that the reference to *autonomia* inside the Italian discourse is still associated with the political disarming of the Left and the general de-politicization of society."¹⁰² *The Project of Autonomy* was an attempt to create another narrative for the political, but in the context of architecture "it was immediately translated as a strategic retreat, a refusal to reform the existing world."¹⁰³

The project of history

"...the other meaning of the word "project," stresses projection, fervor, tearing away from a situation in order to criticize, deconstruct, and question it; essentially, the idea of freeing oneself from presupposition in order to construct a new understanding or even a new ontological constitution."¹⁰⁴

Vittorio Gregotti

The historical project, thus, is a medium of analysis, criticism, deconstruction and production of meaning. History at the same time definite and defining, encloses and provokes a telos, moving towards an end and shaped by a purpose; "it is determined by its own traditions, by the objects that it analyzes, by the methods that it adopts; it determines its own transformations and those of the reality that it deconstructs."¹⁰⁵

A deconstruction that, as far as architecture is concerned, either focused on the recognition and subtraction of historical elements towards a *typological criticism* or restrained itself to the use of historical signs and symbols indicating a multiplicity of meanings. Rossi regarded historical facts as a driving power for architecture; Graves and Hollein were fascinated by the use of signs and revivalist aesthetics;

Eisenman, on the other hand was closer to a timeless architecture, freed from any meaning outside the realm of architecture itself.¹⁰⁶

The historical project managed through all the different approaches was employed as a tool in order to enrich the architectural language and revitalize certain languages that were considered dead. The future turned to past. The diagnosis of the natural space of time and experience, introduces the past into the future and becomes the medium towards *projection*.¹⁰⁷

Epilogue

The lost momentum

The universal project of modernity succeeded in establishing a relationship between society and city planning. It focused on the attempt to merge political action with precise architectural solutions, by incorporating precise political programs that aimed to transcend the distinction between the individual and the collective. Modernity presupposed a certain humanism and projected upon a society that was treated as an artificial body. When Cacciari refers to the modern political project a “symbolic holding between social and political” appears to be manifested. By making the social a “mythical” and “analyzable” artificial body the terms ‘revolution’ and ‘utopia’ become intrinsic to the project.¹⁰⁸ The political as the lost momentum, in this case, entails the rejection of the traditional project, which Reinhold Martin calls an ideological phantasm. Instead of project, Martin proposes the introduction of “projection as a concrete historical and discursive practice.”¹⁰⁹ After the failure of modernity, explains Gevork Hartoonian correctly, the historian and critic is “left with no choice but to theorize a project that constantly seeks identity.”¹¹⁰

Evidently, after a succession of rejections to projects of ideological and revolutionary aim, the project finally becomes self-constrained, self-determined, self-controlled; in other words, autonomous. On the one hand, autonomy presupposes the freedom of the project from the political, but on the other, history, which also becomes imperative, and postmodernism introduce certain aspects of the political; all aiming at its closure. Free from any presupposition, the project becomes the producer of its own dialectic, it becomes part of a linguistic game. Genuinely anti-modern, the project has nothing to do with the future; it has to do with a series of

'meanwhiles', meaning the several stages between the idea and its incarnation.

However, the project, as productive construction still remains to a certain extent undefined, as Massimo Cacciari says, "it dominates unchallenged in our language."¹¹¹ Despite the attempts to define it, the project can only be ambiguous. Through the narrative of this thesis a challenge is accepted; the architectural project appears transformed, reassessed and tested within the echoes of several modes of thought. What lingers, even today, as a result of the transformations during the 1970s, is indeterminacy. Every project nowadays is a shot in the darkness of ambiguity anticipating the next theory or trend to come.

Any project can contain each perspective, be it historical, social or political, to the extent that the architect desires for any purpose deemed important without being accused of anti-humanism. On the contrary, every project is a potential attempt to build an improved world, not with utopian, but with realistic expectations. The project trapped into the complex system of language, it becomes a discursive mechanism defined by its *logos* (meaning both 'reason' and 'discourse').

"The project, in this sense, belongs entirely to the epoch of the logos, explains one of its essential dimensions, the 'fall' of becoming into a chain of 'meanwhiles,' whose only meaning consists in the mediation which is at work in them between original idea and its incarnation... the project must count as elimination of becoming itself, its reduction to 'meanwhile' deprived of any proper sense... forced to reduce becoming itself to mere signifying of its own original logos."¹¹²

Massimo Cacciari

Notes

- ¹ Vittorio Gregotti expands on the notion of the 'project' and provides a critical revision of the modern movement in order to integrate its legacy into post-war European practice. Vittorio Gregotti, "Inside Architecture," p. 20
- ² Massimo Cacciari, "The Unpolitical: on the radical critique of political reason," p. 122-124
- ³ Reinhart Koselleck, "Futures past: on the semantics of historical time," p. 22
- ⁴ Matei Calinescu writes that "all the major 'stories of emancipation' of modernity are essentially secularized variations on the Christian paradigm: the Enlightenment metanarrative of progress through knowledge, by which humanity will be emancipated from evil ignorance; the speculative Hegelian story of the emancipation of mind or "Geist" from self-alienation through dialectics; the Marxist story of man's emancipation from exploitation through the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; and the capitalist story of humanity's emancipation from poverty through the market." Matei Calinescu, "Five Faces of Modernity," p. 274
- ⁵ Manfredo Tafuri, foreword to "Interpreting the Renaissance"
- ⁶ Reinhart Koselleck, "Futures past: on the semantics of historical time," p. 22
- ⁷ Gevork Hartoonian, *The Stolen Hope: Reading Jameson's Critique of Tafuri*, ed. Nadir Lahiji, "The Political Unconscious of Architecture: Re-opening Jameson's Narrative," p. 89
- ⁸ *Ibid*, p. 89
- ⁹ Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne - CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture) was an organization founded in 1928 and disbanded in 1959. Formed with the objective of spreading the principles of the Modern Movement focusing in all the main domains of architecture (such as landscape, urbanism, industrial design, and many others).
- ¹⁰ "Team X came about because there was a loss momentum in the ideated extension of the Modern Movement; a loss of certain architectural energies; a loss of fiber in threads of connection to those grandfathers who took the 'jump' as inventors of the Modern Movement." Alison Smithson, "Team 10 Meetings," p. 15
- ¹¹ E.N. Rogers, *Continuita*, "Casabella-Continuita," no. 199, (December 1953-January 1954): pp. 4-5. cited in Frédéric Migayrou, "La Tendenza," p.15
- ¹² "As for Roland Barthes, he was mentioned by Manfredo Tafuri as early as *Theories and History of Architecture*, long before French architectural circles paid any real attention to the nouvelle critique; Tafuri used Barthes to help unravel the tangle of semiotic theories that had been hastily applied to architectural objects." Jean Louis Cohen, *The Italophiles at Work*, from *La coupure entre architectes et intellectuels, ou les enseignements de l'italianophylie*. ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 509
- ¹³ Frédéric Migayrou, "La Tendenza," p. 19
- ¹⁴ Emilio Ambasz, "Italy: the new domestic landscape," Exhibition Catalogue MoMA 1972, Introduction
- ¹⁵ Frédéric Migayrou, "La Tendenza," p. 87
- ¹⁶ Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The project of autonomy," p. 53
- ¹⁷ Jean Louis Cohen, *The Italophiles at Work*, from *La coupure entre architectes et intellectuels, ou les enseignements de l'italianophylie*. ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 510
- ¹⁸ Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The project of autonomy," p. 19

- ¹⁹ Nadir Lahiji, *Reloading Ideology Critique of Architecture*, ed. Nadir Lahiji, "The Political Unconscious of Architecture: Re-opening Jameson's Narrative," p. 215
- ²⁰ Manfredo Tafuri, "Architecture and Utopia," p. 12
- ²¹ *Ibid*, p. 100
- ²² Manfredo Tafuri, "Theories and history of Architecture," p. 7
- ²³ *Ibid*, p. 141
- ²⁴ Vittorio Gregotti, "il territorio dell' architettura," 1966. cited in Manfredo Tafuri, "Theories and History of Architecture," p. 54
- ²⁵ Joan Ockman, Venice and New York, "Casabella 619-620" (January-February 1995): p. 59
- ²⁶ Manfredo Tafuri, "Architecture and Utopia," p.182
- ²⁷ Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The Project of Autonomy," p. 55
- ²⁸ Manfredo Tafuri, "History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985," p. 139
- ²⁹ Frédéric Migayrou, "La Tendenza," p.p. 83-4
- ³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 18
- ³¹ Manfredo Tafuri, "History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985," p. 62
- ³² Rossi, 'Architetture per I musei' in Guido Canella et al., "Teoria della progettazione architettonica," 1968: p. 136, cited in Frédéric Migayrou, "La Tendenza," p. 83-4
- ³³ Umberto Eco, preface to Vittorio Gregotti, "Le Territoire de l'architecture," French edition, 1982, cited in Frédéric Migayrou, "La Tendenza," p. 83-4
- ³⁴ Carlo Aymonino, "il significato della citta," p. 4, cited in Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The Project of Autonomy," p. 56
- ³⁵ "The 1968 International Design Conference (IDCA), titled 'Dialogues Europe/America' and chaired by Banham, would prove to be the foundation of the New York-Venice axis. There Peter Eisenman, who introduced the newly formed (1967) Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), became friends with the Spaniards Federico Correa and Rafael Moneo, who later introduced him to Vittorio Gregotti. Aldo Rossi, Manfredo Tafuri, Carlo Aymonino and Massimo Scolari were Eisenman's and the IAUS's main points of contact with Venice." Léa-Catherine Szacka, "Exhibiting the Postmodern," p. 243
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 167
- ³⁷ Joan Ockman, Venice and New York, "Casabella 619-620" (January-February 1995): p. 57
- ³⁸ "In this issue were assembled a sequence of hitherto unpublished articles especially written by Alessandros Mendini, Franco Alberti, Denise Scott Brown, Robert Venturi, Peter Eisenman, Joseph Rykwert, William Ellis, Stanford Anderson, Emilio Ambasz and Piero Sartogo." Léa-Catherine Szacka, *Roma Interrota: Postmodern Rome as the Source of Fragmented Narratives*, ed. Dom Holdaway and Filippo Trentin, "Rome, Postmodern Narratives of a Cityscape," p. 208 (notes no. 28)
- ³⁹ Alessandros Mendini, 'The City as an Artifact', *Casabella* 359-60, (December 1971), p. 9
- ⁴⁰ In *Oppositions* 5 [Summer 1976]: Aldo Rossi, "The Blue of the Sky," and Manfredo Tafuri, "American Graffiti: Five X Five = Twenty-five," In *Oppositions* 9 [Summer 1977]: Francesco

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⁴¹ Joan Ockman, Venice and New York, "Casabella 619-620" (January-February 1995): p. 69 (notes no. 15)

⁴² "Moreover, the label 'radical' as used by many critics and thinkers to refer to movements in architecture, art, design, and politics during the 1970s was directly at odds with the intentions of many protagonists of these movements." Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The Project of Autonomy," p. 81

⁴³ "In order to provide a frame of reference for the objects and environments in the exhibition, a number of distinguished Italian critics were asked to analyze respectively: the futurist construction of the universe (Fagiolo dell'Arco); the beginning of modern research (Leonardo Benevolo); Italian design between 1945-1971 (Vittorio Gregotti); the role played by design in the country's economic development (Ruggero Cominotti); the relation of urban planning and housing –or of its absence- to the production and consumption of household furnishings (Italo Insolera); the external and internal influences on modes of thought that have affected the transformations of modern Italian design (Carlo Giulio Argan); the manipulation of design in the service of consumption, and the resulting dilemma of designers (Alessandro Mendini); the significance of the counterculture positions adopted by groups of radical designers (Germano Cellant); the metamorphoses in the ideology of Italian design that have resulted from aesthetic and economic pressures (Manfredo Tafuri); and the aesthetic and political premises of emerging counter-design groups (Filiberto Menna)." Emilio Ambasz, "Italy: the new domestic landscape," introduction to the exhibition

⁴⁴ Carlo Giulio Argan, Ideological development in the thought and imagery of Italian design, ed. Emilio Ambasz, "Italy: the new domestic landscape," p. 359

⁴⁵ Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The Project of Autonomy," p. 81

⁴⁶ The New York Five refers to a group of five New York City architects (Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hejduk and Richard Meier) whose photographed work was the subject of a CASE (Committee of Architects for the Study of the Environment) meeting at the Museum of Modern Art, organized by Arthur Drexler and Colin Rowe in 1969, and featured in the subsequent book *Five Architects*, published in 1972 and 1975. [<http://www.nytimes.com/1996/02/11/books/architecture-view-a-little-book-that-led-five-men-to-fame.html>]

⁴⁷ Joan Ockman, Venice and New York, "Casabella 619-620" (January-February 1995): p. 57

⁴⁸ Peter Eisenman, "Post-Functionalism," *Oppositions* 6, (Fall 1976). ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 230

⁴⁹ Robert A.M. Stern, "Gray Architecture as Post-Modernism, or, Up and Down from Orthodoxy," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 186 (August-September 1976). ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 243

⁵⁰ From 1968 to 1979, architecture was shown not independently, but rather inside the art sector of the Biennale. So, architectural exhibitions in the context of the Biennale don't have a big history before 1976, in fact, the first exhibition that was ever organized was in 1968 and then the next were in 1972 and in 1975. With the 1975 exhibition being the most important since it was coming out of the 1968 political climate, as Vittorio Gregotti (director) states. He says "it represents the connection between the ideology of 1968 and after." After the events of 1968, the Biennale remained in a state of disruption for several years. It was only in 1976, under the direction of the same architect, that the great Venetian art gathering was to regain its prestige. Léa-Catherine Szacka, *A Conversation with Vittorio Gregotti*, "Curating Architecture," *Log* 20 (fall 2010), pp. 39-43

- ⁵¹ Peter Eisenman, transcribed text from the debate 'Quale Movimento Moderno,' 38th Biennale di Venezia 1976
- ⁵² Vittorio Gregotti, in "Environment, Participation, Cultural Structures," Biennale di Venezia 1976, p. 237
- ⁵³ Léa-Catherine Szacka, interview with Robert A.M. Stern [available at: <http://biennale1976.com>]
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Peter Eisenman, in "Environment, Participation, Cultural Structures," Biennale di Venezia 1976, p. 253
- ⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 253
- ⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 253
- ⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 253
- ⁵⁹ Interview with Léa-Catherine Szacka conducted via skype on 6 September 2013
- ⁶⁰ Léa-Catherine Szacka, "38th Venice Biennale," ed. Frédéric Migayrou, "La Tendenza," p. 102
- ⁶¹ Vittorio Gregotti, transcribed text from the debate 'Quale Movimento Moderno,' 38th Biennale di Venezia 1976
- ⁶² Joan Ockman, Venice and New York, "Casabella 619-620" (January-February 1995): p. 61
- ⁶³ Peter Eisenman, transcribed text from the debate 'Quale Movimento Moderno,' 38th Biennale di Venezia 1976
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ Aldo Van Eyck, transcribed text from the debate 'Quale Movimento Moderno,' 38th Biennale di Venezia 1976
- ⁶⁶ Manfredo Tafuri, transcribed text from the debate 'Quale Movimento Moderno,' 38th Biennale di Venezia 1976
- ⁶⁷ Ibid
- ⁶⁸ Heinrich Klotz, "The history of postmodern architecture," p. 210
- ⁶⁹ Aldo Rossi, "The Architecture of the City," p. 165
- ⁷⁰ Manfredo Tafuri, "L'architecture dans le Boudoir," ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 154
- ⁷¹ Aldo Rossi, "Triennale XV," ed. Frédéric Migayrou, "La Tendenza," p. 21
- ⁷² Manfredo Tafuri, "L'architecture dans le Boudoir," ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 157
- ⁷³ Aldo Rossi, "The Architecture of the City," introduction to the first American edition, 1978, p.18
- ⁷⁴ Manfredo Tafuri, transcribed text from the debate 'Quale Movimento Moderno,' 38th Biennale di Venezia 1976

- ⁷⁵ Manfredo Tafuri, "Theories and History of Architecture," p. 36
- ⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 34
- ⁷⁷ Mario Gandelsonas, "Linguistics in Architecture," Casabella 374 (February 1973) ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 116
- ⁷⁸ General exhibition catalogue Venice Biennale 1976, vol. 2, p. 254
- ⁷⁹ Manfredo Tafuri, "L'architecture dans le Boudoir," ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p.156
- ⁸⁰ General exhibition catalogue Venice Biennale 1976, vol. 2, p. 257
- ⁸¹ R. E. Somol "One or Several Masters?" paper presented 1993; published in Hejduk's Chronotope, ed. ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 786
- ⁸² Heinrich Klotz, "The History of Postmodern Architecture", , p. 421
- ⁸³ Ibid, p. 130
- ⁸⁴ Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 307
- ⁸⁵ Denise Scott Brown, transcribed text from the debate 'Quale Movimento Moderno,' 38th Biennale di Venezia 1976
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ⁸⁷ Carlo Aymonino, transcribed text from the debate 'Quale Movimento Moderno,' 38th Biennale di Venezia 1976
- ⁸⁸ Heinrich Klotz, "The history of Postmodern Architecture 1944-1985," p. 128
- ⁸⁹ Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The Project of Autonomy," p. 81-82
- ⁹⁰ Manfredo Tafuri, "History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985," p. 72
- ⁹¹ Alberto Asor Rosa, "Manfredo Tafuri, or, Humanism Revisited," Log, No. 9 (Winter/Spring 2007), pp. 29-38
- ⁹² Manfredo Tafuri, "History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985," p. 80
- ⁹³ Guy Debord, Definitions - Internationale Situationniste (Paris, June 1958). Translated by Ken Knabb [available at: <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/definitions.html>]
- ⁹⁴ Gruppo 63 (English: Group 63) is an avant-garde Italian literary movement of the 1960s. It was composed of Italian intellectuals who shared the desire for a radical break from the conformity present in traditional Italian society. The group was organized at a 1963 meeting in Palermo. Edoardo Sanguineti, Elio Pagliarani, Nanni Balestrini, Antonio Porta, Renato Barilli, Luciano Anceschi, Giorgio Manganelli, and Umberto Eco were among its founders. [<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/247473/Gruppo-63>]
- ⁹⁵ Matei Calinescu, "Five Faces of Modernity," p. 268
- ⁹⁶ Charles A. Jencks, "Post-Modern Architecture" From The Language of Post-Modern Architecture (London: Academy Editions, 1977; New York: Rizzoli, 1977). ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 308
- ⁹⁷ Charles A. Jencks, "Post-Modern Architecture" From The Language of Post-Modern Architecture (London: Academy Editions, 1977; New York: Rizzoli, 1977). ed. Michael Hays, "Architecture Theory since 1968," p. 308

- ⁹⁸ Heinrich Klotz, "The History of Postmodern Architecture," p. 421
- ⁹⁹ Manfredo Tafuri, "History of Italian architecture 1944-1985," p. 72
- ¹⁰⁰ Emanuele Severino, "Destino della necessita," p. 268, cited in Massimo Cacciari, "The Unpolitical," p. 136
- ¹⁰¹ Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The Project of Autonomy," p. 12
- ¹⁰² Ibid, p. 82
- ¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 12
- ¹⁰⁴ Vittorio Gregotti, "Inside Architecture," p. 21
- ¹⁰⁵ Manfredo Tafuri, The historical project, "The Sphere and the Labyrinth," p. 3
- ¹⁰⁶ Diane Y. Ghirardo, 'Manfredo Tafuri and Architecture Theory in the U.S., 1970-2000', *Perspecta*, Vol. 33, Mining Autonomy (2002), p.43
- ¹⁰⁷ Reinhart Koselleck, "Futures past: on the semantics of historical time," p. 22
- ¹⁰⁸ Massimo Cacciari, "The Unpolitical," p. 132
- ¹⁰⁹ Reinhold Martin, "Utopia's ghost," p. 149
- ¹¹⁰ Gevork Hartoonian, *The Stolen Hope: Reading Jameson's Critique of Tafuri*, ed. Nadir Lahiji, "The Political Unconscious of Architecture: Re-opening Jameson's Narrative," p. 89
- ¹¹¹ Massimo Cacciari, "The Unpolitical," p. 125
- ¹¹² Massimo Cacciari, "The Unpolitical," p. 126

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